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CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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October, 1930

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CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

BY

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(YALE UNIVERSITY)
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To M. R. D.

WHOSE COMRADESHIP HAS
IMMEASURABLY AIDED MY WRITING.

LIBRARY
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MANCH OLLEGE

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Here is a book for those who would explore the thought currents which are agitating myriads of minds to-day. Not one of the social movements here surveyed is small or ineffectual; the least of them stirs the hearts of several millions of our fellows. Indeed, it is safe to say that these movements should be credited with much of the difference in the outlook of the masses of men to-day and in 1870. If any social phenomena deserve attention, surely these immense Gulf Streams of human aspiration and effort deserve attention. To question the worth-whileness of college students' becoming acquainted with movements of such magnitude and power betrays a queer idea of what should constitute a liberal education.

Our author is an honest guide to these great social movements. He summons the doughtiest combatants on both sides—critics as well as champions—and lets them fight it out in the presence of the reader. If it is not educative for one to follow such thrust and parry, then I should like to know what *is* educative. No doubt Professor Davis has a definite social philosophy and program of his own, but it is plain that he is not bent on "putting it over" in this book. Conscientiously he limits his rôle to giving the setting of each several movement, pruning away the falsehoods and misconceptions which hinder one seeing just what are the issues involved, and suggesting what significance it may hold for our own society.

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS.

INTRODUCTION

METHOD OF USING THE VOLUME

This is the first textbook on modern social movements to be published in America. It presents certain outstanding European social developments and suggests certain of their effects on American life. Instead of trying to give a predigested outline of events and forces, it rather presents material to which the student should turn in order that he may construct for himself a picture of each movement. The aim is to make the student "muscular of mind," to help him think rather than to take over ready-made pattern ideas about each social theory. With this in view, at the start of each section is a series of questions, which the student must answer in writing. Obviously, every student may not be able to answer all. The teacher should select the ones which he wishes his particular class to consider. Some may find it advisable to require that every student answer all the questions, others may find it more satisfactory to divide the class and the questions into two or more groups. Still other teachers may wish to develop new questions not now listed.

After the student has once been assigned his task, he can go anywhere for his material, but in most cases he would normally turn to the text first of all. As he reads, he would be asking himself how far it throws light on any of the questions. Later he may desire to go outside the text to other material referred to in the bibliography. After or during his reading he should prepare a paper answering the questions on each movement, the class then taking up the answers in open session. Naturally, different students will have differing answers, which will give opportunity for teacher and class to weigh the validity of the "facts" presented. In some cases the conclusion may well be that there are differing truths and no one clear picture.

The method which I have followed in my class-room has been to take up each movement successively, starting with Utopias and ending with the outlawry of war. While we are discussing one movement in class the student is studying the next. At the start he is immediately assigned the task of preparing answers to the questions on socialism. No written report on Utopias is required. I lecture while the class is preparing its first written report on socialism. This work is completed and handed in before the discussion of socialism begins. At the end of the semester the entire note-book is called in for inspection. The student must include his original paper on each movement, together with additions and comments following the discussion. As a result of using this method I have found that the students have mastered the principles and history of each movement very much better than is possible in a mere lecture course. They are, furthermore, much more familiar with bibliographical material. The students themselves are required to prepare a bibliography of the latest available books on one of the movements. This is excellent training and is an invaluable part of the course. Many students are relatively unfamiliar with modern library aids, even such familiar ones as *Public Affairs Information Service, Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, The Industrial Arts Index, International Index to Periodicals, A. L. A. Index to General Literature, Subject Index to Periodicals, Book Review Digest* and the *United States Catalogue.*

We have devoted somewhat more space to communism than to any other movement because it is the most radical challenge to existing social structure in the world to-day. At many points it is diametrically opposed to values which over a long period of time humanity has held valid. Furthermore, it is the only movement controlling one-sixth of the land surface of the earth and which has a genuine opportunity to weave its theories into the social fabric. In Great Britain, although the Labor Party is in office, it is in a minority position and can stay in power only on the sufferance of one of the other political parties.

To those who want a tabloid summary of every social movement and an array of sweeping generalizations and conclusions this book will be disappointing. The author believes that a scientific textbook should endeavor to give the student not "sugar-coated pills" but source materials and training in the use of a technique by which he can learn to appraise facts for himself. This demands care in weighing the sources, an analysis of the arguments and data presented. It also means that the student must think for himself. No mere memorization of textbook conclusions will be possible. It furthermore means that there are no clear, simple formulas to explain each social movement, but a mosaic of positive and negative forces which in their complexity leave many unsolved problems.

OUR OWN ATTITUDES

No individual can hope to approach fundamental group movements making towards the welfare or destruction of the group life without to some extent being influenced by his own stereotypes or emotional valuations, which tend to tinge his mind with prejudice rather than to make of it a clear, reasoning instrument. We know that, were we living five hundred years ago under a monarchial form of government, we would tend to defend monarchy, if we were living in the South one hundred years ago, we would tend to defend slavery. The following appraisal of popular opinion about the French Revolution as contrasted with the Napoleonic Wars, by the famous sociologist Spencer in his *The Study of Sociology,* is illustrative of what needs to be done now. Have we advanced as far as Spencer in comparing such contemporary events as the World War and the Russian Revolution?

"And when the mortality on both sides by death in battle, by wounds, and by disease, throughout the Napoleonic campaigns, is summed up, it exceeds at the lowest computation two millions. And all this slaughter, all this suffering, all this devastation, was gone through because one man had a restless desire to be despot over all men.

"What has been thought and felt in England about the two sets of events above contrasted, and about the actors in them? The bloodshed of the Revolution has been spoken of with words of horror; and for those who wrought it there has been unqualified hate. About the enormously greater bloodshed which these wars of the Consulate and the Empire entailed, little or no horror is expressed; while the feeling towards the modern Attila who was guilty of this bloodshed, is shown by decorating rooms with portraits and busts of him. See the beliefs which these respective feelings imply:—

The French Revolution	*The Napoleonic Wars*
"Over ten thousand deaths we may fitly shudder and lament.	"Two million deaths call for no shuddering or lamentation.
"As the ten thousand were slain because of the tyrannies, cruelties, and treacheries, committed by them or their class, their deaths are very pitiable.	"As the two millions, innocent of offence, were taken by force from classes already oppressed and impoverished, the slaughter of them need excite no pity.
"The sufferings of the ten thousand and of their relatives, who expiated their own misdeeds and the misdeeds of their class, may fitly form subjects for heart-rending stories and pathetic pictures.	"There is nothing heart-rending in the sufferings of the two millions who died for no crimes of their own or their class; nor is there anything pathetic in the fates of the families throughout Europe, from which the two millions were taken.
"That despair and the indignation of a betrayed people brought about this slaughter of ten thousand, makes the atrocity without palliation.	"That one vile man's lust of power was gratified through the deaths of the two millions, greatly palliates the sacrifice of them.

"These are the antithetical propositions tacitly implied in the opinion that have been current in England about the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars."[1]

We must make due allowance for the bias of the particular culture in which we live. For instance, since we have been immersed in a social order which stresses individualism and material values, we must particularly guard ourselves against giving undue weight to these factors in appraising a movement. In order to bring out these prejudices at the start, it may be advisable to ask the class at its first session to define in writing such terms as socialism and communism. Of a course such as this, one great object should be that it may help us through the clash of differing opinions to see more clearly our own particular prejudices. Our only concern should be to follow truth no matter where it leads. We seek to appraise each movement, to know its major aspects, to weigh its positive and negative factors. It would be well for the class to consider the following characteristics of the scientific mind before undertaking this study.

The Scientific Mind Is:

1. Sincere and open.
2. Objective—conclusion determined by intellect and reason, not by personal interest.
3. Curious—alert in search of truth.
4. Factually informed.
5. Critical of popular judgments and standards unless they conform with reasoned facts.
6. Independent—constructively imaginative.
7. Tolerant.
8. Industrious and persistent.
9. Fearless in following facts.
10. Courageous in supporting scientific results.

Not only are our own attitudes important, but we should know so far as possible the background and bias of those on whose evidence we rely to form our judgments. In this volume the author has placed in the Appendix a brief biographical sketch about each writer who has been extensively quoted.

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

This course presupposes a background of at least elementary sociology. If the student has not had this, he should read some standard work on the subject. Throughout our treatment we shall assume that students are familiar with the sociological forces in our historical development, with the geographic forces conditioning society, with the major laws of biologic development, with the psychologic foundations of group life, with our cultural heritage, and with the factors and processes in social organization.

---

[1] Spencer, Herbert, *The Study of Sociology*, p. 158.

It is obvious that the author does not agree with all the viewpoints presented in this volume. Some are diametrically opposed to one another. The primary purpose is to help the student to think critically for himself. It is hoped that many students may be stimulated to read further in the books from which some of the quotations have been taken.

I desire to express my appreciation to the authors and publishers who have so generously permitted the use of copyrighted material. I am also under obligation to H. W. Odum, President of the American Sociological Society, for having read the manuscript; to E. A. Ross, Editor of this series, for his many constructive suggestions; and to many experts in each of the fields treated herein who have read parts of the manuscript and given their encouragement and approval.

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BOOK I

SOME SOCIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

I. WHY STUDY MODERN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS?

WE are living in an epoch of revolutionary change. Our population itself is shifting. The native stock is affected more than we realize by a tremendous aggregate of the foreign born who reproduce at a far more rapid rate than the native born. The Negro has been rising out of a servile class into one that demands equal opportunity. Increasing numbers are moving North and competing with white workers for factory positions. The frontier has disappeared; there is no more free land, and tenancy is on the increase. There has been a tidal drift toward the city, and with the machine process has come increasing change in home life and class stratification.

Dr. E. A. Ross of Wisconsin long ago pointed out that in some measure we have class control rather than social control. He defines this as "the exercise of power by a parasitic class in its own interest."[1]

This technique is as old as history but to-day it is being expressed through so many new channels that we often fail to recognize it. The press, the radio, television, even the airplane are now among the instruments of control. In an era of such bewildering change our social structure must be constantly in process of re-adaptation to keep pace with its swiftly changing material culture. In an epoch which has already seen two Labor governments in power in Great Britain and a Communistic state in Russia, no valid excuse can longer be offered for not studying the social movements which have changed the conditions of life for millions of people in our own day. In fact, social movements which oppose the current conventional pattern of social organization have in the past reshaped our civilization. No matter what our occupation, we shall be influenced, either consciously or unconsciously, by some of these movements. We ought to know something about them. Let us briefly review some of the reasons why this is true.

In the first place, history teaches us that many a nation has been profoundly affected, sometimes almost revolutionized, by foreign movements. Rome was conquered by a religion of Jewish origin, which we now call Christianity. More recently, Japan was revolutionized by Western culture. To-day the United States has not yet recovered from the limitless consequences of a world conflict, which was the product of European influence. Perhaps there has been no single social event which has more profoundly affected the world in recent times than the Communist experiment, and it has long left us cut off from official contacts with Russia. Ignorance of great social movements may profoundly affect the development of our country. Many American business men once opposed Workmen's Compensation, a radical innovation brought to us from Europe. To-day it is accepted as absolutely essential to our industrial health. Had these business leaders been adequately informed in college about its necessity, they might not have fought it. Should we not be as alert to achieve the best for America as the Japanese statesmen were to win the best of Western culture for their county? Japan not only studied the culture of the West but sent a commission around the world to copy all that seemed valuable to them.

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[1] E. A. Ross, *Social Control,* p. 376.

Most college graduates will be leaders in their community. They must deal with many kinds and classes of men. The individual is like an island; in order to reach him it may be necessary to sail around and find the best landing place. To deal with men we must understand in what they are interested. The industrial executive who has never studied Socialism and the Labor movement is handicapped in dealing with his working force. We must meet men on the ground floor where they are.

In the second place, our world society is now so small that all nations are closely interdependent. The cable, the radio, and the airplane have bound us into a world which in point of time is far smaller than was the United States at the foundation of our republic.

The international problems which now confront us are somewhat analogous to what our interstate problems once were. Some movements abroad are doubtless more important, so far as the welfare of the United States is concerned, than many movements within our own country. Our welfare and economic prosperity are bound up inextricably with that of other nations.

In the third place, the old order has partially failed and we must be on the lookout for a pattern for the new. Naturally, much can be said in favor of our present social structure. We commonly think of America as "prosperous"; we have a fairly good system of free education; except for the Negroes in the South, practically every one has the vote; and we are religious, or at least there is a multitudinous variety of churches. It is unnecessary to recite all the advantages of our native country; we hear them on every hand. We do not as often stop, however, to consider and weigh the other side of the case. That there are also flaws in our American social order, every serious student must admit.[2]

For instance, it is claimed that our distribution of wealth is inequitable. One thousand Americans have a larger income than a million others. Twenty-nine one-hundredths of 1 per cent. pay 95 per cent. of the income tax and 82 per cent. have such a small revenue that they pay no income tax at all.[3]

To cite another illustration, Mr. Gifford Pinchot, a former Republican Governor of Pennsylvania and a millionaire, has described the threat which he believes America faces from the power interests. He declares that forty-one big holding companies control 82 per cent. of the electric energy produced in the United States. He says:

> "The sum total of these investigations and studies is the positive and well-supported conclusion that a nation-wide, organized, persistent, increasing movement to monopolize the electric power of these United States actually does exist.
>
> "There is an electric power monopoly.
>
> "Moreover, there is an electric power monopoly organized and financed, not for fair and efficient public service, but for ruthless exploitation, uninterrupted and unrestrained by anything approaching effective government intervention or control.
>
> "We need not be surprised that state and federal authorities have stood in awe before the gigantic nation-wide power monopoly, because beside it, as its creator, financial supporter, and master, stands the concentrated money power of the United States, which to-day is the dominating money power of the world. . . .
>
> "1. The monopoly has been created by financial inflation.
>
> "2. The financial inflation of the monopoly has been supported by extortion.
>
> "3. This inflation and extortion are made possible and perpetuated by the control of investments secured through the blacklisting of investment houses which may refuse to sell the monopoly's inflated securities to the public.
>
> "4. Having forced its inflated securities on American investors, the monopoly now dodges behind these investors for protection against the arm of the law in much the same fashion that meaner elements of lawlessness, like common highwaymen, frequently have used their victims as shields against the bullets of policemen. . . .
>
> "Testimony before the Federal Trade Commission has disclosed subsidized reporters, subsidized editors, subsidized professors, subsidized governors, subsidized ex-governors and ex-senators, even a subsidized ambassador.

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[2] For an indictment of capitalism the student should turn to such books as: Davis, *Labor Speaks for Itself;* Tawney, *Our Acquisitive Society;* Webb, *The Decay of Capitalist Civilization;* Ward, *Our Economic Morality;* and the *Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations* of the United States Senate.

[3] Ogden Mills, Under-Secretary of the Treasury, *Literary Digest,* April 16, 1927.

"The testimony also shows how the corruption funds of the power monopolists paid for propaganda in magazines, in the movies, on the radio, in school textbooks, and even in government publications.

"Never in the history of America has there been another so widespread, so bold, and so unscrupulous plot to corrupt all sources of public information and public education."[4]

Mr. Pinchot ends his report with these stinging words:

"We have seen the electric monopoly pick out state governments. We have seen it crack its whip over state assemblies. We have seen it with stupid arrogance and conscienceless boldness corrupt elections, and attempt to buy a seat in the United States Senate. We have seen it attempt to compel the United States Senate to deliver that purchased seat.

"We have seen it override the will of the people by its control over Congress. We have felt the application of its social pressure, its financial pressure, its political control. We have indisputable proof that the power banks, the power politicians, and the power monopolists are striving for nothing less than power dictatorship over the nation in all its parts.

"A private state within the public state is bad enough. But a private super-state, overawing and dominating the state, is intolerable.

"Do we care enough about the future of America to save it from such a private super-state of electric power giants?"

While the danger from our power interests is a real one, it should be possible, to overcome it.

For example, in the eighties and nineties railroad officials had the power to make or break individual shippers, communities or industries through rate discrimination, yet the situation was adequately met.

Legislation has largely remedied railroad evils. The arbitrary power of the railroad capitalists has been shorn away, yet they are permitted to receive "earnings" from their investments. In other words, we have a capitalism which has been greatly modified by democracy. Railroad regulation, factory acts, workmen's compensations, immigration restrictions, pure food and drugs legislation, the Clayton Act, the Federal Trade Commission, the income tax, the taxation of inheritance have shackled or counterbalanced certain anti-social workings of private capitalism.

Our labor legislation is limiting the factory owners' exercise of arbitrary power over their workers while in no way trenching upon their right to receive a just return on the capital they supply. In the same way the Federal Trade Commission is suppressing practices which build up monopoly, though not calling in question the earning of profits under fair competition.

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[4] Gifford Pinchot, *The Power Monopoly: Its Make-up and Its Menace* (1929).

No one knows how far we can go in curtailing the oppressive powers of capitalism without depriving them of the elementary perquisites of ownership. Is it not possible for an intelligent and alert democracy to make private capitalism the servant rather than the master of society?

Since it is commonly recognized that our economic order still has weaknesses and that some change is inevitable, should we not study constructive plans for improvement before a catastrophe? This leads us inescapably to an analysis of modern social movements, some of which are already in operation. Others are mere blue-prints of reforms which certain social inventors or theorists are convinced will work. We do not need to accept their projects, but we would be foolish indeed not to examine them carefully. At some points they may have elements of advantage over certain features of the existing order.

The chief aim of our analysis is to determine the truth about each movement. This means that we should try to analyze both positive and negative features. Whether or not a particular program or institution runs counter to current conventional practices or prejudices is not our concern. The reader must be guided solely by the facts about that program or institution. He must be alert to analyze the various conflicting positions as presented and to reach conclusions of his own in the light of the evidence.

America is a land which constantly seeks the latest and best in mechanical perfection. We do not rest content with the old. If there is any common fact in social development which is true, it is that we are living in a changing world. We should be acquainted with the most promising suggestions for a better social order. Our economic and social structure cannot stand still; the only question is, How, will it develop? An automobile manufacturer who ignored the mechanical advance of his competitors would soon be bankrupt. Similarly, Americans should weigh every new idea which is being tried out in the social and economic world. Without improvement a society retrogrades or decays. Now, it is new and foreign ideas which offer constructive change. The scientific study of cultural development proves this conclusively. Maitland says: "Rapidly progressing groups have been just those which have not worked out their own salvation, but have appropriated alien ideas." How are we going to appropriate what is best, if we know nothing about the better? William James says, in answer to the question how to get original thought: "Excitements, new ideas, and effort are what carries us over the dam." The novel ideas unlock unused mental reservoirs.

II. THE CYCLE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

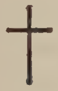
Sociology teaches us that cultural development tends to harden into institutions. These institutions evidently do not meet the needs of a changing society. They must, therefore, either be reshaped, or an explosion—which we call a revolution—takes place. The tendency is for those in authority to support an existing institution, even after it has become fossilized. If the institution is flexible enough to permit of modification and adaptation, it will survive over a long period of time. This has proved true of the church and of the home. On the other hand, from time to time institutions have been broken up because they did not adapt themselves quickly enough to changes which had already taken place in the minds of the people who were supposed to submit to institutional control. A terrible example of this is the system of the Tsar's autocracy in Russia. It refused to change quickly, and was ultimately annihilated. Groups tend to react because of (a) their historical traditions; (b) their geographical setting; (c) their biological inheritance; (d) their psychological foundation; (e) their cultural inheritance; and (f) their organized pattern of social thought and endeavor.

These modern social movements are reactions on the part of individuals and groups to unsatisfactory conditions in the social life. There is a maladjustment which causes mental and social friction, and the movement develops as an effort to bring about harmony. It is easy to understand this by a parallel in individual experience. If we are sitting near a radiator which becomes too warm, we either turn the radiator off and open the window, or move away. If the room were closed, the door locked, and the temperature kept rising, we would break the door or smash the window. Unfortunately, it is not so easy to change social situations. If an entire group in the population is being exploited economically, it may react by accepting a socialistic philosophy. It may then be persecuted by those whose power or economic advantage is threatened.

Every social movement tends to traverse a cycle of change. First of all, there arises a tangible need, and some individual or group begins to voice this need more or less publicly. Second, propaganda and agitation result. Third, there follows a growing consciousness of this need in a small or large group. Fourth, they organize. Fifth, concerted action and strong leadership develop and new converts are won. Sixth, if the movement is successful it becomes institutionalized—becomes the pattern of the majority, and group control sets in. Any one who does not conform to the new pattern code is disciplined. Seventh, eventually bureaucracy, inflexibility, and reaction become dominant. When this occurs some one usually feels a new need and either the institution changes to meet that need or in time it is superseded. This cycle could be applied to the movement for the abolition of slavery or to the prohibition drive in our own country. It may be asked why institutions tend to become fossilized. It is because they are products of the past. The very function of an institution is to give stability to society. Institutions are like the great steel beams and giant metal ribs of an ocean liner. They knit our social life together. Leaders of institutions are usually prosperous and comfortable once their goal is achieved; inevitably they tend to conservatism and reaction. This attitude of theirs is reinforced by the natural conservatism of the common people and of the dominant group. Neither will lightly jeopardize present welfare for a radical change. Furthermore, the institution, through its control of the mediums of thought and expression, consciously tries to inculcate an attitude of loyalty and pride towards the institution, which further conserves and preserves that institution. As a concrete cycle of institutional growth and decay, consider the example of the Russian Church.

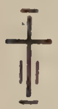
The Cycle of Social Movements as Illustrated by the Russian Church

1.



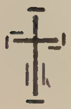
A need for a better religion is felt. This need emerges and gains expression.

2.



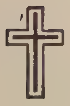
Forces begin to group themselves to meet the need. There is a slow infiltration of Christianity. In the tenth century, Vladimir, the Tsar, welcomes representatives of various religions.

3.



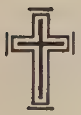
The Tsar is most favorably impressed by the Greek Orthodox Church. Vladimir accepts the Greek faith in 988 A.D. and smashes the idols.

4.



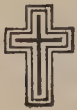
The Russian Church becomes part of the Greek system with the ranking of a Metropolitan Church. The institution hardens into set lines and firm traditions.

5.



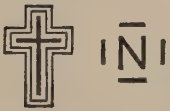
In 1588 full autonomy is granted to the Russian Church and a Patriarch is established in Moscow.

6.



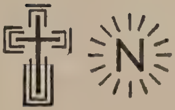
In 1721 an ecclesiastical body is appointed by the Tsar which is supreme over the Church. It is under the domination of the Tsar.

7.



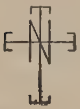
From 1900 to 1917 a new-felt need arises. The educated classes want a religion that does not violate their intelligence. The masses demand a church that will give them genuine social service.

8.



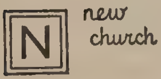
The revolution occurs. The church is separated from the state.

9.



There is either a complete breakup of the institutional Greek Orthodox Church or it readapts itself to the new needs.

10.



If a complete breakdown of the institutional church occurs, the cycle is complete and a new-felt need starts a new institution on its way.

Now an institution such as a church is only part of a larger process which follows much the same cycle. In the movement of Communism, for instance, we shall see that the same steps were taken. Communism, however, not only wanted to change one institution, it wanted to revolutionize nearly every one of the prevalent institutions of the day; consequently it met with terrific opposition and is not yet in adjustment with the rest of the world.

In social life it is impossible to change the political and economic life instantaneously. Consequently, from time to time leaders of thought have sprung up who draw blue-prints of a way of life which they believe will cure existing defects. Men who have had ability to draw such untried blue-prints, we call Utopians. The ancient Hebrew prophets are examples of early Utopian thinkers.

III. SOCIAL CONTROL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The student should be on the alert to sift out the social-psychologic methods utilized by each social movement to control its followers. To study these in detail would require a course in itself; but the thoughtful reader can use the chapters which follow as laboratory material. Here, if he will, he can observe at first hand the methods which have actually been used and are being used to-day. These fall under at least four general categories: winning, rewarding, legalizing, and punishing.

First, there are the methods of persuasion, propaganda, and social pressure. These techniques are always used by a minority movement before it attains respectability and dominance. The familiar expression, "boring from within," is merely a popular wording of this form of control. Once a movement has become established it continues to use these methods with even greater effect. In both Italy and Russia there has been an extensive use of propaganda. We see the same technique in every social movement in the United States, and the vested interests are masters in using its many forms, from advertising to the "public relations expert."

Second, there are the methods of flattery, playing on the prejudices of people, praise, and social distinction. Every revolutionist flatters the people. Many liberal and radical social movements do not use, to any great extent, large monetary rewards for supporters, but praise and social distinction are freely given. Oftentimes position and power are effective compensations which spur to achievement, even without financial return.

Third, stringent rules are enacted. A social movement, whether cooperative or soviet, usually adopts rules of procedure which bind its members to use the approved methods of success. Followers are obligated to walk along the orthodox path. Deviations excite suspicion and are usually punished.

Fourth, there is the castigating of opponents, threatening, expelling, exiling, imprisoning, and shooting those who are considered dangerous. New social movements are rich in the use of opprobrious names and labels for opponents, and threats are freely made against them. Backsliders or those who differ radically from the majority are expelled. Once a movement becomes dominant and controls a country, it quite often adopts the method of imprisonment or execution for its opponent.

This classification is by no means exhaustive. The reader may omit from it or add to it, and endeavor to ascertain to what extent each movement has made and is making use of these methods.

Dr. Ross has clearly stated some standards of social control which would be sociologically valid.[5] The reader should ask how far these hold for the movements under review.

1. Each increment of social interference should bring more benefit to persons as members of society than it entails inconvenience to persons as individuals.

[5] See E. A. Ross, *Social Control,* pp. 419-425.

2. Social interference should not lightly excite against itself the passion for liberty.

3. Social interference should respect the sentiments that are the support of natural order.

4. Social interference should not be so paternal as to check the self-extinction of the morally ill-constituted.

5. Social interference should not so limit the struggle for existence as to nullify the selective process.

IV. LEADERSHIP

In a work on social movements the reader has an excellent opportunity to study the interaction between the leader and his followers.

We might divide theories of leadership under five headings. First, *the great man theory*. Thomas Carlyle in his *Heroes and Hero-Worship* maintains that nearly all social change is the result of exceptional individuals. He says: "As I take it, Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modellers, the patterners and in a wide sense the creators of whatever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realization and embodiment, of thoughts that dwelt in the Great Men sent into the world; the soul of the whole world's history, it may just be considered, were the history of these." Various advocates of the one-man theory have stressed different factors which are responsible for leadership. Carlyle might be said to have stressed the metaphysical side. A good many others emphasize biological causation. According to them, the great man is the result of a very rare combination of hereditary factors which, joined together in the right proportion, create the great leader. Others have stressed the psychological aspects of the creation of leadership. All of these different theorists agree in ascribing tremendous importance to the great leader and cite such examples as Luther, Cromwell, Napoleon, Washington, and Lincoln.

On the other hand, there is a group of sociologists who stress the mass theory of leadership. According to them, *the leader embodies the idea which the mass is thinking*. If one great leader had not existed, some other would have developed. He is the embodiment of the desires and aspirations of the masses and they fix on him a sort of hero-worship. Everett Dean Martin claims that the masses identify themselves with their leader and hence get personal satisfaction out of his achievement. Freud maintains that the leader is a sort of "father complex" in the minds of his followers.

In the third place, there is the theory that the *leader is the product of group circumstances*. Spencer says: "If it be a fact that the great man may modify his nation in its structure and actions, it is also a fact that there must have been those antecedent modifications constituting national progress before he could be involved. Before he can re-make his society, his society must make him, so that all those changes of which he is the proximate initiator have their chief causes in the generations he descended from. If there is to be anyting like a real explanation of these changes, it must be sought in that aggregate of conditions out of which both he and they have arisen." It is at once plain to students of social progress that in any case part of the achievement of a leader is due to events beyond his control. To take illustrations from contemporary life, Woodrow Wilson could never have been the creator of The League of Nations had it not been for the World War, for which he was not responsible. In all probability, Lenin would never have assumed power in Russia and made history had it not been for the world conflict. The theory of Socialists and Communists is that the leader is of far less importance than the economic situation. If one leader disappears another is produced by the force of circumstances.

A fourth theory is that *the leader is to some extent determined by his goal or aim.* If he has an aim which is distinctive or unusual he is more apt to achieve success. It is only because he has some distinctive aim or goal that he is able to hold the mass.

In preference to any of these the writer would posit a theory somewhat a synthesis of the four,—that a leader is, to be sure, partly the product of biological forces, partly the product of a fiction in the minds of his followers, partly the product of group circumstances and his own distinctive aim, but also that his leadership depends on the achievement he is able to make. We might call this the *DYNAMIC ACHIEVEMENT* theory. Every act which the individual thinks successful is itself a stimulus to further action in the same direction. Winning a game in any athletic activity tends to act as a stimulus toward further activity and skill in the same direction. Thus "successful" activity itself sets up a drive toward further success. To apply this to a social movement, consider the potential revolutionist. Propaganda may lead to prison, but if that is one test of success in his mind, this achievement will create a further drive to further revolutionary activity.

The leader then is a complex synthesis of a variety of social and individual forces. Among these luck has its part.[6] A man may play an insignificant part on a football team. In some one game the ball happens to come his way and he makes a fifty yard run for a touchdown. He becomes a hero. He had to have sufficient ability to make the football team, but the outstanding glory and honor which came to him is a matter of luck. Similarly in social movements it is probable that luck plays a part. Lenin or Mussolini might never have achieved world importance had it not been for the peculiar combination of circumstances which enabled them to have good luck. This does not mean to say that all the other factors mentioned did not play a part. It is probable that leadership is the result of all the factors which we have mentioned. Each reader should study the leaders of the various social movements to determine for himself what are the particular causative factors which produced them. We shall return to the subject of leadership in a later section.

QUESTIONS FOR THOUGHT

Every reader should formulate for himself sociological tests for each movement. These might include, among others:

1. Does the movement place human rights and values above property rights?
2. Does it actually provide more economic well-being for the overwhelming majority of the people?
3. How far do the leaders simulate every trait which will win popular social approval in order to steal prestige and win power for selfish purposes?
4. Does the movement allow sufficiently for individual differences? Are new categories for individuals and groups being created on the basis of ability, need, service, and social value?
5. Is the principle of balance operative,—that is, does "each social element share according to the intelligence and public spirit of its members"?
6. Is control in the hands of a small few who operate selfishly for their own benefit rather than the public weal? Is dictatorship necessary?
7. Is freedom of speech, of the press and assembly maintained so that evils may be eliminated?
8. Could you prepare a balance sheet appraising the strength and weakness of each movement?

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[6] Leon Trotsky in *My Life* (1930) maintains that the historical process is usually a refraction of historic law through the accidental. He maintains that his loss of power in Russia was partly due to illness contracted while hunting.

BOOK II

UTOPIAS

QUESTIONS ON UTOPIAS

1. Do you consider that, on the whole, Utopias have helped more than injured social development? Why? Be specific.
2. How do you account for the fact that modern Americans have written few Utopias?
3. In what particulars have Utopian writers predicted changes that have actually been realized in the last hundred years?
4. Do you see any significance in the fact that Utopians so generally have a social emphasis?

I. THE CAUSE OF UTOPIAS

As WE have already noted, whenever men feel dissatisfied with contemporary conditions they seek change. When men of culture and intelligence sense maladjustment about them, they sometimes try to construct a blue-print of an ideal social state. They usually employ the device of portraying their Utopia in story or dialogue form.

II. SOCIOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS OF UTOPIAS

Sir Thomas More coined the word "Utopia." He described, in the words of Raphael Hythlodaye, a returned navigator, the state of ideal perfection attained by the inhabitants of a mythical island on the other side of the world. He called his fancy "Utopia." "nowhere." But, he said, should it be achieved, it would be "Eutopia,"—"the good place." The two words make a good definition of Utopia: the ideal place which does not exist.

Since More's time, any proposal for an ideal social order which has not been demonstrated practical has been called Utopia. The creators of Utopias are a strange mixture,—novelists, artists, scientists, statesmen, educators, and even amateurs. Now, while the Utopian is always dissatisfied with the present order and is visioning an ideal order, it is impossible for him to speak except through the language of the order which he knows. He talks about what the government should be, how the economic order should be run, how the home should be changed, about art, religion, and education. He describes everything in familiar terms, albeit with a radical reshaping. The reason for this is that the thought of the individual is limited by the social psychologic patterns of the social order in which he grew up. It is therefore true that in almost every case more characteristics of a perfected Utopia are drawn from the old order than from the new. (Plato's *Republic* was one of the earlier attempts.) The Utopian tries to discover precisely what justice for the individual would mean; but justice can be found only in a highly perfected organization. Therefore the blue-print of a social order must be made, in order to arrive at the goal of justice. The description of the new order takes considerable time and is actually far more important in the final analysis, than the goal of individual justice. It is interesting to note that even in his age Plato had arrived at the conclusion that wealth and poverty were twin evils.

The permanent ethical values of Utopias will be dealt with later. What were their failures? Obviously they could not have a perfect social perspective. They were all limited by their epochs. How far would you say the following could be considered limitations of the Utopians?

1. They trusted too much in the establishment of a perfect experiment in the midst of an old order, a thing impossible of achievement.
2. They tried to inaugurate a perfect system, forgetful that any social order must be constructed by imperfect human instruments.
3. They failed to premise the existing order.
4. They depended too strongly on assistance from beneficiaries of the existing order.
5. They did not accord due importance to the natural thirst for self-individuation and for personal property.
6. They did not sufficiently realize the power of protest in effecting reforms.
7. They were too doctrinaire, believing their particular "cure-all" perfect. They let their desires run away with their sense of reality.
8. To a large extent they desired to reconstruct society from too limited an angle. They made it too easy. They were one-sided.
9. They did not take into account sufficiently the relativity of social attitude. No Utopian group can keep itself free from stimuli from without. Our own reactions and attitudes are partly determined by the attitudes we know to be held by others, even if they are hostile. A Utopian segregation inevitably reacts on those within, and some among the number will weaken or desert to the old standards. All will be profoundly affected by them.
10. They did not appreciate the necessity of a revolution of the heart, or of a transvaluation of values.
11. They failed to realize that transition from the actual to the ideal can not be made without a bitter struggle between those interested in the current system and those interested in the ideal system.

III. SELECTIONS FROM UTOPIAS

In order to catch the spirit of the various Utopias, let us look at a few flashes from several of them, although those who are deeply interested will want to read them in their entirety.

I. PLATO'S *Republic:* "THE GUARDIANS"

First of all let us consider Plato's *Republic.* Plato lived from about 428 to 347 B.C. The exact dates are not known. He witnessed the death of his teacher, Socrates, and he knew the corruption and dangers of political tyranny. He therefore decided to embody the criticisms of the existing order in the form of an ideal political state.

In the ideal republic of Plato there will be neither rich nor poor. There are three classes, the workers, the soldiers of defense ("guardians"), and the rulers. The rulers are forbidden to own any private property and are supported by the rest of the citizens. Happiness for any one group is not to be purchased at the expense of the happiness of the whole state. Plato desired to get away from the jealousies and intrigues of family life, so he put forward the startling idea of having wives in common so that no one could say, "This is my child." This Communistic structure did not, however, include the artisans or workers nor did they have any share in the government. Considering that Plato lived before the time of Christ, we must recognize that, in spite of the impossibility of Communism in the family, he was a remarkable thinker. The following extract will give an idea of *The Republic.*

Consider then, I continued, whether the following plan is the right one for their lives and their dwellings, if they are to be of the character I have described. In the first place, no one should possess any private property, if it can possibly be avoided: secondly, no one should have a dwelling or storehouse into which all who please may not enter; whatever necessaries are required by temperate and courageous men, who are trained to war, they should receive by regular appointment from their fellow-citizens, as wages for their services, and the amount should be such as to leave neither a surplus on the year's consumption nor a deficit; and they should attend common messes and live together as men do in a camp: as for gold and silver, we must tell them that they are in perpetual possession of a divine species of the precious metals placed in their souls by the gods themselves, and therefore have no need of the earthly ore; that in fact it would be profanation to pollute their spiritual riches by mixing them with the possession of mortal gold, because the world's coinage has been the cause of countless impieties, whereas theirs is undefiled: therefore to them, as distinguished from the rest of the people, it is forbidden to handle or touch gold and silver, or enter under the same roof with them, or to wear them on their dresses, or to drink out of the precious metals. If they follow these rules, they will be safe themselves and the saviours of the city: but whenever they come to possess lands, and houses, and money of their own, they will be householders and cultivators instead of guardians, and will become hostile masters of their fellow-citizens rather than their allies; and so they will spend their whole lives, hating and hated, plotting and plotting against, standing in more frequent and intense alarm of their enemies at home than of their enemies abroad; by which time they and the rest of the city will be running on the very brink of ruin. On all these accounts, I asked, shall we say that the foregoing is the right arrangement of the houses and other concerns of our guardians, and shall we legislate accordingly; or not?

Yes, by all means, answered Glaucon.

Here Adeimantus interposed, inquiring. Then what defence will you make, Socrates, if any one protests that you are not making the men of this class particularly happy?—when it is their own fault, too, if they are not; for the city really belongs to them, and yet they derive no advantage from it, as others do, who own lands and build fine large houses, and furnish them in corresponding style, and perform private sacrifices to the gods, and entertain their friends, and, in fact, as you said just now, possess gold and silver, and everything that is usually considered necessary to happiness; nay, they appear to be posted in the city, as it might be said, precisely like mercenary troops, wholly occupied in garrison duties.

Yes, I said, and for this they are only fed, and do not receive pay in addition to their rations, like the rest, so that it will be out of their power to take any journeys on their own account, should they wish to do so, or to make presents to mistresses, or to lay out money in the gratification of any other desire, after the plan of those who are considered happy. These and many similar counts you leave out of the indictment.

Well, said he, let us suppose these to be included in the charge.

What defence then shall we make, say you?

Yes.

By travelling the same road as before, we shall find, I think, what to say. We shall reply that, though it would not surprise us, if even this class in the given circumstances were very happy, yet that our object in the construction of our state is not to make any one class preëminently happy, but to make the whole state as happy as it can be made. For we thought that in such a state we should be most likely to discover justice, as, on the other hand, in the worst-regulated state we should be most likely to discover injustice, and that after having observed them we might decide the question we have been so long investigating. At present, we believe we are forming the happy state, not by selecting a few of its members and making them happy, but by making the whole so. Presently we shall examine a state of the opposite kind. Now, if some one came up to us while we were painting statues, and blamed us for not putting the most beautiful colours on the most beautiful parts of the body, because the eyes, being the most beautiful part, were not painted purple, but black, we should think it a sufficient defence to reply, Pray, sir, do not suppose that we ought to make the eyes so beautiful as not to look like eyes, nor the other parts in like manner, but observe whether, by giving to every part what properly belongs to it, we make the whole beautiful. In the same way do not, in the present instance, compel us to attach to our guardians such a species of happiness as shall make them anything but guardians. For we are well aware that we might, on the same principle, clothe our cultivators in long robes, and put golden coronets on their heads, and bid them till the land at their pleasure; and that we might stretch our potters at their ease on couches before the fire, to drink and make merry, placing the wheel by their side, with directions to ply their trade just so far as they should feel it agreeable; and that we might dispense this kind of bliss to all the rest, so that the entire city might thus be happy. But give not such advice to *us:* since, if we comply with your recommendation, the cultivator will be no cultivator, the potter no potter; nor will any of those professions, which make up a state, maintain its proper character. For the other occupations it matters less: for in cobblers, incompetency and degeneracy and pretence without the reality, are not dangerous to a state: but when guardians of the laws and of the state are such in appearance only, and not in reality, you see that they radically destroy the whole state, as, on the other hand, they alone can create public prosperity and happiness. If then, while *we* aim at making genuine guardians, who shall be as far as possible from doing mischief to the state, the supposed objector makes a class who would be cultivators and as it were jovial feasters at a holiday gathering, rather than citizens of a state, he will be describing something which is not a state. We should examine then whether our object in constituting our guardians should be to secure to them the greatest possible amount of happiness, or whether our duty, as regards happiness, is to see if our state as a whole enjoys it, persuading or compelling these our auxiliaries and guardians to study only how to make themselves the best possible workmen at their own occupation, and treating all the rest in like manner, and thus, while the whole city grows and becomes prosperously organized, permitting each class to partake of as much happiness as the nature of the case allows to it.

I think, he replied, that what you say is quite right.

I wonder whether you will think the proposition that is sister to the last satisfactory also.

What may that be?

Consider whether the other craftsmen are similarly injured and spoiled by these agencies.

What agencies do you mean?

Wealth, I said, and poverty.

How so?

Thus: Do you think that a potter after he has grown rich will care to attend to his trade any longer?

Certainly not.

But he will become more idle and careless than he was before?

Yes, much more.

Then does he not become a worse potter?

Yes, a much worse potter too.

On the other hand, if he is prevented by poverty from providing himself with tools or any other requisite of his trade, he will produce inferior articles, and his sons or apprentices will not be taught their trade so well.

Inevitably.

Then both these conditions, riches and poverty, deteriorate the productions of the artisans, and the artisans themselves.

So it appears.

Then apparently we have found some other objects for the vigilance of our guardians, who must take every precaution that they may never evade their watch and steal into the city.

What are these?

Wealth, I replied, and poverty; because the former produces luxury and idleness and innovation, and the latter, meanness and bad workmanship as well as innovation.

2. THOMAS MORE'S *Utopia*

Almost two thousand years after Plato, in 1478, Thomas More was born. He was given the best educational advantages and became Lord Chancellor of England. In his boyhood he heard a great deal about voyages of discovery, and as he came to feel that England should become more socialized and humanized he embodied his ideas in the fanciful tale of a sailor who discovers the strange land of "nowhere," or Utopia. In this story More attacked the English political life of his day and the institution of private property. On the island of Utopia every one had to work, but only for six hours a day. Every one had a voice in the government. More solved the difficulty of who was to do the disagreeable work by assigning it to all those who were convicted of crime. Practical education was prescribed for all children and those with special talents were freed from all work so that they could pursue specialized study. The goal of society was the greatest good to the greatest number. Some of the ideas make humorous reading to-day, as does the following selection although we must recognize that it may be because we happen to live in a cultural age of silver and gold.

It is certain that all things appear incredible to us, in proportion as they differ from our own customs. But one who can judge aright, will not wonder to find, that since their constitution differs so much from ours, their value of gold and silver should be measured by a very different standard; for since they have no use for money among themselves, but keep it as a provision against events which seldom happen, and between which there are generally long intervening intervals; they value it no farther than it deserves, that is, in proportion to its use. So that it is plain, they must prefer iron either to gold or silver: for men can no more live without iron, than without fire or water; but nature has marked out no use for the other metals, so essential as not easily to be dispensed with. The folly of men has enhanced the value of gold and silver, because of their scarcity. Whereas on the contrary, it is their opinion, that nature, as an indulgent parent, has freely given us all the best things in great abundance, such as water and earth, but has laid up and hid from us the things that are vain and useless.

If these metals were laid up in any tower in the kingdom, it would raise a jealousy of the prince and senate, and give birth to that foolish mistrust into which the people are apt to fall, a jealousy of their intending to sacrifice the interest of the public to their own private advantage. If they should work it into vessels, or any sort of plate, they fear that the people might grow too fond of it, and so be unwilling to let the plate be run down, if a war made it necessary to employ it in paying their soldiers. To prevent all these inconveniencies, they have fallen upon an expedient, which as it agrees with their other policy, so is it very different from ours, and will scarce gain belief among us, who value gold so much, and lay it up so carefully. They eat and drink out of vessels of earth, or glass, which make an agreeable appearance, though formed of brittle materials: while they make their chamber-pots and closet-stools of gold and silver; and that not only in their public halls, but in their private houses: of the same metals they likewise make chains and fetters for their slaves; to some of which, as a badge of infamy, they hang an ear-ring of gold, and make others wear a chain or a coronet of the same metal; and thus they take care by all possible means, to render gold and silver of no esteem: and from hence it is, that while other nations part with their gold and silver, as unwillingly as if one tore out their bowels, those of Utopia would look on their giving in all they possess of those metals (when there were any use for them) but as the parting with a trifle, or as we would esteem the loss of a penny. . . .

I never saw a clearer instance of the opposite impressions that different customs make on people, than I observed in the ambassadors of the Anemolians, who came to Amaurot when I was there: as they came to treat of affairs of great consequence, the deputies from several towns met together to wait for their coming. The ambassadors of the nations that lie near Utopia, knowing their customs, and that fine clothes are in no esteem among them, that silk is despised, and gold is a badge of infamy, used to come very modestly clothed; but the Anemolians lying more remote, and having had little commerce with them, understanding that they were coarsely clothed, and all in the same manner, took it for granted that they had none of those fine things among them of which they made no use; and they being a vain-glorious, rather than a wise people, resolved to set themselves out with so much pomp, that they should look like gods, and strike the eyes of the poor Utopians with their splendour. Thus three ambassadors made their entry with an hundred attendants, all clad in garments of different colours, and the greater part in silk; the ambassadors themselves, who were of the nobility of their country, were in cloth of gold, and adorned with massy chains, ear-rings and rings of gold: their caps were covered with bracelets set full of pearls and other gems: in a word, they were set out with all those things, that, among the Utopians, were either the badges of slavery, the marks of infamy, or the play-things of children. It was not unpleasant to see, on the one side, how they looked big, when they compared their rich habits with the plain clothes of the Utopians, who were come out in great numbers to see them make their entry: and on the other, to observe how much they were mistaken in the impression, which they hoped this pomp would have made on them. It appeared so ridiculous a show to all that had never stirred out of their country, and had not seen the customs of other nations; that though they paid some reverence to those that were the most meanly clad, as if they had been the ambassadors, yet when they saw the ambassadors themselves, so full of gold and chains, they looked upon them as slaves, and forbore to treat them with reverence. You might have seen the children, who were grown big enough to despise their play-things, and who had thrown away their jewels, call to their mothers, push them gently, and cry out, "See that great fool that wears pearls and gems, as if he were yet a child." While their mothers very innocently replied, "Hold your peace, this I believe is one of the ambassador's fools."

3. BACON'S *New Atlantis:* "SALOMON'S HOUSE"

Nearly a century after the birth of Thomas More, Francis Bacon was born in London, in 1561. He was the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. In 1576 he went to France with the English Ambassador. On his father's death he entered the profession of law and in 1584 became a member of Parliament. Bacon was for some years Attorney-General and took part in a great many political trials. Eventually he was tried for bribery and corrupt dealings in chancery suits, and confessing, was fined forty thousand pounds and imprisoned in the tower. The fine was finally omitted and after four days he was released by order of the king. He then retired to his home and devoted himself to writing and philosophy. His works consist of treatises or fragments.

which were to be part of a comprehensive scheme of philosophy. Bacon wanted to found the sciences anew. Perhaps his greatest achievement was in portraying the faults which existed in medieval thought. In the *New Atlantis,* a part of which is given here, Bacon described his dream of an ideal State. He intended to write a second part which would deal with the laws of the ideal Commonwealth, a project that did not materialize.

Then he caused me to sit down beside him, and spake to me thus in the Spanish tongue:

'God bless thee, my son; I will give thee the greatest jewel I have. For I will impart unto thee, for the love of God and men, a relation of the true state of Salomon's House. Son, to make you know the true state of Salomon's House, I will keep this order. First, I will set forth unto you the end of our foundation. Secondly, the preparations and instruments we have for our works; Thirdly, the several employments and functions whereto our fellows are assigned. And fourthly, the ordinances and rites which we observe.

'The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible.

'The preparations and instruments are these. We have large and deep caves of several depths: the deepest are sunk six hundred fathoms; and some of them are digged and made under great hills and mountains; so that if you reckon together the depth of the hill, and the depth of the cave, they are, some of them, above three miles deep. For we find that the depth of a hill, and the depth of a cave from the flat, is the same thing; both remote alike from the sun and heaven's beams, and from the open air. These caves we call the lower region, and we use them for all coagulations, indurations, refrigerations, and conservations of bodies. We use them likewise for the imitation of natural mines, and the producing also of new artificial metals, by compositions and materials which we use, and lay there for many years. We use them also sometimes (which may seem strange) for curing of some diseases, and for prolongation of life, in some hermits that choose to live there, well accommodated of all things necessary, and indeed live very long; by whom also we learn many things.

'We have burials in several earths, where we put divers cements, as the Chinese do their porcelain. But we have them in greater variety, and some of them more fine. We also have great variety of composts and soils, for the making of the earth fruitful.

'We have high towers, the highest about half a mile in height. and some of them likewise set upon high mountains, so that the vantage of the hill, with the tower, is in the highest of them three miles at least. And these places we call the upper region, accounting the air between the high places and the low as a middle region. We use these towers, according to their several heights and situations, for insulation, refrigeration, conservation, and for the view of divers meteors—as winds, rain, snow, hail; and some of the fiery meteors also. And upon them, in some places, are dwellings of hermits, whom we visit sometimes, and instruct what to observe.

'We have great lakes, both salt and fresh, whereof we have use for the fish and fowl. We use them also for burials of some natural bodies, for we find a difference in things buried in earth, or in air below the earth, and things buried in water. We have also pools, of which some do strain fresh water out of salt, and others by art do turn fresh water into salt. We have also some rocks in the midst of the sea, and some bays up the shore for some works, wherein is required the air and vapour of the sea. We have likewise violent streams and cataracts, which serve us for many motions; and likewise engines for multiplying and enforcing of winds to set also on divers motions.

'We have also a number of artificial wells and fountains, made in imitation of the natural sources and baths, as tincted upon vitriol, sulphur, steel, brass, lead, nitre, and other minerals; and again, we have little wells for infusions of many things, where the waters take the virtue quicker and better than in vessels or basins. And amongst them we have a water, which we call Water of Paradise, being by that we do to it made very sovereign for health and prolongation of life.

'We have also great and spacious houses, where we imitate and demonstrate meteors—as snow, hail, rain, some artificial rains of bodies, and not of water, thunders, lightnings; also generations of bodies in air—as frogs, flies, and divers others.

'We have also certain chambers, which we call chambers of health, where we qualify the air as we think good and proper for the cure of divers diseases, and preservation of health.

'We have also fair and large baths, of several mixtures, for the cure of diseases, and the restoring of man's body from arefaction; and others for the confirming of it in strength of sinews, vital parts, and the very juice and substance of the body.

'We have also large and various orchards and gardens, wherein we do not so much respect beauty as variety of ground and soil, proper for divers trees and herbs, and some very spacious, where trees and berries are set, whereof we make divers kinds of drinks, besides the vineyards. In these we practise likewise all conclusions of grafting and inoculating, as well of wild-trees as fruit-trees, which produceth many effects. And we make by art, in the same orchards and gardens, trees and flowers, to come earlier or later than their seasons, and to come up and bear more speedily than by their natural course they do. We make them also by art greater much than their nature; and their fruit greater and sweeter, and of differing taste, smell, colour, and figure, from their nature. And many of them we so order as they become of medicinal use.

'We have also means to make divers plants rise by mixtures of earths without seeds, and likewise to make divers new plants, differing from the vulgar, and to make one tree or plant turn into another.

'We have also parks, and enclosures of all sorts, of beasts and birds; which we use not only for view or rareness, but likewise for dissections and trials, that thereby we may take light what may be wrought upon the body of man. Wherein we find many strange effects: as continuing life in them, though divers parts, which you account vital, be perished and taken forth; resuscitating of some that seem dead in appearance, and the like. We try also all poisons, and other medicines upon them, as well of chirurgery as physic. By art likewise we make them greater or taller than their kind is, and contrariwise dwarf them and stay their growth; we make them more fruitful and bearing than their kind is, and contrariwise barren and not generative. Also we make them differ in colour, shape, activity, many ways. We find means to make commixtures and copulations of divers kinds, which have produced many new kinds, and them not barren, as the general opinion is. We make a number of kinds, of serpents, worms, flies, fishes, of putrefaction, whereof some are advanced (in effect) to be perfect creatures, like beasts or birds, and have sexes, and do propagate. Neither do we this by chance, but we know beforehand of what matter and commixture, what kind of those creatures will arise.

'We have also particular pools where we make trials upon fishes, as we have said before of beasts and birds.

'We have also places for breed and generation of those kinds of worms and flies which are of special use; such as are with you your silkworms and bees.

'I will not hold you long with recounting of our brew-houses, bake-houses, and kitchens, where are made divers drinks, breads, and meats, rare and of special effects. Wines we have of grapes, and drinks of other juice, of fruits, of grains, and of roots, and of mixtures with honey, sugar, manna, and fruits dried and decocted; also of the tears or woundings of trees, and of the pulp of canes. And these drinks are of several ages, some to the age or last of forty years. We have drinks also brewed with several herbs, and roots and spices; yet, with several fleshes and white-meats; whereof some of the drinks are such as they are in effect meat and drink both, so that divers, especially in age, do desire to live with them with little or no meat or bread. And above all we strive to have drinks of extreme thin parts, to insinuate into the body, and yet without all biting, sharpness, or fretting; insomuch as some of them, put upon the back of your hand, will with a little stay pass through to the palm, and taste yet mild to the mouth. We have also waters, which we ripen in that fashion, as they become nourishing, so that they are indeed excellent drinks, and many will use no other. Bread we have of several grains, roots, and kernels; yea, and some of flesh, and fish, dried; with divers kinds of leavenings and seasonings; so that some do extremely move appetites, some do nourish so, as divers do live of them, without any other meat, who live very long. So for meats, we have some of them so beaten, and made tender, and mortified, yet without all corrupting, as a weak heat of the stomach will turn them into good chilus, as well as a strong heat would meat otherwise prepared. We have some meats also, and breads, and drinks, which taken by men, enable them to fast long after; and some other, that used make the very flesh of men's bodies sensibly more hard and tough, and their strength far greater than otherwise it would be.

'We have dispensatories or shops of medicines; wherein you .may easily think, if we have such variety of plants, and living creatures, more than you have in Europe (for we know what you have), the simples, drugs and ingredients of medicines, must likewise be in so much the greater variety. We have them likewise of divers ages, and long fermentation. And for their preparations, we have not only all manner of exquisite distillations and separations, and especially by gentle heats, and percolations through divers strainers, yea, and substances; but also exact forms of composition, whereby they incorporate almost as they were natural simples.

'We have also divers mechanical arts, which you have not; and stuffs made by them, as papers, linen, silks, tissues, dainty works of feathers of wonderful lustre, excellent dyes, and many others: and shops likewise, as well for such as are not brought into vulgar use amongst us, as for those that are. For you must know, that of the things before recited, many of them are grown into use throughout the kingdom, but yet, if they did flow from our invention, we have of them also for patterns and principles.

'We have also furnaces of great diversities, and that keep great diversity of heats: fierce and quick, strong and constant, soft and mild; blown, quiet, dry, moist, and the like. But above all we have heats, in imitation of the sun's and heavenly bodies' heats, that pass divers inequalities, and (as it were) orbs, progresses, and returns, whereby we produce admirable effects. Besides, we have heats of dungs, and of bellies and maws of living creatures and of their bloods and bodies, and of hays and herbs laid up moist, of lime unquenched, and such like. Instruments also which generate heat only by motion. And farther, places for strong insulations; and again, places under the earth, which by nature or art yield heat. These divers heats we use as the nature of the operation which we intend requireth.

'We have also perspective houses, where we make demonstrations of all lights and radiations, and of all colours; and out of things uncoloured and transparent, we can represent unto you all several colours, not in rainbows (as it is in gems and prisms), but of themselves single. We represent also all multiplications of light, which we carry to great distance, and make so sharp, as to discern small points and lines. Also all colourations of light; all delusions and deceits of the sight, in figures, magnitudes, motions, colours; all demonstrations of shadows. We find also divers means yet unknown to you, of producing of light, originally from divers bodies. We procure means of seeing objects afar off, as in the heaven and remote places; and represent things near as afar off, and things afar off as near; making feigned distances. We have also helps for the sight, far above spectacles and glasses in use. We have also glasses and means to see small and minute bodies, perfectly and distinctly; as the shapes and colours of small flies and worms, grains, and flaws in gems which cannot otherwise be seen, observations in urine and blood not otherwise to be seen. We make artificial rainbows, halos, and circles about light. We represent also all manner of reflections, refractions, and multiplications of visual beams of objects.

'We have also precious stones of all kinds, many of them of great beauty and to you unknown; crystals likewise, and glasses of divers kinds; and amongst them some of metals vitrificated, and other materials, besides those of which you make glass. Also a number of fossils and imperfect minerals, which you have not. Likewise loadstones of prodigious virtue: and other rare stones, both natural and artificial.

'We have also sound-houses, where we practise and demonstrate all sounds and their generation. We have harmonies which you have not, of quarter-sounds and lesser slides of sounds. Divers instruments of music likewise to you unknown, some sweeter than any you have; together with bells and rings that are dainty and sweet. We represent small sounds as great and deep; likewise great sounds, extenuate and sharp; we make divers tremblings and warblings of sounds, which in their original are entire. We represent and imitate all articulate sounds and letters, and the voices and notes of beasts and birds. We have certain helps, which set to the ear do further the hearing greatly. We have also divers strange and artificial echoes, reflecting the voice many times, and as it were tossing it; and some that give back the voice louder than it came, some shriller and some deeper; yea, some rendering the voice, differing in the letters or articulate sound from that they receive. We have also means to convey sounds in trunks and pipes, in strange lines and distances.

'We have also perfume-houses, wherewith we join also practices of taste. We multiply smells, which may seem strange: we imitate smells, making all smells to breathe out of other mixtures than those that give them. We make divers imitations of taste likewise, so that they will deceive any man's taste. And in this house we contain also a confiture-house, where we make all sweetmeats, dry and moist, and divers pleasant wines, milks, broths, and salads, far in greater variety than you have.

'We have also engine-houses, where are prepared engines and instruments for all sort of motions. There we imitate and practise to make swifter motions than any you have, either out of your muskets or any engine that you have; and to make them and multiply them more easily and with small force, by wheels and other means, and to make them stronger and more violent than yours are, exceeding your greatest cannons and basilisks. We represent also ordnance and instruments of war and engines of all kinds; and likewise new mixtures and compositions of gunpowder, wild-fires burning in water and unquenchable, also fire-works of all variety, both for pleasure and use. We imitate also flights of birds; we have some degrees of flying in the air. We have ships and boats for going under water and brooking of seas, also swimming-girdles and supporters. We have divers curious clocks, and other like motions of return, and some perpetual motions. We imitate also motions of living creatures by images of men, beasts, birds, fishes, and serpents; we have also a great number of other various motions, strange for equality, fineness, and subtilty.

'We have also a mathematical-house, where are represented all instruments, as well of geometry as astronomy, exquisitely made.

'We have also houses of deceits of the senses, where we represent all manner of feats of juggling, false apparitions, impostures and illusions, and their fallacies. And surely you will easily believe that we, that have so many things truly natural which induce admiration, could in a world of particulars deceive the senses if we would disguise those things, and labour to make them seem more miraculous. But we do hate all impostures and lies, insomuch as we have severely forbidden it to all our fellows, under pain of ignominy and fines, that they do not show any natural work or thing adorned or swelling, but only pure as it is, and without all affectation of strangeness.

'These are, my son, the riches of Salomon's House.

'For the several employments and offices of our fellows, we have twelve that sail into foreign countries under the names of other nations (for our own we conceal), who bring us the books and abstracts, and patterns of experiments of all other parts. These we call Merchants of Light.

'We have three that collect the experiments which are in all brooks. These we call Depredators.

'We have three that collect the experiments of all mechanical arts, and also of liberal sciences, and also of practises which are not brought into arts. These we call Mystery-men.

'We have three that try new experiments, such as themselves think good. These we call Pioneers or Miners.

'We have three that draw the experiments of the former four into titles and tables, to give the better light for the drawing of observations and axioms out of them. These we call Compilers.

'We have three that bend themselves, looking into the experiments of their fellows, and cast about how to draw out of them things of use and practice for man's life and knowledge, as well for works as for plain demonstration of causes, means of natural divinations, and the easy and clear discovery of the virtues and parts of bodies. These we call dowrymen or Benefactors.

'Then after divers meetings and consults of our whole number, to consider of the former labours and collections, we have three that take care out of them to direct new experiments, of a higher light, more penetrating into Nature than the former. These we call Lamps.

'We have three others that do execute the experiments so directed, and report them. These we call Inoculators.

'Lastly, we have three that raise the former discoveries by experiments into greater observations, axioms, and aphorisms. These we call Interpreters of Nature.

'We have also, as you must think, novices and apprentices, that the succession of the former employed men do not fail; besides a great number of servants and attendants, men and women. And this we do also: we have consultations, which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published, and which not: and take all an oath of secrecy for the concealing of those we think fit to keep secret: though some of those we do reveal sometimes to the State, and some not.

'For our ordinances and rites, we have two very long and fair galleries: in one of these we place patterns and samples of all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions: in the other we place the statues of all principal inventors. There we have the statue of your Columbus, that discovered the West Indies: also the inventor of ships; your Monk that was the inventor of ordnance and gunpowder: the inventor of music: the inventor of letters: the inventor of printing: the inventor of observations of astronomy: the inventor of works in metal: the inventor of glass: the inventor of silk of the worm: the inventor of wine: the inventor of corn and bread: the inventor of sugars: and all these by more certain tradition than you have. Then we have divers inventors of our own, of excellent works, which since you have not seen, it were too long to make descriptions of them; and besides, in the right understanding of those descriptions you might easily err. For upon every invention of value we erect a statue to the inventor, and give him a liberal and honourable reward. These statues are some of brass, some of marble and touchstone, some of cedar and other special woods gilt and adorned; some of iron, some of silver, some of gold.

'We have certain hymns and services, which we say daily, of laud and thanks to God for His marvellous works. And forms of prayer, imploring His aid and blessing for the illumination of our labours, and the turning of them into good and holy uses.

'Lastly, we have circuits or visits, of divers principal cities of the kingdom; where, as it cometh to pass, we do publish such new profitable inventions as we think good. And we do also declare natural divinations of diseases, plagues, swarms of hurtful creatures, scarcity, tempests, earthquakes, great inundations, comets, temperature of the year, and divers other things; and we give counsel thereupon, what the people shall do for the prevention and remedy of them.'

And when he had said this he stood up; and I, as I had been taught, knelt down; and he laid his right hand upon my head, and said, 'God bless thee, my son, and God bless this relation which I have made. I give thee leave to publish it, for the good of other nations; for we here are in God's bosom, a land unknown. And so he left me; having assigned a value of about two thousand ducats for a bounty to me and my fellows. For they give great largesses, where they come, upon all occasions.

The rest was not perfected

4. WILLIAM MORRIS'S *News from Nowhere*

We now take a jump of about three hundred years and give extracts from two modern Utopians, *News From Nowhere* by William Morris, and *Looking Backward* by Edward Bellamy, both appearing about the same time.

Morris was a successful business man but also a poet and social agitator. He spoke up and down England against war in the East and before his death joined the Social Democratic Federation. In his *News From Nowhere* Morris pictures a society in which large cities have disappeared. Food is free to all and work is a joy.

"What kind of a government have you? Has republicanism finally triumphed? or have you come to a mere dictatorship, which some persons in the nineteenth century used to prophesy as the ultimate outcome of democracy? Indeed, this last question does not seem so very unreasonable, since you have turned your Parliament House into a dung-market. Or where do you house your present parliament?"

The old man answered my smile with a hearty laugh, and said: "Well, well, dung is not the worst kind of corruption; fertility may come of that, whereas mere dearth came from the other kind, of which those walls once held the great supporters. Now dear guest, let me tell you that our present parliament would be hard to house in one place, because the whole people is our parliament."

"I don't understand," said I.

"No, I suppose not," said he. "I must now shock you by telling you that we have no longer anything which you, a native of another planet, would call a government."

"I am not so much shocked as you might think," said I, "as I know something about governments. But tell me, how do you manage, and how have you come to this state of things?"

Said he: "It is true that we have to make some arrangements about our affairs, concerning which you can ask presently; and it is also true that everybody does not always agree with the details of these arrangements; but, further, it is true that a man no more needs an elaborate system of government, with its army, navy, and police, to force him to give way to the will of the majority of his *equals,* than he wants a similar machinery to make him understand that his head and a stone wall cannot occupy the same space at the same moment. Do you want further explanation?"

"Well, yes, I do," quoth I.

Old Hammond settled himself in his chair with a look of enjoyment which rather alarmed me, and made me dread a scientific disquisition: so I sighed and abided. He said:

"I suppose you know pretty well what the process of government was in the bad old times?"

"I am supposed to know," said I.

(Hammond) What was the government of those days? Was it really the Parliament or any part of it?

(I) No.

(H) Was not the Parliament on the one side a kind of watch-committee sitting to see that the interests of the Upper Classes took no hurt; and on the other side a sort of blind to delude the people into supposing that they had some share in the management of their own affairs?

(I) History seems to show us this.

(H) To what extent did the people manage their own affairs?

(I) I judge from what I have heard that sometimes they forced the Parliament to make a law to legalise some alteration which had already taken place.

(H) Anything else?

(I) I think not. As I am informed, if the people made any attempt to deal with the *cause* of their grievances, the law stepped in and said, this is sedition, revolt, or what not, and slew or tortured the ringleaders of such attempts.

(H) If Parliament was not the government then, nor the people either, what was the government?

(I) Can you tell me?

(H) I think we shall not be far wrong if we say that government was the Law-Courts, backed up by the executive, which handled the brute force that the deluded people allowed them to use for their own purposes; I mean the army, navy, and police.

(I) Reasonable men must needs think you are right.

(H) Now as to those Law-Courts. Were they places of fair dealing according to the ideas of the day? Had a poor man a good chance of defending his property and person in them?

(I) It is a commonplace that even rich men looked upon a lawsuit as a dire misfortune, even if they gained the case; and as for a poor one—why, it was considered a miracle of justice and beneficence if a poor man who had once got into the clutches of the law escaped prison or utter ruin.

(H) It seems, then, my son, that the government by law-courts and police, which was the real government of the nineteenth century, was not a great success even to the people of that day, living under a class system which proclaimed inequality and poverty as the law of God and the bond which held the world together.

(I) So it seems, indeed.

(H) And now that all this is changed, and the "rights of property," which mean the clenching fist on a piece of goods and crying out to the neighbours, 'You shan't have this!—now that all this has disappeared so utterly that it is no longer possible even to jest upon its absurdity, is such a Government possible?

(I) It is impossible.

(H) Yes, happily. But for what other purpose than the protection of the rich from the poor, the strong from the weak, did this Government exist?

(I) I have heard that it was said that their office was to defend their own citizens against attack from other countries.

(H) It was said; but was anyone expected to believe this? For instance, did the English Government defend the English citizen against the French?

(I) So it was said.

(H) Then if the French had invaded England and conquered it, they would not have allowed the English workmen to live well?

(I, laughing) As far as I can make out, the English masters of the English workmen saw to that: they took from their workmen as much of their livelihood as they dared, because they wanted it for themselves.

(H) But if the French had conquered, would they not have taken more still from the English workmen?

(I) I do not think so; for in that case the English workmen would have died of starvation; and then the French conquest would have ruined the French, just as if the English horses and cattle had died of underfeeding. So that after, the English *workmen* would have been no worse off for the conquest: their French masters could have got no more from them than their English masters did.

(H) This is true; and we may admit that the pretensions of the government to defend the poor (i.e., the useful) people against other countries come to nothing. But that is but natural; for we have seen already that it was the function of government to protect the rich against the poor. But did not the government defend its rich men against other nations?

(I) I do not remember to have heard that the rich needed defence; because it is said that even when two nations were at war, the rich men of each nation gambled with each other pretty much as usual, and even sold each other weapons wherewith to kill their own countrymen.

(H) In short, it comes to this, that whereas the so-called government of protection of property by means of the law-courts meant destruction of wealth, this defence of the citizens of one country against those of another country by means of war or the threat of war meant pretty much the same thing.

(I) I cannot deny it.

(H) Therefore the government really existed for the destruction of wealth?

(I) So it seems. And yet—

(H) Yet what?

(I) There were many rich people in those times.

(H) You see the consequences of that fact?

(I) I think I do. But tell me out what they were.

(H) If the government habitually destroyed wealth, the county must have been poor?

(I) Yes, certainly.

(H) Yet amidst this poverty the persons for the sake of whom the government existed insisted on being rich whatever might happen?

(I) So it was.

(H) What *must* happen if in a poor county some people insist on being rich at the expense of the others?

(I) Unutterable poverty for the others. All this misery, then, was caused by the destructive government of which we have been speaking?

(H) Nay, it would be incorrect to say so. The government itself was but the necessary result of the careless, aimless tyranny of the times; it was but the machinery of tyranny. Now tyranny has come to an end, and we no longer need such machinery; we could not possibly use it since we are free. Therefore in your sense of the word we have no government. Do you understand this now?

(I) Yes, I do. But I will ask you some more questions as to how you as free men manage your affairs.

(H) With all my heart. Ask away.

Concerning the Arrangment of Life

"Well," I said, "about those 'arrangements' which you spoke of as taking the place of government, could you give me any account of them?"

"Neighbour," he said, "although we have simplified our lives a great deal from what they were, and have got rid of many conventionalities and many sham wants, which used to give our forefathers much trouble, yet our life is too complex for me to tell you in detail by means of words how it is arranged; you must find that out by living amongst us. It is true that I can better tell you what we don't do, than what we do do."

"Well?" said I.

"This is the way to put it," said he: "We have been living for a hundred and fifty years, at least, more or less in our present manner, and a tradition or habit of life has been growing on us; and that habit has become a habit of acting on the whole for the best. It is easy for us to live without robbing each other. It would be possible for us to contend with and rob each other, but it would be harder for us than refraining from strife and robbery. That is in short the foundation of our life and our happiness."

"Whereas in the old days," said I, "it was very hard to live without strife and robbery. That's what you mean, isn't it, by giving me the negative side of your good conditions?"

"Yes," he said, "it was so hard, that those who habitually acted fairly to their neighbours were celebrated as saints and heroes, and were looked up to with the greatest reverence."

"While they were alive?" said I.

"No," said he, "after they were dead."

"But as to these days," I said, "you don't mean to tell me that no one ever transgresses this habit of good fellowship?"

"Certainly not," said Hammond, "but when the transgressions occur, everybody, transgressors and all, know them for what they are; the errors of friends, not the habitual actions of persons driven into enmity against society."

"I see," said I; "you mean that you have no 'criminal' classes."

"How could we have them," said he, "since there is no rich class to breed enemies against the state by means of the injustice of the state?"

Said I: "I thought that I understood from something that fell from you a little while ago that you had abolished civil law. Is that so, literally?"

"It abolished itself, my friend," said he. "As I said before, the civil law-courts were upheld for the defence of private property; for nobody ever pretended that it was possible to make people act fairly to each other by means of brute force. Well, private property being abolished, all the laws and all the legal 'crimes' which it had manufactured of course came to an end. Thou shalt not steal, had to be translated into, Thou shalt work in order to live happily. Is there any need to enforce that commandment by violence?"

"Well," said I, "that is understood, and I agree with it; but how about crimes of violence? would not their occurrence (and you admit that they occur) make criminal law necessary?"

Said he: "In your sense of the word, we have no criminal law either. Let us look at the matter closer, and see whence crimes of violence spring. By far the greater part of these in past days were the result of the laws of private property, which forbade the satisfaction of their natural desires to all but a privileged few, and of the general visible coercion which came of those laws. All *that* cause of violent crime is gone. Again, many violent acts came from the artificial perversion of the sexual passions, which caused overweening jealousy and the like miseries. Now, when you look carefully into these, you will find that what lay at the bottom of them was mostly the idea (a law-made idea) of the woman being the property of the man, whether he were husband, father, brother, or what not. *That* idea has of course vanished with private property.

5. BELLAMY'S *Looking Backward*

Edward Bellamy, the author of *Looking Backward,* was born in 1850 in Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts. He was the son of a Baptist minister and studied at Union College, New York. Although he studied law and was admitted to the bar, he chose journalism for a profession. He worked on the staffs of the New York *Evening Post,* the Springfield (Mass.) *Union,* and helped to found the Springfield *Daily News.* For two years he edited the *New Nation.* His chief work was *Looking Backward,* which sold over a million copies and was translated into a score of foreign languages.

Looking Backward is the story of the unusual experience of Julian West, a wealthy Bostonian, who in 1887 is put to sleep in a hypnotic trance in a subterranean room. In 2000 A. D. he is discovered and awakened. He is amazed by the changes in the social situation. There is no system of buying, selling, or credit. Employment is handled by a guild system. There are neither rich nor poor and crime is unknown.

Chapter V[3]

When, in the course of the evening the ladies retired, leaving Dr. Leete and myself alone, he sounded me as to my disposition for sleep, saying that if I felt like it my bed was ready for me; but if I was inclined to wakefulness nothing would please him better than to bear me company. "I am a late bird, myself," he said, "and, without suspicions of flattery, I may say that a companion more interesting than yourself could scarcely be imagined. It is decidedly not often that one has a chance to converse with a man of the nineteenth century."

[3] Reprinted from Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward,* Chapters V, VI, VII.

Now I had been looking forward all the evening with some dread to the time when I should be alone, on retiring for the night. Surrounded by these most friendly strangers, stimulated and supported by their sympathetic interest, I had been able to keep my mental balance. Even then, however, in pauses of the conversation I had had glimpses, vivid as lightning flashes, of the horror of strangeness that was waiting to be faced when I could no longer command diversion. I knew I could not sleep that night, and as for lying awake and thinking, it argues no cowardice, I am sure, to confess that I was afraid of it. When, in reply to my hosts's question, I frankly told him this, he replied that it would be strange if I did not feel just so, but that I need have no anxiety about sleeping; whenever I wanted to go to bed, he would give me a dose which would insure me a sound night's sleep without fail. Next morning, no doubt, I would awake with the feeling of an old citizen."

"Before I acquire that," I replied, "I must know a little more about the sort of Boston I have come back to. You told me when we were upon the house-top that though a century only had elapsed since I fell asleep, it had been marked by greater changes in the conditions of humanity than many a previous millennium. With the city before me I could well believe that, but I am very curious to know what some of the changes have been. To make a beginning somewhere, for the subject is doubtless a large one, what solution, if any, have you found for the labor question? It was the Sphinx's riddle of the nineteenth century, and when I dropped out the Sphinx was threatening to devour society, because the answer was not forthcoming. It is well worth sleeping a hundred years to learn what the right answer was, if, indeed, you have found it yet."

"As no such thing as the labor question is known nowadays," replied Dr. Leete, "and there is no way in which it could arise, I suppose we may claim to have solved it. Society would indeed have fully deserved being devoured if it had failed to answer a riddle so entirely simple. In fact, to speak by the book, it was not necessary for society to solve the riddle at all. It may be said to have solved itself. The solution came as the result of a process of industrial evolution which could not have terminated otherwise. All that society had to do was to recognize and coöperate with that evolution, when its tendency had become unmistakable."

"I can only say," I answered, "that at the time I fell asleep no such evolution had been recognized."

"It was in 1887 that you fell into this sleep, I think you said."

"Yes, May 30th, 1887."

My companion regarded me musingly for some moments. Then he observed, "And you tell me that even then there was no general recognition of the nature of the crisis which society was nearing? Of course, I fully credit your statement. The singular blindness of your contemporaries to the signs of the times is a phenomenon commented on by many of our historians, but few facts of history are more difficult for us to realize, so obvious and unmistakable as we look back seem the indications, which must also have come under your eyes, of the transformation about to come to pass. I should be interested, Mr. West, if you would give me a little more definite idea of the view which you and men of your grade of intellect took of the state and prospects of society in 1887. You must, at least, have realized that the widespread industrial and social troubles, and the underlying dissatisfaction of all classes with the inequalities of society, and the general misery of mankind, were portents of great changes of some sort."

"We did, indeed, fully realize that," I replied. "We felt that society was dragging anchor and in danger of going adrift. Whither it would drift nobody could say, but all feared the rocks."

"Nevertheless," said Dr. Leete, "the set of the current was perfectly perceptible if you had but taken pains to observe it, and it was not toward the rocks, but toward a deeper channel."

"We had a popular proverb," I replied, "that 'hindsight is better than foresight,' the force of which I shall now, no doubt, appreciate more fully than ever. All I can say is, that the prospect was such when I went into that long sleep that I should not have been surprised had I looked down from your house-top to-day on a head of charred and moss-grown ruins instead of this glorious city."

Dr. Leete had listened to me with close attention and nodded thoughtfully as I finished speaking. "What you have said," he observed, "will be regarded as a most valuable vindication of Storiot, whose account of your era has been generally thought exaggerated in its picture of the gloom and confusion of men's minds. That a period of transition like that should be full of excitement and agitation was indeed to be looked for; but seeing how plain was the tendency of the forces in operation, it was natural to believe that hope rather than fear would have been the prevailing temper of the popular mind."

"You have not yet told me what was the answer to the riddle which you found," I said. "I am impatient to know by what contradiction of natural sequence the peace and prosperity which you now seem to enjoy could have been the outcome of an era like my own."

"Excuse me," replied my host, "but do you smoke?" It was not till our cigars were lighted and drawing well that he resumed. "Since you are in the humor to talk rather than to sleep, as I certainly am, perhaps I cannot do better than to try to give you enough idea of our modern industrial system to dissipate at least the impression that there is any mystery about the process of its evolution. The Bostonians of your day had the reputation of being great askers of questions, and I am going to show my descent by asking you one to begin with. What should you name as the most prominent feature of the labor troubles of your day?"

"Why, the strikes, of course," I replied.

"Exactly; but what made the strikes so formidable?"

"The great labor organizations."

"And what was the motive of these great organizations?"

"The workmen claimed they had to organize to get their rights from the big corporations," I replied.

"That is just it," said Dr. Leete; "the organization of labor and the strikes were an effect, merely, of the concentration of capital in greater masses than had ever been known before. Before this concentration began, while as yet commerce, and industry were conducted by innumerable petty concerns with small capital, instead of a small number of great concerns with vast capital, the individual workman was relatively important and independent in his relations to the employer. Moreover, when a little capital or a new idea was enough to start a man in business for himself, workingmen were constantly becoming employers and there was no hard and fast line between the two classes. Labor unions were needless then, and general strikes out of the question. But when the era of small concerns with small capital was succeeded by that of the great aggregations of capital, all this was changed. The individual laborer, who had been relatively important to the small employer, was reduced to insignificance and powerlessness over against the great corporation, while at the same time the way upward to the grade of employer was closed to him. Self-defense drove him to union with his fellows.

"The records of the period show that the outcry against the concentration of capital was furious. Men believed that it threatened society with a form of tyranny more abhorrent than it had ever endured. They believed that the great corporations were preparing for them the yoke of a baser servitude than had ever been imposed on the race, servitude not to men but to soulless machines incapable of any motive but insatiable greed. Looking back, we cannot wonder at their desperation, for certainly humanity was never confronted with a fate more sordid and hideous than would have been the era of corporate tyranny which they anticipated.

"Meanwhile, without being in the smallest degree checked by the clamor against it, the absorption of business by ever larger monopolies continued. In the United States there was not, after the beginning of the last quarter of the century, any opportunity whatever for individual enterprise in any important field of industry, unless backed by a great capital. During the last decade of the century, such small businesses as still remained were fast-failing survivals of a past epoch, or mere parasites on the great corporations, or else existed in fields too small to attract the great capitalists. Small businesses, as far as they still remained, were reduced to the condition of rats and mice, living in holes and corners, and counting on evading notice for the enjoyment of existence. The railroads had gone on combining till a few great syndicates controlled every rail in the land.

In manufactories, every important staple was controlled by a syndicate. These syndicates, pools, trusts, or whatever their name, fixed prices and crushed all competition except when combinations as vast as themselves arose. Then a struggle, resulting in a still greater consolidation, ensued. The great city bazar crushed its country rivals with branch stores, and in the city itself absorbed its smaller rivals till the business of a whole quarter was concentrated under one roof, with a hundred former proprietors of shops serving as clerks. Having no business of his own to put his money in, the small capitalist, at the same time that he took service under the corporation, found no other investment for his money but its stocks and bonds, thus becoming doubly dependent upon it.

"The fact that the desperate popular opposition to the consolidation of business in a few powerful hands had no effect to check it proves that there must have been a strong economical reason for it. The small capitalists, with their innumerable petty concerns, had in fact yielded the field to the great aggregations of capital, because they belonged to a day of small things and were totally incompetent to the demands of an age of steam and telegraphs and the gigantic scale of its enterprises. To restore the former order of things, even if possible, would have involved returning to the day of stage-coaches. Oppressive and intolerable as was the régime of the great consolidations of capital, even its victims, while they cursed it, were forced to admit the prodigious increase of efficiency which had been imparted to the national industries, the vast economies effected by concentration of management and unity of organization, and to confess that since the new system had taken the place of the old the wealth of the world had increased at a rate before undreamed of. To be sure this vast increase had gone chiefly to make the rich richer, increasing the gap between them and the poor; but the fact remained that, as a means merely of producing wealth, capital had been proved efficient in proportion to its consolidation. The restoration of the old system with the subdivision of capital, if it were possible, might indeed bring back a greater equality of conditions, with more individual dignity and freedom, but it would be at the price of general poverty and the arrest of material progress.

"Was there, then, no way of commanding the services of the mighty wealth-producing principle of consolidated capital without bowing down to a plutocracy like that of Carthage? As soon as men began to ask themselves these questions, they found the answer ready for them. The movement toward the conduct of business by larger and larger aggregations of capital, the tendency toward monopolies, which had been so desperately and vainly resisted, was recognized at last, in its true significance, as a process which only needed to complete its logical evolution to open a golden future to humainty.

"Early in the last century the evolution was completed by the final consolidation of the entire capital of the nation. The industry and commerce of the country, ceasing to be conducted by a set of irresponsible corporations and syndicates of private persons at their caprice and for their profit, were intrusted to a single syndicate representing the people, to be conducted in the common interest for the common profit. The nation, that is to say, organized as the one great business corporation in which all other corporations were absorbed; it became the one capitalist in the place of all other capitalists, the sole employer, the final monopoly in which all previous and lesser monopolies were swallowed up, a monopoly in the profits and economies of which all citizens shared. The epoch of trusts had ended in The Great Trust. In a word, the people of the United States concluded to assume the conduct of their own business, just as one hundred odd years before they had assumed the conduct of their own government, organizing now for industrial purposes on precisely the same grounds that they had then organized for political purposes. At last, strangely late in the world's history, the obvious fact was perceived that no business is so essentially the public business as the industry and commerce on which the people's livelihood depends, and that to entrust it to private persons to be managed for private profit is a folly similar in kind, though vastly greater in magnitude, to that of surrendering the functions of political government to kings and nobles to be conducted for their personal glorification."

"Such a stupendous change as you describe," said I, "did not, of course, take place without great bloodshed and terrible convulsions."

"On the contrary," replied Dr. Leete, "there was absolutely no violence. The change had been long foreseen. Public opinion had become fully ripe for it, and the whole mass of the people was behind it. There was no more possibility of opposing it by force than by argument. On the other hand the popular sentiment toward the great corporations and those identified with them had ceased to be one of bitterness, as they came to realize their necessity as a link, a transition phase, in the evolution of the true industrial system. The most violent foes of the great private monopolies were now forced to recognize how invaluable and indispensable had been their office in educating the people up to the point of assuming control of their own business. Fifty years before, the consolidation of the industries of the country under national control would have seemed a very daring experiment to the most sanguine. But by a series of object lessons, seen and studied by all men, the great corporations had taught the people an entirely new set of ideas on this subject. They had seen for many years syndicates handling revenues greater that those of states, and directing the labors of hundreds of thousands of men with an efficiency and economy unattainable in smaller operations. It had come to be recognized as an axiom that the larger the business the simpler the principles that can be applied to it; that, as the machine is truer than the hand, so the system, which in a great concern does the work of the master's eye in a small business, turns out more accurate results. Thus it came about that, thanks to the corporations themselves, when it was proposed that the nation should assume their functions, the suggestion implied nothing which seemed impracticable even to the timid. To be sure it was a step beyond any yet taken, a broader generalization, but the very fact that the nation would be the sole corporation in the field would, it was seen, relieve the undertaking of many difficulties with which the partial monopolies had contended."

Chapter VI

Dr. Leete ceased speaking, and I remained silent, endeavoring to form some general conception of the changes in the arrangements of society implied in the tremendous revolution which he had described.

Finally I said, "The idea of such an extension of the functions of government is, to say the least, rather overwhelming."

"Extension!" he repeated, "where is the extension?"

"In my day," I replied, "it was considered that the proper functions of government, strictly speaking, were limited to keeping the peace and defending the people against the public enemy, that is, to the military and police powers."

"And, in heaven's name, who are the public enemies?" exclaimed Dr. Leete. "Are they France, England, Germany, or hunger, cold, and nakedness? In your day governments were accustomed, on the slightest international misunderstanding, to seize upon the bodies of citizens and deliver them over by hundreds of thousands to death and mutilation, wasting their treasures the while like water; and all this oftenest for no imaginable profit to the victims. We have no wars now, and our governments no war powers, but in order to protect every citizen against hunger, cold, and nakedness, and provide for all his physical and mental needs, the function is assumed of directing his industry for a term of years. No, Mr. West, I am sure on reflection you will perceive that it was in your age, not in ours, that the extension of the functions of governments was extraordinary. Not even for the best ends would men now allow their governments such powers as were then used for the most maleficent."

"Leaving comparisons aside," I said, "the demagoguery and corruption of our public men would have been considered, in my day, insuperable objections to any assumption by government of the charge of the national industries. We should have thought that no arrangement could be worse than to entrust the politicians with control of the wealth-producing machinery of the country. Its material interests were quite too much the football of parties as it was."

"No doubt you were right," rejoined Dr. Leete, "but all that is changed now. We have no parties or politicians, and as for demagoguery and corruption, they are words having only an historical significance."

"Human nature itself must have changed very much," I said.

"Not at all," was Dr. Leete's reply, "but the conditions of human life have changed, and with them the motives of human action. The organization of society with you was such that officials were under a constant temptation to misuse their power for the private profit of themselves or others. Under such circumstances it seems almost strange that you dared entrust them with any of your affairs. Nowadays, on the contrary, society is so constituted that there is absolutely no way in which an official, however ill-disposed, could possibly make any profit for himself or any one else by a misuse of his power. Let him be as bad an official as you please, he cannot be a corrupt one. There is no motive to be. The social system no longer offers a premium on dishonesty. But these are matters which you can only understand as you come, with time, to know us better."

"But you have not yet told me how you have settled the labor problem. It is the problem of capital which we have been discussing," I said. "After the nation had assumed conduct of the mills, machinery, railroads, farms, miens, and capital in general of the country, the labor question still remained. In assuming the responsibilities of capital the nation had assumed the difficulties of the capitalist's position."

"The moment the nation assumed the responsibilities of capital those difficulties vanished," replied Dr. Leete. "The national organization of labor under one direction was the complete solution of what was, in your day and under your system, justly regarded as the insoluble labor problem. When the nation became the sole employer, all the citizens, by virtue of their citizenship, became employees, to be distributed according to the needs of industry."

"That is," I suggested, "you have simply applied the principle of universal military service, as it was understood in our day, to the labor question."

"Yes," said Dr. Leete, "that was something which followed as a matter of course as soon as the nation had become the sole capitalist. The people were already accustomed to the idea that the obligation of every citizen, not physically disabled, to contribute his military services to the defense of the nation was equal and absolute. That it was equally the duty of every citizen to contribute his quota of industrial or intellectual services to the maintenance of the nation was equally evident, though it was not until the nation became the employer of labor that citizens were able to render this sort of service with any pretense either of universality or equity. No organization of labor was possible when the employing power was divided among hundreds or thousands of individuals and corporations, between which concert of any kind was neither desired, nor indeed feasible. It constantly happened then that vast numbers who desired to labor could find no opportunity, and on the other hand, those who desired to evade a part or all of their debt could easily do so."

"Service, now, I suppose, is compulsory upon all," I suggested.

"It is rather a matter of course than of compulsion," replied Dr. Leete. "It is regarded as so absolutely natural and reasonable that the idea of its being compulsory has ceased to be thought of. He would be thought to be an incredibly contemptible person who should need compulsion in such a case. Nevertheless, to speak of service being compulsory would be a weak way to state its absolute inevitableness. Our entire social order is so wholly based upon and deduced from it that if it were conceivable that a man could escape it, he would be left with no possible way to provide for his existence. He would have excluded himself from the world, cut himself off from his kind, in a word, committed suicide."

"Is the term of service in this industrial army for life?"

"Oh, no; it both begins later and ends earlier than the average working period in your day. Your workshops were filled with children and old men, but we hold the period of youth sacred to education, and the period of maturity, when the physical forces begin to flag, equally sacred to ease and agreeable relaxation. The period of industrial service is twenty-four years, beginning at the close of the course of education at twenty-one and terminating at forty-five. After forty-five, while discharged from labor, the citizen still remains liable to special calls, in case of emergencies causing a sudden great increase in the demand for labor, till he reaches the age of fifty-five, but such calls are rarely, in fact almost never, made. The fifteenth day of October of every year is what we call Muster Day, because those who have reached the age of twenty-one are then mustered into the industrial service, and at the same time those who, after twenty-four years' service, have reached the age of forty-five, are honorably mustered out. It is the great day of the year with us, whence we reckon all other events, our Olympiad, save that it is annual."

Chapter VII

"It is after you have mustered your industrial army into service," I said, "that I should expect the chief difficulty to arise, for there its analogy with a military army must cease. Soldiers have all the same thing, and a very simple thing, to do, namely, to practise the manual of arms, to march and stand guard. But the industrial army must learn and follow two or three hundred diverse trades and avocations. What administrative talent can be equal to determining wisely what trade or business every individual in a great nation shall pursue?"

"The administration has nothing to do with determining that point."

"Who does determine it, then?" I asked.

"Every man for himself in accordance with his natural aptitude, the utmost pains being taken to enable him to find out what his natural aptitude really is. The principle on which our industrial army is organized is that a man's natural endowments, mental and physical, determine what he can work at most profitably to the nation and most satisfactorily to himself. While the obligation of service in some form is not to be evaded, voluntary election, subject only to necessary regulation, is depended on to determine the particular sort of service every man is to render. As an individual's satisfaction during his term of service depends on his having an occupation to his taste, parents and teachers watch from early years for indications of special aptitudes in children. A thorough study of the National industrial system, with the history and rudiments of all the great trades, is an essential part of our educational system. While manual training is not allowed to encroach on the general intellectual culture to which our schools are devoted, it is carried far enough to give our youth, in addition to their theoretical knowledge of the national industries, mechanical and agricultural, a certain familiarity with their tools and methods. Our schools are constantly visiting our workshops, and often are taken on long excursions to inspect particular industrial enterprises. In your day a man was not ashamed to be grossly ignorant of all trades except his own, but such ignorance would not be consistent with our idea of placing every one in a position to select intelligently the occupation for which he has most taste. Usually long before he is mustered into service a young man has found out the pursuit he wants to follow, has acquired a great deal of knowledge about it, and is waiting impatiently the time when he can enlist in its ranks."

"Surely," I said, "it can hardly be that the number of volunteers for any trade is exactly the number needed in that trade. It must be generally either under or over the demand."

"The supply of volunteers is always expected to fully equal the demand," replied Dr. Leete. "It is the business of the administration to see that this is the case. The rate of volunteering for each trade is closely watched. If there be a noticeably greater excess of volunteers over men needed in any trade, it is inferred that the trade offers greater attractions than others. On the other hand, if the number of volunteers for a trade tends to drop below the demand, it is inferred that it is thought more arduous. It is the business of the administration to seek constantly to equalize the attractions of the trades, so far as the conditions of labor in them are concerned, so that all trades shall be equally attractive to persons having natural tastes for them. This is done by making the hours of labor in different trades to differ according to their arduousness. The lighter trades, prosecuted under the most agreeable circumstances, have in this way the longest works, while an arduous trade, such as mining, has very short hours. There is no theory, no *a priori* rule, by which the respective attractiveness of industries is determined. The administration, in taking burdens off one class of workers and adding them to other classes, simply follows the fluctuations of opinion among the workers themselves as indicated by the rate of volunteering. The principle is that no man's work ought to be, on the whole, harder for him than any other man's for him, the workers themselves to be the judges. There are no limits to the application of this rule. If any particular occupation is in itself so arduous or so oppressive that, in order to induce volunteers, the day's work in it had to be reduced to ten minutes, it would be done. If, even then, no man was willing to do it, it would remain undone. But of course, in point of fact, a moderate reduction in the hours of labor, or addition of other privileges, suffices to secure all needed volunteers for any occupation necessary to men. If, indeed, the unavoidable difficulties and dangers of such a necessary pursuit were so great that no inducement of compensating advantages would overcome men's repugnance to it, the administration would only need to take it out of the common order of occupations by declaring it 'extra hazardous,' and those who pursued it especially worthy of the national gratitude, to be over-run with volunteers. Our young men are very greedy of honor, and do not let slip such opportunities. Of course you will see that dependence on the purely voluntary choice of avocations involves the abolition in all of anything like unhygienic conditions or special peril to life and limb. Health and safety are conditions common to all industries. The nation does not maim and slaughter its workmen by thousands, as did the private capitalists and corporations of your day."

"When there are more who want to enter a particular trade than there is room for, how do you decide between the applicants?" I inquired.

"Preference is given to those who have acquired the most knowledge of the trade they wish to follow. No man, however, who through successive years remains persistent in his desire to show what he can do at any particular trade, is in the end denied an opportunity. Meanwhile, if a man cannot at first win entrance into the business he prefers, he has usually one or more alternative preferences, pursuits for which he has some degree of aptitude, although not the highest. Every one, indeed, is expected to study his aptitudes so as to have not only a first choice as to occupation, but a second or third, so that if, either at the outset of his career or subsequently, owing to the progress of invention or changes in demand, he is unable to follow his first vocation, he can still find reasonably congenial employment. This principle of secondary choices as to occupation is quite important in our system. I should add, in reference to the counter-possibility of some sudden failure of volunteers in a particular trade, or some sudden necessity of an increased force, that the administration, while depending on the voluntary system for filling up the trades as a rule, holds always in reserve the power to call for special volunteers, or draft any force needed from any quarter. Generally, however, all needs of this sort can be met by details from the class of unskilled or common laborers."

"How is this class of common laborers recruited?" I asked. "Surely nobody voluntarily enters that."

"It is the grade to which all new recruits belong for the first three years of their service. It is not till after this period, during which he is assignable to any work at the discretion of his superiors, that the young man is allowed to elect a special avocation. These three years of stringent discipline none are exempt from, and very glad our young men are to pass from this severe school into the comparative liberty of the trades. If a man were so stupid as to have no choice as to occupation, he would simply remain a common laborer; but such cases, as you may suppose, are not common."

"Having once elected and entered on a trade or occupation," I remarked, "I suppose he has to stick to it the rest of his life."

"Not necessarily," replied Dr. Leete; "while frequent and merely capricious changes of occupation are not encouraged or even permitted, every worker is allowed, of course, under certain regulations and in accordance with the exigencies of the service, to volunteer for another industry which he thinks would suit him better than his first choice. In this case his application is received just as if he were volunteering for the first time, and on the same terms. Not only this, but a worker may likewise, under suitable regulations and not too frequently, obtain a transfer to an establishment of the same industry in another part of the country which for any reason he may prefer. Under your system a discontented man could indeed leave his work at will, but he left his means of support at the same time, and took his chances as to future livelihood. We find that the number of men who wish to abandon an accustomed occupation for a new one, and old friends and associations for strange ones, is small. It is only the poorer sort of workmen who desire to change even as frequently as our regulations permit. Of course transfers or discharges, when health demands them, are always given."

"As an industrial system, I should think this might be extremely efficient," I said, "but I don't see that it makes any provision for the professional classes, the men who serve the nation with brains instead of hands. Of course you can't get along without the brain-workers. How, then, are they selected from those who are to serve as farmers and mechanics? That must require a very delicate sort of sifting process, I should say."

"So it does," replied Dr. Leete; "the most delicate possible test is needed here, and so we leave the question whether a man shall be a brain or hand worker entirely to him to settle. At the end of the term of three years as a common laborer, which every man must serve, it is for him to choose, in accordance to his natural tastes, whether he will fit himself for an art or profession, or be a farmer or mechanic. If he feels that he can do better work with his brains than his muscles, he finds every facility provided for testing the reality of his supposed bent, of cultivating it, and if fit, of pursuing it as his avocation. The schools of technology, of medicine, of art, of music, of histrionics, and of higher liberal learning are always open to aspirants without condition."

"Are not the schools flooded with young men whose only motive is to avoid work?"

Dr. Leete smiled a little grimly.

"No one is at all likely to enter the professional schools for the purpose of avoiding work, I assure you," he said. "They are intended for those with special aptitude for the branches they teach, and any one without it would find it easier to do double hours at his trade than try to keep up with the classes. Of course many honestly mistake their vocation, and, finding themselves unequal to the requirements of the schools, drop out and return to the industrial service; no discredit attaches to such persons, for the public policy is to encourage all to develop suspected talents which only actual tests can prove the reality of. The professional and scientific schools of your day depended on the patronage of their pupils for support, and the practice appears to have been common of giving diplomas to unfit persons, who afterwards found their way into the professions. Our schools are national institutions, and to have passed their tests is a proof of special abilities not to be questioned.

"This opportunity for a professional training," the doctor continued, "remains open to every man till the age of thirty is reached, after which students are not received, as there would remain too brief a period before the age of discharge in which to serve the nation in their professions. In your day young men had to choose their professions very young, and therefore, in a large proportion of instances, wholly mistook their vocations. It is recognized nowadays that the natural aptitudes of some are later than those of others in developing, and therefore, while the choice of profession may be made as early as twenty-four, it remains open for six years longer."

A question which had a dozen times before been on my lips now found utterance, a question which touched upon what, in my time, had been regarded the most vital difficulty in the way of any final settlement of the industrial problem. "It is an extraordinary thing," I said, "that you should not yet have said a word about the method of adjusting wages. Since the nation is the sole employer, the government must fix the rate of wages and determine just how much everybody shall earn, from the doctors to the diggers. All I can say is, that this plan would never have worked with us, and I don't see how it can now unless human nature has changed. In my day, nobody was satisfied with his wages or salary. Even if he felt he received enough, he was sure his neighbor had too much, which was as bad. If the universal discontent on this subject, instead of being dissipated in curses and strikes directed against innumerable employers, could have been concentrated upon one, and that the government, the strongest ever devised would not have seen two pay days."

Dr. Leete laughed heartily.

"Very true, very true," he said, " a general strike would most probably have followed the first pay day, and a strike directed against a government is a revolution."

"How, then, do you avoid a revolution every pay day?" I demanded. "Has some prodigious philosopher devised a new system of calculus satisfactory to all for determining the exact and comparative value of all sorts of service, whether by brawn or brain, by hand or voice, by ear or eye? Or has human nature itself changed, so that no man looks upon his own things but 'every man on the things of his neighbor?' One or the other of these events must be the explanation."

"Neither one nor the other, however is," was my host's laughing response. "And now, Mr. West," he continued, "you must remember that you are my patient as well as my guest, and permit me to prescribe sleep for you before we have any more conversation. It is after three o'clock."

"The prescription is, no doubt, a wise one," I said; "I only hope it can be filled."

"I will see to that," the doctor replied, and he did, for he gave me a wineglass of something or other which sent me to sleep as soon as my head touched the pillow.

IV. THE COMMON ELEMENTS IN UTOPIAS

Those elements of Utopias which have been common to the great majority tend to have the greatest validity, and merit the most careful consideration.

1. Where government is outlined, the attempt is made to make it function for the common good of all.
2. The ideals of equality, social solidarity, common interests, and mutual helpfulness are stressed.
3. Science is devoted to the bettering of life for the common good.
4. Industry is reorganized to meet human need more effectively and to conserve human values. All are usually required to serve society. Its toil is reduced to a minimum, thus permitting a higher cultural life.
5. Acquisition as a motive is subordinated to creative production.
6. Coöperation supplants competition in the social order.
7. An all-round moral and cultural life is stressed as more important than mere material welfare.
8. The infinite worth of each personality is usually recognized.

9. The Utopias radiate optimism and faith in the possibility of their achievement.

10. Freedom of speech, of press, and assembly are declared necessary, and criticism is welcome.

11. The social order is bounded by more regulation than at present, and individual initiative is not given such wide latitude.

V. THE MAJOR DIFFERENCES

1. While the motives back of Utopias are more or less uniform, the methods of achieving them differ widely. The influence of a changing social and economic life has profoundly affected the treatment. Wells's Utopia of the twentieth century necessarily differs from Plato's. Plato permitted slavery. To Wells it is unthinkable. Modern writers lay increasing stress on justice in industrial and economic structure, as might be expected in our modern industrial age.

2. There are Utopias of escape and of reconstruction.

3. Some would regiment all of men's activities; others provide only for the simple life.

4. The basis of social life varies from the family, as in More, the guild, as in Andreä, the city, as in Plato, to the nation, as in Cabet, and to the world, as in Wells.

5. There are differences in regard to the control of the individual. Some believe in benevolent autocracy, others in democracy; some have more and some less faith in human nature to rule itself.

6. Mass production and the industrial revolution have altered the attitude toward economic life. The older Utopians regard manual labor as a joy, whereas the more recent Utopians consider it an evil.

It can thus be seen that the major differences in Utopias reflect the changing cultural life of society.

VI. THE UTOPIANISTIC CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION [1]

The value of an ideal depends, not upon its novelty, but upon its power to contribute to social betterment. Those ideals may assuredly be reckoned the most precious which have given the world noble lives, provided strong social motives, or incarnated themselves in effective social institutions. Such superior and successful ideals are to be found in most of the Utopias. Auguste Comte has said, "There is no Utopia so wild as

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[1] Reprinted from Joyce Oramel Hertzler, *The History of Utopian Thought* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), pp. 279-300.

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not to offer some incontestable advantages," and peering into the life about us we cannot help being convinced that these words breathe a profound truth. Everywhere we see utopianism become reality. The Utopians and their utopianism have a great rôle in shaping the social evolution which came after them. In this chapter we shall consider briefly some of the more significant of the utopianistic ideals which are to-day current and also explore the relationship of certain of the more outstanding elements in utopianism to social evolution; in this way we shall weigh the concrete evidence for utopianism translated into reality. Of course, ideas and ideals are not always put into effect in just the form that the thinker conceived them. Occasionally society in applying them changes them somewhat, but the kernel is recognizable, nevertheless. Moreover, we cannot say that the Utopias were the only stimulating agencies nor were their creators the only prophets and oracles, for, as we have shown, they were part of the advance movement of their respective ages. But none can deny that they were tremendously potent in the cases cited. Let us proceed to their analysis.

The utopianism of the prophets and of Jesus has come to dominate the moral and spiritual life of men as no other ideals have been able to do; the very fundamentals of successful social life and happy human relations have come to be based upon it. Jesus' utopianism, stressing the individual in particular, nearly two milleniums ago attracted attention to the necessity of proper personal conduct as the basis of successful social life; he felt that as individuals do right, become virtuous, and are regenerated, the world will progress toward righteousness and peace. . . . The Messianic state of the prophets, the catastrophically founded era of the apocalyptists, and the Kingdom of God of Jesus, aggressive, fantastic, or transcendental, each cultivated a splendid hope of emancipation, of social peace, of future justice and fraternity, and tended to keep the souls of the people alive amid the vast internal decay and the crushing sorrows of the foreign rule of the Assyrians, Persians, and Romans. Similarly, they have been the ideal and inspiration of different groups of men at various times through the ages since—an ever-glowing goal.

More's *Utopia* stands out as the inspiration, not only of the whole train of later Utopias, but of the whole trend of social reform. It doubtless suggested such treatises as Campanella's "City of the Sun," Bacon's fragmentary "New Atlantis," Hobbes's "Leviathan," Harrington's "Oceana," and Filmer's "Patriarcha." In suggesting universal and compulsory education, More launched a thought which has not yet run its course. While his conception of penology and his plea for religious tolerance appeared to his contemporaries as preposterous, yet his explanation of crime and its remedies is in harmony with our advanced modern policy, and the religious freedom which seemed a chimerical vision at the time of his death has been enjoyed for generations. Speaking of his industrial scheme Miss

Scudder says: "If the industrial system on which his society is founded is still confined to Utopia, communication between that commonwealth and England is at least more frequent than in his day. One is inclined to suspect certain of our economists, even, of occasional trips into that land of vision; while as for dreamers—Ruskin, Bellamy, Morris, Howells—they have sojourned there long enough to bring back full reports, which differ sometimes in detail from those of Hythloday." As an advocate of the short working day with its opportunity for cultural growth and its abolition of drudgery and degradation, he still stands in the lead among the myriads of reformers. Many of More's ideals still represent the height of social anticipation. Mr. Wells tells us that it also bore fruit in the English Poor Laws. It was a broad-visioned masterly work. It compelled attention; it wrought itself into wise mens' thinking; it became one of the instruments of a progress which by the close of the nineteenth century had purged English society of the greater number of the evils mentioned therein. The fact that it has been three times translated from the Latin into English, and also into many other languages, testifies to the eagerness with which men have read it and sought its ideas.

The Utopianism of Robert Owen is commonly recognized as the stimulating element underlying some of the most significant reforms and newly created social institutions of the last century. As we have already indicated in a previous chapter, Owen through the publication of his humanitarian ideas with regard to labor under the new mechanical régime in industry, and by means of spirited agitation, was influential in bringing to pass the first labor legislation, the British Factory Acts in 1819, which, as Wells says, was "the first attempt to restrain employers from taking the most stupid and intolerable advantage of their workers' poverty. The coöperative buying societies among the poorer folk, beginning with the Rochdale pioneers, are also the direct outgrowth of Owen's experiments of New Lanark. He was one of the pioneers of the trade union movement, and laid down the first plans for labor bureaus on a national scale. Owen was a man who in every way, through his ideas and his acts, left his impress upon his own and succeeding generations.

And so we might go on with each Utopia or Utopian, but it is needless; let us rather attend to various specific forms of contribution which the Utopians have made to civilization.

The Utopians first of all *assisted men of later generations in avoiding social disaster*. Themselves witnesses of the accumulating forces of social distress and maladjustment, and through their utopianism proposing a solution of those very difficulties, they showed how revolution and other social disaster might be avoided. They were and are the announcers of a regimen making for social health, security, and peace between classes. They breathe a sort of philosophy of history—an interpretation which enables men to profit by the mistakes of past generations.

Among the Utopians one finds *a commendable fearlessness.* They acknowledged social evils, which few do, and then went further and dared to suggest changes and picture a state where such changes had been carried out. Most men still hesitate to do this. We are afraid of the unknown perils of disturbing our accustomed ways; we prefer to endure the evils we know, but rather would not combat. The Utopians were willing to suggest the use of untried forces. They were the venturesome men who because they dared did much to achieve necessary change, quietly and rationally.[2]

The Utopians centuries ago discovered *a new criterion of human value.* They rejected the subjective individualistic standard of value—which still largely prevails—and set up the conception of the social good, and of the development of society as a whole. They sought after a unified and coordinated group, based on brotherly coöperation. As far back as the Hebrew prophets they recognized a social self as well as individual selves; they perceived the interdependence and solidarity of all society. Only recently has this solidarity come to be widely realized. Theirs were ideas and ideals by which society, and not individuals, merely, were controlled. They advocated unity and coöperation as against the domination of individual ambition, selfishness, and rapacity. Their Utopias anticipated *social* destiny, not *individual* destiny, and were and are effective as their content and spirit are grasped by groups. If some of them, as for example Jesus, seemed to stress unduly the individual, it was because they saw that progress in human society depends on the production of finer and finer strains of men and women, and that the best will be the more socialized individuals. We of to-day have everywhere obtained our conception of unified society from some of the Utopians: the Communists and Socialists in theory and practice apply theirs narrowly, the sociologists and social workers theirs in a broader and less specific form as the basis of their general policy and endeavor.

The Utopians, especially the Utopian Socialists, also *anticipated other social thinkers in their appreciation of social laws,* for on the whole the bare idea of undeviating law, physical or social, is one of the late products of reflective thought. They constantly sought out these generalizations of human and social reactions and conduct, which they made the basis of their reforms.

It was in this way that Fourier gained a *conception of the theory of the instincts,* only recently receiving prominence in social psycholgy. Groping about in his mind for an explanation of human conduct, he hit upon the idea of the "passions." What he meant by "passions" was really "instincts." He was the forerunner of our present day "instinctivists," who see in these natural endowments of the race, evolved long ago as part of its equipment for survival, the motivating factors in conduct.[3] While he did not express it clearly, yet it is very evident that Fourier had this in mind. In reacting violently against the influence of intellection and civilization, he came to perceive the importance of the instinctive and automatic reactions of man. He felt that the thwarting of the instincts was something which interfered with human happiness; it was a crowding in, a cramping of the self. Therefore he wanted a "natural life"—one which would bring harmony between the race and its environment. He grasped what Graham Wallas has called the "master-task of civilized mankind"—the adjustment of social life to human nature.

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[2] "The first task of the social reformer is to confront this doubt which paralyzes social theory and makes the advocacy of far-reaching social enterprises the monopoly of the rash." Henry Jones, *The Working Faith of the Social Reformer* (London, 1910), p. 14.

This led him to become the father of *scientific management and present day employment management.* He recognized the evils of monotonous and fatiguing labor, and felt that something in the industrial system was responsible for the irksomeness and displeasure which every worker felt. By adapting work to the individual's peculiar makeup, attempting to get the round peg in the round hole and the square peg in the square hole, so that work would be agreeable, he sought to increase the happiness and efficiency of the worker, and the productivity of society. He played on the instinct of workmanship and of rivalry, and by contenting his workingmen created good-will, now recognized as absolutely essential. More recently, Hertzka and Wells started with "Men as they are" in building the conception of the ideal social state.

The Utopians also were adaptationists in that they attempted *to assist in adapting social life to the time;* or, better still, to create a perfect social life for all time. They aimed at social self-preservation, self-enlargement, and self-protection. By proper adaptation of mankind to environment, and vice versa, the Utopians would attain collective fullness of life. They were, with a few exceptions, handicapped, however, by a limited knowledge of the fundamental aspects of human nature and society and by a lack of means for changing environment. Where they did attempt to change environment it was in a superficial way. However, they arrived at certain conclusions as to what adaptations were desirable, that became for them working hypotheses. These have since been verified, corrected, or repudiated. It is those that have been verified or corrected that we deal with in different portions of this chapter.

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[3] McDougall, Wm., *Social Psychology* (Boston, 1909), p. 44. "We may say . . . that directly or indirectly the instincts are the prime movers of all human activity; by the conative or impulsive force of some instinct (or of some habit derived from an instinct), every train of thought, however cold and passionless it may seem is borne along towards its end, and every bodily activity is initiated and sustained. The instinctive impulses determine the ends of all activities and supply the driving power by which all mental activities are sustained; and all the complex intellectual apparatus of the most highly developed mind is but a means towards these ends, is but the instrument by which these impulses seek their satisfactions, while pleasure and pain do but serve to guide them in their choice of the means."

The question of determinism or free will has long been a controverted matter among social thinkers. Did this issue present itself to the Utopians? Assuredly! Some of the ethico-religious Utopians, especially the prophets and Jesus, proclaimed the doctrine of free will both for the individual and for society as a whole. The individual, as such, was capable of self-regeneration. He was not bound by experience or circumstances, but was a free moral agent, author of his own destiny. The same held for society as a whole: the group could change its life as it pleased; it also was the result of the expression of the free will of its component individuals. The apocalyptists, on the other hand, were absolute determinists. Men, both good and bad, had nothing to do but wait for the next act in the divine drama.

But among the early modern and Socialistic Utopias we meet with another view. They were determinists as far as the individual was concerned. While they all desired a free expression of will, yet they all insisted that the factors of environment, both physical and social, constantly overwhelmed the individual and made him their plaything, their sport. They recognized the individual self as a servant of the human will, but the will was socially determined. They saw that what we call "social environment" envelops individual character more closely than aught else. It penetrates the most intimate recesses of man's life and molds it more vitally than any physical circumstance. The Utopian Socialists held that the actual morality of the individual is largely a product of the social environment. They saw the self as a social product, just as Jean Paul had done when he expressed it in the words, "No man can take a walk without bringing home an influence on his eternity." Therefore, they insisted that bad environment was a check upon social perfection, and that good environment was an indispensable, if not all-important, aid. One motive to re-creating the social environment was to provide favorable surroundings so that the human soul could attain a better and nobler condition. This idea is borne out by repeated expressions upon the part of nearly all the secular Utopians. Fourier, in particular, as we have previously seen, insisted that there must be a harmony between the race and its environment. The only notable expressions of attempts to control or direct physical environment are found in Bacon's *New Atlantis,* the forms of which the reader will recall.

On the other hand, the doctrine of free will held good with regard to society's activities and this we might call a social will. While the actions and thoughts of the individual, beyond the natural, were determined almost exclusively by his physical and spiritual milieu, society's was not: it was characterized by a freedom of activity and susceptibility to change under the dominance of strong human wills consciously rebuilding it according to new truth. And this the Utopians intended to do, for they were all dissatisfied with the haphazard, unconscious, and halting advance of their times. They desired to utilize the proceeds of human achievement in a workable program of human advance. These feelings are prominent in the writings of the Hebrew prophets, of Jesus, Augustine, More, Campanella, Harrington, and the recent Utopians. They were pessimistic as to present conditions, and optimistic as to the possibilities of society in the future. They were anticipating worlds in which the civilization would be rational, self-motivated, and definitely willed. And yet they were not disposed to maintain an ability in the race to immediately shake off an existing state or semi-determined condition in which it found itself. They, however, had the idea that contemplating an ideal would eventually lead to its adoption and translation into fact by society and not by individuals here and there. They were interested in *social* progress rather than *individual* welfare and *individual* processes. This social preoccupation of the Utopians and utopianism should be stressed. For the *laissez-faire* attitude, so common with respect to the future, they substituted a partial control of society by social ideals and social idealists.

The Utopians felt that *society by its own free will could reconstruct its methods of direction and control,* and here lies another significant aspect of Utopias. While they do not act as effectively as the customs of the past in bringing conformity, yet they have a marked potency. They serve to bring about an ascendancy of the future over the present. They develop a control which looks ahead and prepares for that which may be. This is noticeably the case in a dynamic society where the look backward is more and more the sure sign of decay or denotes some other attitude which has fallen into ill-repute.

The Utopians, one and all, from the prophets on, *recognized the ability of men to surpass themselves.* In the collective human will they beheld a power which, if set in motion along superior lines, will determine the course of humanity. They insisted that human beings may achieve happiness and greater perfection if only they will so to do. They saw that social advance is artificial, the fruit of purpose and design. They all recognized the need of a higher moral and spiritual development, and with a rare optimism felt that this was possible. All of them would create an environment where man could attain his true spiritual and mental stature. This is the very essence of the best constructive thought of to-day.

Their utopianism all breathes the spirit that *there is nothing that we cannot do if we but strongly enough will to do it.* They are full of the "will-to-transformation," as Todd calls it.[4] But, again, it must be a willing which contemplates means as well as ends. The Utopians nearly all had the idea that society was responsible for the environment, especially the spiritual environment; they believed that the individual erred because of defective social inheritance and environment. But they also saw that if proper surroundings were provided even relatively mediocre stuff could be made into a desirable social element. Therefore, they demanded a careful

[4] *Theories of Social Progress,* p. 506.

organization and use of the means we have pointed out in our search for utopianistic elements. Centuries ahead of their time, they realized that not only do individuals sin against society, but that society also sins against the individual. They, by deliberately devised telic agencies, would convert this deterimental aggression into one of mutual benefit and constructive effort.

Plato and More, and Campanella, and Bacon after him, were the *prophets of the modern eugenics movement.* Handicapped by the absence of a theory of heredity, and upheld only by a strong social idealism, they regarded the supreme impulse of procreation as a sacred function, to be exercised in the light of scientific knowledge. The future welfare of the race demanded that only physically perfect, valorous, and high-spirited individuals should procreate. Plato and Campanella both went so far as to advocate the making of unions for the end of procreation, with the assistance of the elders of the "Great Master" or physician aided by the chief matrons. These Utopians saw the necessity of sound physique and mentality as a basis for perfection; they saw that the quality of a civilization is to a large extent determined by breed; they saw that the foundation must be sound if a lofty superstructure is to be reared. They vaguely conceived this auto-evolution—human selection—as a means of improving human kind and hence bringing about a more rapid social advance. This luminous conception of racial betterment is only now beginning to stir men to action. Yet it, like most of the other elements mentioned, was of Utopian origin.

The Utopians from Plato onward, almost without exception, *advocated the equality of the sexes.* For them society could not afford to thwart and by custom enthrall half the population and lose its superior services. They made women not only the companions of men, but also the religious, political, and civil equals of men, permitting them to enjoy the same opportunities of achievement and to make their contributions to social advance. At the same time most of them recognized the profound physiological differences of the sexes and made due allowance for them. In these respects also the Utopians anticipated what is only coming to be recognized by the progressives of our day.

In Plato—and it is hinted at in others, especially by More—one finds the *first advocacy of preventive medicine.* He encouraged gymnastics and the care of the body because they rendered resort to medical art unnecessary. Consequently he felt that the primary purpose of the physician was not to cure diseases, but rather the establishing of a program of exercise and the advocacy of such diet as would make diseases and ills impossible. He anticipated the conception that prevention is better than cure, and set up a standard for medical science which it has only recently adopted. More, in advocating the elimination of crowding in cities, the playing of games, the prohibition of all places breeding vice and disease, and his supreme emphasis upon good health in general also tended to substitute preventive measures for remedial medicines. It may be said that the various eugenics programs of the Utopians were also directed to this end.

Another broad heralding of a form of enlightment which men have lately adopted was that of *religious toleration*. Early modern Utopians, especially More and Harrington, in a time of religious absolutism and enforced uniformity, dared to advocate the toleration of all religious views not manifestly anti-social. Most of them had religions of reason, which discarded false beliefs and useless forms and permitted the native force of religion to shine forth. The bases of morality were alone safeguarded. They foresaw what men have only recently established as a working method after they have suffered centuries of inquisitions, persecutions, excommunications, bigotry and intolerance.

Akin to this is the conception of some form of *social religion* which we find among the Utopian Socialists, particularly Saint-Simon and Cabet. They saw the stiltedness and hollowness of a dogmatized and partly moribund religion—one which had come to consist of forms and ceremonials and creeds. They saw that religion must be regenerated, made human and helpful, a driving social force and an invigorating stimulant to social conduct, inspiring a fearless meeting of the future; not a drag, a social soporific, a thing which makes men cringe and fear. Stressing brotherhood and socialized ethics, they sought universal happiness rather than universal conformity. We cannot fail to recognize their influences in present day thought.

The *social theory of property*, now coming to be held, doubtless also goes back in considerable part to some of the Utopians, who emphasized it in rather a crude way. Nearly all of them were exponents of a socio-economic philosophy which vested the ultimate sovereign power of ownership in the state, both for land and for most other forms of property. They held to this because the Utopian state was one of a fraternal co-operation aiming at the common good. This Utopian conception may, in part at least, have been responsible also for the prevailing interpretation of property rights as residing only in the state. To-day we hold that nothing can be owned in any absolute sense. Property, inheritance, and income taxes, the police power, the right of eminent domain are all evidence of this. Neither the money a man earns nor the property he holds is his own. The fact that the state usually—though not always—pays compensation for the property it appropriates in no manner invalidates this principle. In time of war, food, crops, clothing, industries, etc., are seized by the state. In time of disaster everything can be taken lawfully. The state refuses to recognize private property rights if the general welfare demands that it be made available for public use. The essence of property lies in the good will of the state. The Utopians originated this idea and made it current mental coin.

An Utopian contribution of great importance is their *recognition of the utility of social institutions.* To be sure, this was not true of all of them. With the prophets and Jesus utopianism was individual and subjective. It was the secular writers, including Augustine, however, who perceived that redemption may—in fact must—be objective or institutional, since only thus can the resistance of highly elaborated systems be overcome, and the new saving doctrine be promulgated and put into effect. They sensed the need of definite agencies to mold the social will and bring social changes to pass.

The most significant institution and the most powerful utopianistic measure of the Utopians was *education.* They felt that it was possible by this means to turn thorny, unproductive, selfish, shirking, exploiting, sinful, cross-grained human beings into righteous men, coöperators, good citizens, members of a great united human brotherhood, or, as in the case of the ethico-religious Utopians, into members of a great theocracy. Their philosophy was a constructive optimism based on the amenability of the individual mind to proper direction. Among the prophets we first note the careful efforts at instruction of the people; in Plato we see that the realization of the Idea of the Good is the ultimate condition of a proper State animated by true justice, and it is education which is necessary if this realization is to be attained; the ministry of Jesus was for the purpose of inculcating a socialized ethic; the early modern Utopians all strongly emphasized education, Bacon even creating an extensive system; similarly, the Utopian Socialists made it an integral part of their schemes of social regeneration.

To the Utopians education was one of society's main instruments for realizing its destiny. The types of education which they stressed were not repetitive, memoriter, pedantic, and therefore non-progressive; but a dynamic culture, of a functional and social nature, practical withal and fitting for life—one which developed the perceptive powers, physical endurance, domestic qualities, skill, and the powers of social discipline. Their educational systems were active factors in maintaining the perfect worlds they described. The Utopians, as most later social thinkers, saw that education was a marvelously efficient agent of social control and social direction in that it made for self-control and discipline, and in that it suggested rewards and penalties for conduct; they saw it as a means of incorporating new ideas and ideals into the group intelligence, so that they would become convictions and lead to new socialized activity; they saw its effectiveness in fitting human beings for the performance of those daily industrial tasks for which they were best fitted, and in training for family life; they saw it as a method of fitting men for the tasks of citizenship and participation in public affairs. Judging from the spirit of their discussions of education, they considered it a process whereby perfect social units might be created. It was an agency which not only enabled men to adjust themselves to their environment, but which also enabled men to adjust their environment to meet their physical, social, and spiritual needs. It was a means whereby progressive ideas of moral and social obligations, government, and law could be grafted upon the mind and determine its development. It was an effective means for the social manipulation and control of ideas, standards, values, habits of thinking and acting, and indirectly even of industrial processes. It was the utopianistic measure *par excellence.*

Among recent social philosophers we have an exalted exponent of this idea. According to Lester F. Ward, social progress is not determined entirely by evolution, as Spencer and the scientific socialists have maintained, for evolution can be manipulated and accelerated through the rôle of the mind and will. By bringing full educational opportunities within reach of all, society would be enabled to capitalize all of its latent assets of human capacity, and perfection would be attained. In maintaining this principle, Ward had support which the Utopians did not have, because he was in the presence of a universal press, a national, free, compulsory educational system, libraries, etc., to point to, and from which he could receive encouragement. All the greater marvel that the Utopians should have dared to entertain such ideas!

The most notable example of a Utopian institution for the *advancement of knowledge* and the benefit of the race was Francis Bacon's *House of Salomon,* a College of Research, previously discussed, which he had himself thought of trying to create if he could become master of some existing foundation in Cambridge or Oxford. This research idea is not in his *Novum Organum,* his greatest work, which embodied his scientific methods, a book that had almost no influence upon his own time or the seventeenth century; it was only the eighteenth century which read and discussed it. The conception of the research body was woven into the Utopian fragment *New Atlantis,* embodying many of the same ideas. His immediate purpose in writing this was doubtless to move King James to found a Salomon's House in England. Yet, much as James had affected the character of a second Salomon, he took little or no interest in the intellectual reformation urged by his Chancellor. The fact that Bacon left the work unfinished, without even publishing the fragments, and turned his hand to other things, shows that he had no sanguine hopes of producing any immediate result.

And yet such a luminous and valuable conception could not remain unnoticed. Shortly after Bacon's death, the general principle was already being put into effect in England and it eventually spread to many European countries. . . . The *New Atlantis* provided the model for the Royal Society which eventually developed into the British Research Society, and his predominating influence was thus firmly established in the generation which succeeded his own. . . .

The *New Atlantis* not only led to the foundation of the Royal Society and similar academies abroad, but was one of the inspiring causes of that mighty work of collaboration, the French *Encyclopedie,* in which the savants of the eighteenth century gathered all the results attained by science up to that date and used them as a battering-ram against established abuses in Church and State. . . .

Bacon's *New Atlantis* can truthfully be said to be the basis of all modern research and human benefit foundations. Thus has Bacon's utopianism lived on. Though productive as a scientist, yet his greatest contribution lies in the impetus which his advocacy of inductive and experimental methods gave to future scientific investigation. As he himself said, he rang the bell which called the other wits together.

Another institution of social improvement stressed much by the Utopians was *the State*. From Plato on, most of them made the State supreme, though they differed in the degree of sovereignty they would give it. In so far as they accepted or advocated it, it was a social institution erected by the people for their own welfare. Plato, for example, conceived the State, not as a governing and corrective body, but as an association of ethically minded individuals bound together by thoughts of a common purpose and all serving in their proper places. In was for all of them a means to an end, a definite agency, the purpose of which was to surround the individual with those influences which would make him most happy and cause him to be of greatest service; a means of providing liberty and equal opportunity to the individual. Some, especially the Utopian Socialists, stressed the State particularly as a means of providing the proper sort of environment. All saw it as an instrumentality and not as an end, even though most of them lived during times when the State was worshiped and government was absolute and by the few. The democratic movements have caused us to conceive of the State in the same manner as did the Utopians. We, like the Utopians, are sure that much of the welfare and progress of society depends on the character and management of the State.

In the case of our most notable political Utopia, Harrington's *Oceana* —which dealt almost entirely with the machinery of an enlightened state —we have a brilliant example of Utopianism coming true. Professor Dwight, writing some thirty odd years ago, traced the potency of Harrington's ideals in shaping political institutions and thought in America. John Adams, we are told, was perfectly familiar with Harrington's *Oceana* and was much influenced by his teachings, as his writings show. The principle of the "empire of laws" and rotation of office in the Constitution of Massachusets was taken directly from the *Oceana.* The secret ballot was made part of the first constitution of New York State, but a hundred years after Harrington voiced the thought. The idea finally, in 1872, triumphed in England when it was applied to parliamentary and municipal elections, the greatest precautions being taken to preserve Harrington's cardinal point of secrecy. The sentence from *Oceana,* "The exercise of all just authority over a free people ought to arise from their own content," was uppermost in the mind of Thomas Jefferson when he drafted the Declaration of American Independence; in fact, he made use of its very words in maintaining that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Both American and British statesmen were attracted by Harrington's unique proposals and finally embraced them.

The Utopias were the source of suggestion and perhaps also the *founders of the modern communist and socialistic philosophy and the movements based upon it,* as many writers of importance will testify. More's *Utopia,* and to a certain extent Plato's *Republic,* have become a sort of source book to which all socialists go for many of their fundamental principles. In fact, the foremost modern exponent of scientific socialism says, "With the 'Utopia' modern socialism begins." In the first place, as we have repeatedly indicated, the Utopians were protesters against the existing order, and awakened the fire of agitation. Then with the evils of the dawning of the capitalistic organization of society, in sixteenth-century England already acute, More felt it to be a system productive of unavoidable injustice, inequality, and misery. And its continuance, even with palliatives, offered vain hope of social betterment. More and his followers, therefore, absolutely condemned private property, which they thought to be the basis of the capitalistic system, and embraced the social conception of property, making all productive property socially owned and controlled. From them has been derived the socialistic theory of property current to-day. He also, and most of his followers down to Louis Blance, would have absolute control of production by the state in order to do away with the exploitation and the economic wastes and the social chaos which intermittently appear in society conducted on the basis of private enterprise: this in the interests of social welfare. Furthermore, "The problems which every Socialist state builder since has felt it his duty to solve, the problems of population and marriage, of hours of labor, of the use of money, of a possible decreased productiveness, are faced frankly and discussed with a quaint ingenuity and a broad human sympathy which have made 'the golden book of Thomas More' with Plato's earlier dream the most imperishable of all socialistic visions." It finally remained for Robert Owen about 1835 to give the name of "socialism" to the movement—though, to be sure, his efforts were of a benevolent rather than democratic nature.

The *study of sociology itself* may owe much of its original impetus to the influence of the Utopians. Saint-Simon in his *Nouveau Christianisme* laid down the principles of a collective condition of society, a new fraternalism which, while dreamy and idealistically humanitarian, yet attracted attention. Furthermore, he developed in connection with his Utopian thought a policy of "politique" of observation and experiment on the collective condition of society. These ideas particularly influenced Auguste Comte, a disciple of Saint-Simon and the inventor of the term "sociology," who, since he was dissatisfied with Saint-Simon's analysis, was led by it to work out a better scheme of social analysis and organization in his *Positive Philosophy,* which served to outline roughly the field of sociology. In general, it may be said that the Utopians, with their recognition of society as an object of necessary study, with their comprehension of social phenomena, with their partial analysis of social processes, with their conscious attempts to provide a happier world to live in, were approaching sociology as we conceive of it to-day. It remained, however, for the propounders of the doctrine of constant change or evolution, such as Hegel, Marx, Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer, with their ideas of origin and development, and the insight into telic processes which later men derived from this form of writing, to place the study of a working basis as an agency of social helpfulness.

We might continue by examining various other ideas and ideals presented by single Utopians, such as More's and Bacon's conceptions of the importance of the family, or Saint-Simon's emphasis on the expert as an agency of advance, noting their widespread influence to-day. We might also discuss at length the Saint-Simonian Church with its broad organization and its missionaries, and the Fourierist, Owenite and Icarian movements in America, or the influence of Blanc on Guild Socialism and French Syndicalism, to add emphasis to what we have been advocating in these pages, but it is unnecessary. Utopianism is not expression in vain; sooner or later, in some form, it becomes fact. Nothing is wholly lost.

BIBLIOGRAPHY[5]

I

UTOPIAS CENTRAL AND PERIPHERAL

Since the chronological sequence is of major interest, the list is so arranged, with capitals to indicate the relatively pure and undiluted Utopianism.

Classical Prelude

Plato's *Republic* and *Critias*
Xenophon's *Cyropædia*
Plutarch's *Lycurgus*

*1516	*UTOPIA*	Thomas More
1619	*CHRISTIANOPOLIS*	Johann Valentin Andreæ
*1627	*THE NEW ATLANTIS*	Francis Bacon

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[5] The bibliography is partly taken from an unpublished study on Utopias by Theresa Peet Russell. The books which are starred are cinsidered the most important.

*1637	*CIVITAS SOLIS POETICA, or City of the Sun*	Tomasso Campanella
1648	*Nova Solyma, or Jerusalem Regained*	Samuel Gott
*1656	*Oceana*	James Harrington
1676	*Les Aventures de Jacques Sadeur*	Gabriel de Foigny
1677	*HISTOIRE DES SEVARAMBES*	Denis Vairesse d'Alais
1699	*OPHIR*	Anonymous
1700	*Les Aventures de Télémaque*	François Fénelon
1720	*Voyage autour du Pole Boreal*	Simon Tyssot de Patot
1735	*Calejava*	Claude Gilbert
1737	*Gaudentio di Lucca*	Simon Berington
1750	*Le Monde d'Mercure*	Anonymous
1755	*The Center of the Earth*	Anonymous
1764	*The Cessares*	James Brugh
1768	*Ajaonier*	Bernard Fontenelle
1772	*L'AN DEUX MILLE QUATRE CENT QUARANTE*	Louis Sébastien Mercier
1781	*UN HOMME VOLANT*	Restif de la Bretonne
1795	*Spensonia*	Thomas Spence
1820	*NEW BRITAIN*	G. A. Ellis
*1825	*Nouveau Christianisme*	Saint-Simon
1837	*NEW HOLLAND*	Mary Fox
1837	*Lithconia*	Anonymous
1842	*LE VOYAGE EN ICARIE*	Étienne Cabet
1847	*THE CRATER*	James Fenimore Cooper
1869	*MY VISIT TO SYBARIS*	Edward Everett Hale
1871	*THE COMING RACE*	Edward Bulwer Lytton
1875	*By and By*	Edward Maitland
1879	*Utopias or Schemes of Social Improvement*	Moritz Kaufmann
1881	*Three Hundred Years Hence*	William Delisle Hay
1883	*THE DIOTHAS*	Ismar Thiusen
1884	*History of an Extinct Planet*	A. D. Cridge
1887	*A Crystal Age*	William Henry Hudson
1887	*The Republic of the Future*	Anna Bowman Dodd
*1888	*LOOKING BACKWARD*	Edward Bellamy
*1889	*FREILAND*	Theodor Hertzka
*1890	*NEWS FROM NOWHERE*	William Morris
1891	*The Crystal Button*	Chauncey Thomas
1891	*Looking Beyond*	Ludwig Geiseler
1892	*Mon Utopie*	Charles Secretan
1892	*Cæsar's Column*	Ignatius Donnelly
1893	*Shadows Before*	Fayette Stratton Giles
1894	*The English Revolution*	Henry Lazarus
1894	*'96, A Romance of Utopia*	Frank Rosewater
1894	*Young West*	Solomon Schindler
1894	*Toward Utopia*	F. H. P. Coste
1894	*Freeland Revisited*	Theodor Hertzka
1895	*Aristopia*	Castello Holford

1897	*EQUALITY*	Edward Bellamy
1897	*L'ANNO TRE MILLE*	Paolo Mantegazza
1897	*Utopie und Experiment*	Giovanni Rossi
1897	*New Era*	Charles W. Caryl
1898	*IONIA*	Alexander Craig
1898	*The Co-opolitan*	F. H. Clarke
1901	*INTERMERE*	William Taylor
1901	*NEUSTRIA*	Emile Thirion
1901	*Uchronie*	Charles Renouvier
1901	*Travail*	Emile Zola
1903	*LIMANORA*	Godfrey Sweven
*1905	*A MODERN UTOPIA*	H. G. Wells
1905	*SUR LA PIERRE BLANCHE*	Anatole France
*1905	*Underground Man*	Gabriel Tarde
1906	*A Crystal Age*	W. H. Hudson
*1907	*THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE*	William Dean Howells
†*1907	*Socialism before the French Revolution*	Guthrie, W. B.
1908	*Reciprocity in the Thirtieth Century*	Thomas Kirwan
1909	*THE SORCERY SHOP*	Robert Blatchford
1909	*The Lunarian Professor*	Anonymous
1909	*Das Ei des Kolumbus*	M. Ammon
1911	*KALOMERA*	W. J. Saunders
1911	*The Dawn of All*	Robert Hugh Benson
1912	*In the Days of the Comet*	H. G. Wells
1912	*Philip Dru: Administrator*	Edward House
1913	*How We Brought about the Revolution*	Emile Petaud and Emile Pouget
1914	*The World Set Free*	H. G. Wells
1914	*Equitiana*	Walter O. Henry
1920	*Democracy—False or True*	William Richmond
1920	*Doomed*	Frank Rosewater
1921	*The World in 1931*	Stewart Bruce
1921	*La Revolution des Quatre Septembre*	H. L. Follin
1921	*Utopie des Iles Bienheureuses*	Anonymous
1921	*Back to Methuselah*	George Bernard Shaw
1922	*Der Guterberg*	Julius Lerche
†*1922	*The Story of Utopias*	Lewis Mumford
1923	*MEN LIKE GODS*	H. G. Wells
1923	*The Bride of Christ*	Emry Davis
†*1923	*The History of Utopian Thought*	J. O. Hertzler
†*1923	*Social Struggles in Antiquity*	Max Beer
†*1924	*Social Struggles in the Middle Ages*	Max Beer
†*1925	*Social Struggles and Socialist Forerunners*	Max Beer
1925	*The Isles of Wisdom*	Alexander Moszkowski
1925	*Through the Needle's Eye*	F. Willoughby
1926	*THE QUESTION MARK*	M. Jaeger
†*1926	*Sir Thomas More and His Utopia*	K. Kautsky

†* Books about Utopias.

1927	*Man's World*	Charlotte Haldane
†*1927	*Education in Utopias*	G. Masso
†*	*Modern Utopias* (not yet published)	Theresa Peet Russell

II

SPECIMENS FROM THE SUBURBS

Some of which have been mistaken for Utopias because of their faint resemblance and our tendency to overstretch the term.

Plans and Predictions

Winstanley's *Law of Freedom,* Morelly's *Code de la Nature,* Amersin's *Im Freistaat,* Tarboureich's *La Cité Future,* Buckingham's *Natural Evils and Practical Remedies,* Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow,* Russell's *A Hundred Years Hence,* Mendes's *Looking Ahead,* Noto's *Ideal City,* Brandt's *New Régime,* Chavennes's *Future Commonwealth,* Chambless's *Roadtown.*

Disquisitions and Treatises

Plato's *Laws,* Aristotle's *Politics,* Cicero's *De Civitate,* Augustine's *City of God,* Patritio's *La Città Felice,* Machiavelli's *Prince,* Baxter's *Holy Commonwealth,* Rousseau's *Social Contract,* Schafheitlin's *Der Grosse Ironiker.*

Edens and Arcadias (sometimes ironic)

Rabelais's *Abbey of Theleme,* Hartlib's *Macaria,* Cowley's *College,* Johnson's *Rasselas,* Grivel's *L'Ile Inconnu,* Neville's *Isle of Pines,* Bretonne's *Deux-Mille,* Schnabel's *Insel Felsenburg,* Lawrence's *Empire of the Naires,* Hauptmann's *Island of the Great Mother.*

Fantasies and Extravaganzas

Tiphagne de la Roche's *Giphantia,* Rodney's *Star City of Mantallujah,* Yelverton's *Oneiros,* Pechmeja's *Telephe,* Lindsay's *Voyage to Arcturus,* Phelon's *Our Story of Atlantis,* Emerson's *The Smoky God,* Ular's *Zwergen-Schlacht,* Howard's *The Milltillionaire.*

III

UTOPISTIC SATIRES AND UNUSUAL UTOPIAS

1709	*L'Ile de Naudelay*	Anonymous
1726	*Laputa, and The Houyhnhnms*	Jonathan Swift
1728	*La Nouvelle Cyropedie*	Anonymous
1746	*Niels Klim*	Ludvig Holberg
1813	*Utopia Found*	Edward Mangin
1816	*Armata*	Thomas Erskine
1828	*Captain Popanella*	Benjamin Disraeli
1872	*Kennaquahair*	Theophilus McCrib
1872	*Erewhon*	Samuel Butler
1887	*The Republic of the Future*	Anna B. Dodd

1890	*Looking Further Backward*	Arthur Vinton
1891	*Pictures of the Socialistic Future*	Eugene Richter
1891	*Mr. East in Mr. Bellamy's World*	Konrad Wilbrandt
1891	*Ein Rückblick*	E. Mueller
1891	*Etwas Später*	Philipp Laicus
1892	*Looking Forward*	Richard Michaelis
1893	*Looking Within*	J. W. Roberts
1894	*A Traveller from Altruria*	William Dean Howells
1895	*The Time Machine*	H. G. Wells
1899	*When the Sleeper Wakes*	H. G. Wells
1900	*A Dialogue in Utopia*	Havelock Ellis
1901	*Riallero*	Godfrey Sweven
1906	*The Scarlet Empire*	David M. Parry
1907	*The Master Beast*	Horace W. Newte
1907	*Lord of the World*	Robert Hugh Benson
1908	*The Iron Heel*	Jack London
1908	*Penguin Island*	Anatole France
1910	*Newaera*	Edward Herbert
1911	*The Horroboos*	Morrison I. Swift
1911	*Histoire des Quatre Ans*	Daniel Halevy
1913	*The New Gulliver*	Barry Pain
1917	*Upsidonia*	Archibald Marshall
1918	*Meccania*	Owen Gregory
1919	*Aristokia*	A. W. Pezet
1924	*We*	Eugene Zamiatin
1926	*The Isles of Wisdom*	Alexander Moszkowski
1926	*The Sacred Giraffe*	Salvator de Madariaga
1927	*The Almost Perfect State*	Don Marquis

BOOK III

SOCIALISM

QUESTIONS ON SOCIALISM

1. Discuss the chief underlying causes back of the rise of Socialism. Are any of these same causes present now?
2. What are the differences between the First, Second, and Third Internationals? How do you account for the failure of the Socialists to live up to their agreement to oppose war?
3. What forces caused each one of the Socialist leaders to have the Socialistic philosophy? What made them leaders?
4. What statements in the *Communist Manifesto* do you consider more true than false, and what more false than true?
5. What differences do you note in the "modern statement" by Norman Thomas as over against the older Socialistic appeals?
6. Explain the fundamental theories of Marx.
7. How is production to be carried on under Socialism? What happens to distribution?
8. Discuss the charge made by some Socialists that under our present order "property is theft."
9. How will the incentives to work be destroyed or maintained? Compare with the incentives that affect workers under capitalism.
10. Set forth and evaluate the strong and weak points of Socialism.
11. Just how do Syndicalism and Guild Socialism differ from Marxian Socialism?

QUESTION FOR THOUGHT

(*To be answered or not, as desired*)

How do you account for the fact that so few college men in the United States believe in Socialism?

I. HISTORY AND CAUSES

THERE is an antecedent cause for every social movement and Socialism is no exception to the rule. Some of these causes can be found plainly stated in the writings of Karl Marx.

I. SELECTIONS FROM KARL MARX, CAPITAL [1]

Suppose the working day consists of 6 hours of necessary labor, and 6 hours of surplus-labor. Then the free laborer gives the capitalist every week 6 x 6 or 36 hours of surplus-labor. It is the same as if he worked 3 days in the week for himself, and 3 days in the week gratis for the capitalist. But this is not evident on the surface. Surplus-labor and necessary labor glide one into the other. I can, therefore, express the same relationship by saying, e.g., that the laborer in every minute works 30 seconds for himself, and 30 for the capitalist, etc. . . .

These "small thefts" of capital from the laborer's meal and recreation time, the factory inspectors also designate as "petty pilfering of minutes," "snatching a few minutes," or, as the laborers technically called them, "nibbling and cribbling at meal times."

It is evident that in this atmosphere the formation of surplus-value by surplus-labor is not secret. "If you allow me," said a highly respectable master to me, "to work only ten minutes in the day over-time, you put one thousand a year in my pocket." "Moments are the elements of profit." . . .

A tremendous railway accident has hurried hundreds of passengers into another world. The negligence of the employees is the cause of the misfortune. They declare with one voice before the jury that ten or twelve years before, their labor only lasted eight hours a-day. During the last five or six years it had been screwed up to 14, 18, and 20 hours, and under a specially severe pressure of holiday-makers, at times of excursion trains, it often lasted for 40 to 50 hours without a break. They were ordinary men, not Cyclops. At a certain point their labor-power failed. Torpor seized them. Their brain ceased to think, their eyes to see. The thoroughly "respectable" British jurymen answered by a verdict that sent them to the next assizes on a charge of manslaughter, and, in a gentle "rider" to their verdict, expressed the pious hope that the capitalistic magnates of the railways would, in future, be more extravagant in the purchase of a sufficient quantity of labor-power, and more "abstemious," more "self-denying," more "thrifty," in the draining of paid labor-power. . . . In the last week of June, 1863, all the London daily papers published a paragraph with the "sensational" heading "Death from simple over-work." It dealt with the death of the milliner, Mary Anne Walkeley, 20 years of age, employed in a highly-respectable dressmaking establishment, exploited by a lady with the pleasant name of Elise. The old, often-told story, was once more recounted. This girl worked, on an average, 16½ hours, during the season often 30 hours, without a break, whilst her failing labor-power was revived by occasional supplies of sherry, port, or coffee. It was just now the height of the season. It was necessary to conjure up in the twinkling of an eye the gorgeous dresses for the noble ladies bidden to the ball in honor of the newly-imported Princess of Wales. Mary Anne Walkeley had worked without intermission for 26½ hours, with 60 other girls, 30 in one room, that only afforded ⅓ of the cubic feet of air required for them. At night, they slept in pairs in one of the stifling holes into which the bedroom was divided by partitions of board. And this was one of the best millinery establishments in London. Mary Anne Walkeley fell ill on the Friday, died on Sunday, without, to the astonishment of Madame Elise, having previously completed the work in hand. The doctor, Mr. Keys, called too late to the death-bed, duly bore witness before the coroner's jury that "Mary Anne Walkeley had died from long hours of work in an over-crowded workroom, and a too small and badly ventilated bedroom." In order to give the doctor a lesson in good manners, the coroner's jury thereupon brought in a verdict that "the deceased had died of apoplexy, but there was reason to fear that her death had been accelerated by over-work in an over-crowded workroom, etc." "Our white slaves," cried the *Morning Star,* the organ of the free-traders, Cobden and Bright, "our white slaves, who are toiled into the grave, for the most part silently pine and die."

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[1] Vol. I, pp. 261, 267, 278-282, 286-287.

"It is not in dressmakers' rooms that working to death is the order of the day, but in a thousand other places; in every place I had almost said, where 'a thriving business' has to be done. . . . We will take the blacksmith as a type. If the poets were true, there is no man so hearty, so merry, as the blacksmith; he rises early and strikes his sparks before the sun; he eats and drinks and sleeps as no other man. Working in moderation, he is, in fact, in one of the best of human positions, physically speaking. But we follow him into the city or town, and we see the stress of work on that strong man, and what then is his position in the death-rate of his country. In Marylebone, blacksmiths die at the rate of 11 per thousand per annum, or 11 above the mean of the male adults of the country in its entirety. The occupation, instinctive almost as a portion of human art, unobjectionable as a branch of human industry, is made by mere excess of work, the destroyer of the man. He can strike so many blows per day, walk so many steps, breathe so many breaths, produce so much work, and live an average, say, of fifty years; he is made to strike so many more blows, to walk so many more steps, to breathe so many more breaths per day, and to increase altogether a fourth of his life. He meets the effort; the result is that, producing for a limited time a fourth more work, he dies at 37 for 50." . . .

Let us now hear how capital itself regards this 24 hours' system.

Mr. J. Ellis, one of the firm of Messrs. John Brown & Co., steel and iron works, employing about 3000 men and boys, part of whose operations, namely, iron and heavier steel work, goes on night and day by relays states "that in the heavier steel work one or two boys are employed to a score or two men." Their concern employs upwards of 500 boys under 18 of whom about ⅓ or 170 are under the age of 13. With reference to the proposed alteration of the law, Mr. Ellis says: "I do not think it would be very objectionable to require that no person under the age of 18 should work more than 12 hours in the 24. But we do not think that any line could be drawn over the age of 12, at which boys could be dispensed with for night work. But we would sooner be prevented from employing boys under the age of 13, or even so high as 14, at all, than not be allowed to employ boys that we do have at night. Those boys who work in the day sets must take their turn in the night sets also, because the men could not work in the night sets only; it would ruin their health. . . . We think, however, that night work in alternate weeks is no harm. (Messrs. Naylor & Vickers, on the other hand, in conformity with the interests of their business, considered that periodically changed night-labor might possibly do more harm than continual labor.) . . . Our objections to not allowing boys under 18 to work at night would be on account of the increase of expense, but this is the only reason. (What cynical naïveté!) We think that the increase would be more than the trade, with due regard to its being successfully carried out, could fairly bear. (What mealy-mouthed phraseology!) Labor is scarce here, and might fall short if there were such a regulation." (i.e., Ellis Brown & Co. might fall into the fatal perplexity of being obliged to pay labor-power its full value.)

2. A DEFINITION OF SOCIALISM

Jesse Lynch Williams, President of the Author's League of America, has written a one-act play which admirably depicts conventional attitudes toward socialism, and we quote it in full.

A COURSE IN SOCIALISM

"—and of these 35 students, Seniors, mind you, I found that only three knew the difference between Socialism and Anarchism. Amusing, but rather

pathetic, too, when you think of the century that they are living in, and the world we are supposed to be preparing them for."—Extract from a private letter.

[SCENE: A CLUB ON FIFTH AVENUE]

SCIENTIST: Well, for example, they ought to have a course in Socialism.

SEVERAL PROMINENT GRADUATES: (*in concert and horror*) Socialism! Are you a socialist?

SCIENTIST: No, I am a scientist.

PROMINENT GRADUATES: Then why advocate a course in Socialism?

SCIENTIST: I'll tell you why, if you tell me what it means.

STATESMAN: It means, bombs, blood, butchery—

LAWYER: A utopian dream of universal brotherhood—

CLERGYMAN: Reducing all aspiration to a basis of selfish materialism.

BUSINESS MAN: Visionary idealism, as impractical as Christianity.

PHILANTHROPIST: If we had Socialism we could have no more charity. It would destroy Christianity.

CURATE: Socialism means free love. The bishop told me so.

LAWYER: It means no freedom, no love—eugenics, state control—

BUSINESS MAN: Dividing up, leveling down; no competition, the end of individual initiative.

STATESMAN: The end of all law and order—chaos.

BUSINESS MAN: Iron-bound bureaucracy, too much law, nothing but order, no chance for progress, no hope for evolution.

SCIENTIST: Well, that explains it all. No wonder intellectually courageous students are peeping into Socialism on their own hook. You make a dull subject so fascinating. Bombs and brotherhood, the Christian ideal and its destruction, free love and no love, no law and yet too much—interesting little thing, Socialism.

PROMINENT GRADUATE: Well, then, what does it mean?

SCIENTIST: I don't know. You see I'm a college graduate myself.

CLERGYMAN: Then how dare you advocate the study of it?

SCIENTIST: So as to find out. What's education for, anyway?

BUSINESS MAN: You want our sons to become socialists?

SCIENTIST: Some of them take courses in criminology without becoming criminals. It has been known to happen. Even courses in astronomy without becoming stars.

STATESMAN: But Socialism is a menace—the greatest menace in the world since Kaiserism. It is spreading. We must stamp it out.

CHORUS OF OTHER PROMINENT GRADUATES: A menace, we must stamp it out.

SCIENTIST: How are you going to stamp it out if you don't know what or where to stamp? No wonder it is spreading. If our armies had remained as steadfastly ignorant of Germany's objectives as the so-called educated classes are of Socialism's, Kaiserism would have conquered the world. (*Rising to leave*) Good thing for the world that people like you didn't have science's job of stamping out yellow fever.

(*Exit the Scientist*)

STATESMAN: That proves it! Any one who advocates a course in Socialism must be a socialist.

CLERGYMAN: And if he's a socialist, he's a pacifist.

LAWYER: And if he's a pacifist, he's a pro-German.

CLERGYMAN: He ought to be expelled from the club.

(*A pause; they all feel better now.*)

PHILANTHROPIST: Our Alma Mater to instruct our boys in Socialism? What are we coming to!

BUSINESS MAN: Oh, don't worry. Science doesn't put up the money for education. We do.

(*Curtain.*)

Naturally since Socialism is a political movement of great magnitude, it is difficult to define. Just as in Christianity we find all sorts and varieties of faith so do we in socialism and in neither case do they always agree on just what their faith involves. Some would define Socialism as an attempt to secure the equitable distribution of the income of the country, others that it means State ownership of the basic means of production and distribution. As a matter of fact modern Socialism includes several aspects: a criticism of existing capitalistic society, a philosophy of social progress, a theory about a future ideal state and a definite political movement to attain their goal. One Socialist will stress one phase, a second another and still a third will be primarily interested in political action. A definition tends to take on some of the color of the social background and experience of the individual who makes it. Because this is true the capitalist, the statesman, the lawyer and the Socialist all flatly disagree even on their definition of the same movement. Here again we see where sociological forces determine attitudes. The individual reflects the social strata and the occupational outlook of the group to which he belongs.

A briefer definition of Socialism is given by Jesse W. Hughan. Perhaps as students of truth we can agree on this as a working definition for the present.

"SOCIALISM IS THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS WHICH AIMS TO ABOLISH EXPLOITATION BY MEANS OF THE COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP AND DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF THE BASIC INSTRUMENTS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION"

3. THE ORGANIZATION AND SPREAD OF SOCIALISM

Some of the ideas which we now associate with Socialism are almost as old as recorded history. In fact the Mosaic Law might be said to embody some of the principles of Socialism. The prophets of the Old Testament, the social teachings of Jesus and the writings of Utopians of every age would be labeled socialistic by many.

Actually the term Socialism seems to have come into use in England and France about the same time in the early years of the nineteenth century. In England it was applied to Robert Owen and his supporters and in France to Fourier and Saint-Simon. Robert Owen was a prominent textile manufacturer who took a great interest in the welfare of his own employees and of the working classes in general. He accepted as his life philosophy "the greatest happiness for the greatest number." Shortly after the peace of 1815, he proposed to the government that in order to relieve unemployment and economic distress, the workers be organized into self-supporting and self-sufficing "villages of coöperation." Both the government and the propertied classes of England generally would not listen to his proposal, but hundreds of the workers accepted his leadership. The discouragements which Owen met through the opposition of the employers and the government led him, toward the end of his life, to attempt to found a coöperative colony in America, on a thirty thousand acre plot at New Harmony, Indiana. The experiment failed after three years partially because Owen had tried to pay every one in the colony on a basis of absolute equality regardless of their effort or its result.

Meanwhile, in France, a brilliant French nobleman Count Saint-Simon from 1803 to 1825 conducted an active campaign for a socialistic society. Other French Utopian socialists who were influential were Babeuf, Cabot, Fourier, Louis Blanc and Proudhon. Blanc attacked the evils of competition and urged the establishment of social workshops which should be under the control of the workers themselves. Blanc finally became a member of the Provisional Government of 1848. The majority of the governmental leaders were opposed to his proposals but in order to appease public opinion, they started some sham workshops with the deliberate purpose of discrediting the entire idea. They placed a bitter enemy of Blanc's in charge with instructions that the proposal must not succeed.

Proudhon is most widely known because of his attack on private property. He maintained that all "property is theft." The value of goods he felt was determined by the time and labor spent in producing them. A capitalist or landlord who charged more than the cost of an article was thereby guilty of theft. He opposed rent, profit, or interest.

The French Utopians made a deep impression among certain groups in the United States. For instance, the editor of the New York *Tribune*, Horace Greeley, the elder Brisbane and Charles A. Dana became supporters of Fourier's Communistic experiments and aided similar projects in America. Most of the communities established did not last long. One, the North American Phalanx, stood for twelve years, another, the Wisconsin community, lasted six and then disbanded with property to its credit. A two hundred acre farm near Boston was started as a communal experiment and included such writers as Margaret Fuller, the Alcott Family and Nathaniel Hawthorne. For six years it was financially successful but a disastrous fire helped to bring it to a close. None of these experiments can really be called socialistic or even communistic, at least in their modern meanings. They are often cited to disprove the practicability of socialism or communism but actually have little bearing on the possible success or failure of either movement.

The French Socialism of 1848 was largely destroyed as a result of the reaction following upon the establishment of the Second Empire. However, the ferment of these revolutionary days resulted in the work of Karl Marx whose life we shall consider later. Exiled from Germany because of his radicalism, Karl Marx became acquainted with Proudhon and other socialists in Paris. Because the word *socialism* had been applied so often to Utopian ventures, Marx and his associates used the title of the Communist League when they organized in 1847. The next year they issued the famous *Communist Manifesto* [2] which was to become the classic statement of Socialism for years to come.

Perhaps the real beginning of Socialist organization occurred in 1864 when Marx formed his International Workingmen's Association generally called the "First International." [3] It contained radicals of all kinds from Russian anarchists to English trade unionists. Naturally internal conflicts resulted. Marx was able to secure the expulsion of Bakunin and the anarchists and for a time it had considerable influence as a federation of workers for mutual aid. Following the fall of the Paris Commune, it became still further weakened by internal dissensions and finally was displaced by a new organization representing the Socialist parties of the various countries.

After the demise of the First International, the development of Socialism followed very largely along national lines. In Germany Ferdinand

[2] The *Communist Manifesto* is published in full on pp. 120-146.

[3] See pp. 80-86 for a history of the various internationals.

Lassalle (1825-64) the son of a prosperous Jewish merchant, succeeded in uniting the working classes into a socialistic political movement.

In 1863 Lassalle published *"The Working Class Program"* in which he divided history into three great epochs; (1) The domination of the landed aristocracy, prior to the French Revolution, (2) The domination of the bourgeoisie, from the French Revolution to that of 1848, (3) The domination of the working class since 1848. Lassalle formulated the "iron law of wages" namely, that the average wage of labor under the capitalist system would always tend to equal the amount needed for them to live and reproduce their kind at the prevailing standard of life of their nation.

Only the state could end the misery of the working class. Lassalle advocated coöperative producers' associations with the ultimate aim of public ownership.

After founding the General Workingmen's Association in 1863 Lassalle was killed in a duel over a love affair. Shortly after this a journalist, Wilhelm Leibknecht, and a wood-turner, August Bebel, founded the Social Democratic Labor Party on a Marxist platform. In 1875 they united with the followers of Lassalle under the name of the Social Democratic Party.

Bismarck became apprehensive of this organization and from 1878 until 1890 Socialism became illegal in Germany. With Bismarck's fall the Social Democratic Party was able to come out into the open again and in 1891 adopted the Erfurt Program[4] on a complete Marxian basis.

After this the German Socialist vote increased materially in nearly every election. Beginning with the twentieth century a tendency developed which became known as "revisionism." The leader of this movement was Edouard Bernstein, a journalist who had been considerably influenced by British labor. The "revisionists" stated that some of Marx's theories must be modified. For instance, they claimed that the rich were not getting richer and the poor poorer. Consequently they insisted that the party should work less for a revolution than for a gradual transformation of capitalism. The revisionists were officially defeated in 1903, but their doctrines nevertheless exerted a powerful influence on the party.

In France Socialism was seriously handicapped by the overthrow of the Paris Commune in 1871. In 1879, however, Jules Guesde founded a Socialist Party. In 1893 Jean Jaures (1859-1914) organized the "Independent Socialists" on a platform of gradual social reform. At the International Congress in 1904 Guesde succeeded in securing the passage of a resolution that no Socialist should accept office in a bourgeoise cabinet. This was directed against Jaures who had supported several French Socialists in accepting cabinet positions.

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[4] The Erfurt Program is published in full on pp. 146-148.

Jaures accepted this decision and proceeded to unite his followers with those of Guesde in the United Socialist Party of France. As a result, the party made large gains both in votes and seats.

In England the Social Democratic Federation was formed along Marxian lines in 1880 by Henry M. Hyndman and the poet, William Morris. In 1884 the Fabian Society made up largely of Socialist intellectuals was started. The Fabians differed from most other Socialist groups in not trying to found a political party but rather to influence all parties and public opinion in general. It included in its membership such outstanding leaders as Sidney Webb, H. G. Wells, Keir Hardie, G. D. H. Cole and Ramsay MacDonald. The distribution of socialistic pamphlet literature by this society has had a widespread effect on public opinion in Great Britain. In 1893 Keir Hardie founded the Independent Labor Party along Socialist lines. For a long time Ramsay MacDonald belonged to this group and there is no question that it has exerted a powerful influence in the political field. In 1906 these various groups united to form the Labor Party.[5]

In Italy a workingmen's party was organized in 1885 which included both Socialists and anarchists. After a short while the latter were expelled and the party was reorganized along strictly socialistic lines. The party long had a struggle between the Marxists and the revisionists, but in 1906 a congress decided in favor of the latter. By 1913 the Socialists were strong enough to poll approximately a million votes and to secure the election of about seventy representatives. Since the Fascist dictatorship, Socialism has been driven under ground in Italy.

It would be possible to sketch the further rise of Socialism in the other countries of Europe, but perhaps enough has been given to show its tremendous international significance. We have seen that Socialism developed contemporaneously with the rise of machine production. Harsh industrial conditions combined with increasing enlightenment on the part of the masses and the contagion of revolutionary movements in certain countries became powerful stimuli for socialism.

Naturally the World War calling for an intense national patriotism in every country seriously affected the further rise of Socialism. In many cases party organizations were badly disrupted. In the little more than a decade following the peace, socialism is gradually regaining its lost ground. With an enormous following in Germany, a Labor Government in England and a growing vote in most European countries, it is probably stronger than ever before in history in spite of its conflict with Communism. The following table shows that its international membership now runs up into the millions.

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[5] The further history of labor's rise to power in England is given in Book VI.

NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF SOCIALISM

Country	*Membership* *	*Representation in the Lower Houses of Parliament in 1929* †
Belgium	622,000	70
Czechoslovakia	200,000	60
Denmark	143,000	61
Finland	28,000	59
France	99,000	101
Germany	869,000	153
Great Britain ‡	3,209,000	..
Holland	43,000	24
Hungary	190,000	14
Italy	31,000	0
Norway	8,000	..
Poland	64,000	56
Russia ¶	Communist	..
Sweden	149,000	90
Switzerland	33,000	50
United States	267,835 §	..

* From *The Encyclopedia of the Labour Movement* (London), Vol. III, p. 156.

† *The American Labor Year Book,* 1930, p. 220.

‡ No Socialist representation is recorded. The number of Labour representatives is 289. The large Socialist membership is accounted for because it includes the total membership of trade unions affiliated with the party.

¶ In Russia most of the Socialists now belong to the Communist Party. The number of Socialists as distinguished from Communists is unknown.

§ This was the Socialist vote in the presidential election of 1928.

4. THE VARIOUS SOCIALISTIC INTERNATIONALS

The first International Working Men's Association was formed in 1864 by Karl Marx. It was a rather loose association of radical workers of all sorts. Marx felt that in case of another revolution it would be a powerful instrument in his hands. It adopted a definitely socialistic program and was represented in the Paris Commune of 1871. As a result of the failure of the Commune, Bakunin, the Anarchist leader, was expelled and the headquarters was transferred to New York where after a conference it died in 1876. In 1889 two international Socialist congresses were held in Paris. One representing the Marxian Socialists had 395 delegates and the other representing the revisionist Socialists had about 600. In 1891 both united forming the Second International. It admitted two types of members, first, "all associations which adhere to the essential principle of Socialism . . . socialization of the means of production and exchange, international union and action of the workers, conquest of public powers by the proletariat, organized as a class party"; second, "all labor organizations which accept the principles of the class struggle and recognize the necessity of political action (legislative and parliamentary) but do not participate directly in the political movement." The Second International had an organization consisting of two delegates from each nation. Every three years it met in convention. On the whole its membership seemed to feel that progress would come through peaceful political means rather than through revolution. In this it was different from the First International.

Among the questions which came up for discussion was what should be done in case of war. In 1910 they adopted a resolution which provided that in case of a threatened conflict they were to use "every effort to prevent war by all means which seem to them appropriate, having regard to the sharpness of the class war and to the general political situation." If in spite of this, war came, they were to "intervene to bring it promptly to an end, and with all their energies to use the political and economic crisis to rouse the masses of the people from their slumbers and to hasten the fall of capitalist dominion."

Yet, finally, when the World War did threaten, the German Socialists sent a delegation to Paris to talk matters over. The French Socialists said that for them it was a defensive war and hence they would support the government and vote for the war credits. When the war came, therefore, the Socialist parties in England, France, Germany, Austria and Belgium supported the war. In justice to the Socialists it must be said that in Russia, Serbia, Italy, Rumania, Hungary and the United States, the Socialists officially went on record against the war.

However, the dream that the Socialists could prevent war had been dispelled. The sociological forces,—the unconscious grip of tradition, convention, patriotism, triumphed over idealism. It is a striking illustration of the power of the social mind set over labor and radical organizations. Zinovieff said that neither he nor Lenin expected to see the complete capitulation of the German Social Democrats. Said Zinovieff to Lenin, "You will see, the German Democrats will not dare to vote against the war, but they will abstain in the vote on the war credits." Lenin replied, "No, they are not such scoundrels after all. They will not, of course, fight against the war, but they will, to ease their conscience, vote against the credits in order that the working class may not rise against them." Zinovieff goes on to say, "In this case Lenin was wrong and so was I. Neither of us had taken the full measure of the flunkeyism of the Social Patriots. The European Social Democrats proved complete bankrupts. They all voted for war credits. When the first number of *Vorwarts,* the organ of the German Social Democrats, reached us with the news that they had voted for the war credits, Lenin at first refused to believe it. 'It can not be,' he said, 'It must be a forged number. Those scoundrels, the German bourgeois, have specially published such a number of the *Vorwarts* in order to compel us to go against the International. Alas it was not so.'"

In 1915 at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, a radical left wing Socialist conference was held. All united in opposition to the war. A radical group, however, headed by Lenin called for revolution to end all war. This was defeated but the next year at a conference at Kienthal the resolution won. The call was issued for revolution.

In 1917 the Second International decided to try to call a conference in Stockholm but the British and French governments refused to permit passports to be issued and nothing much was accomplished. The failure of the Stockholm Conference, and the Bolshevik Revolution led to the call for a conference of the revolutionary workers of the world to found a Third International. It met in Moscow in March, 1919, with thirty-two foreign delegates participating, from twelve different countries. They adopted the following constitution.

The Constitution of the Communist International[6]

(A few paragraphs containing the history of the First and Second International are omitted.)

The goal of the Communist International is a struggle by all means, even with force of arms for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the creation of an international Soviet Republic as a transitional stage to the complete suppression of the State. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means of delivering humanity from the horrors of Capitalism. And the Communist International considers the Soviet power the historically-brought-forth form of such dictatorship of the proletariat.

The imperialist war has joined particularly closely the fate of the workers of one country with that of the proletariat of all other countries. It has once more confirmed the truth of the words in the Constitution of the First International, "the liberation of the workers is not a local, nor national, but an international task."

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[6] From the official organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, *The Communist International,* No. 6, October, 1929.

The Communist International breaks with the traditions of the Second International for which practically only the white race existed. The Communist International's aim is the liberation of the workers of the whole world. In the ranks of the Communist International are united as brothers the white, yellow and black races, the workers of the whole world.

The Communist International supports fully and unswervingly the achievements of the great proletarian revolution in Russia, the first victorious Socialist revolution in the history of the world, and calls upon the proletarians of the whole world to follow its steps. The Communist International undertakes to support by all the means in its power every Soviet Republic, wherever it may be created.

The Communist International knows that in order to achieve victory sooner, the International Workingmen's Association, struggling for the suppression of capitalism and the establishment of Communism must have a regular centralized organization. As a matter of fact the Communist International must effectively and practically be a single World Communist Party, whose branches are the Communist Parties working in each country. The organizing apparatus of the Communist International must guarantee to the workers of each country the possibility at any given moment of receiving the maximum of assistance from the organized proletarians of the other countries.

To this end the Communist International adopts the following articles of the Constitution:

Art. 1. The new International Workingmen's Association is formed for the organization of joint action by the proletariats of various countries, who are struggling for the same aims; the overthrow of capitalism, the creation of a dictatorship of the proletariat and an International Soviet Republic for the complete abolition of the classes and the realization of Socialism, the first step towards a Communist society.

Art. 2. The new International Workingmen's Association shall be named the Communist International.

Art. 3. All parties joining the Communist International shall be called: "Communist Party of such and such country (branch of the the Communist International)."

Art. 4. The highest organ of the Communist International is a World Congress of all the parties and organizations constituting it. The World Congress shall be convened as a rule not less than once a year. The World Congress alone is empowered to modify the program of the Communist International.

The World Congress discusses and passes resolutions on the most important questions of program and tactics connected with the work of the Communist International. The number of decisive votes for each party and organization at the World Congress shall be determined by special resolutions of the Congress.

Art. 5. The World Congress elects the Executive Committee of the Communist International to serve during the periods between the Congresses of the Communist International and it is accountable to the World Congress only.

Art. 6. The residence of the Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be each time determined by the World Congress of the Communist International.

Art. 7. An Extraordinary World Congress of the Communist International may be convened either by decision of the Executive Committee, or at the request of one half of the parties forming part of the Communist International at the last World Congress.

Art. 8. The chief burden of the work in the Executive Committee of the Communist International lies on the Party of the country in which the Executive Committee resides, as decreed by the World Congress. The Party of that country shall have five representatives in the Executive Committee with a decisive vote. Beside this from ten to twelve of the largest Communist Parties shall each have one representative with a decisive vote in the Executive Committee; the list of such representatives shall be confirmed by the World Congress of the Communist International. The remaining parties and organizations, members of the Communist International, shall be entitled to send to the Executive Committee one representative each with a consultative vote.

Art. 9. The Executive Committee shall direct the whole work of the Communist International from Congress to Congress and it shall publish in not less than four languages a Central Organ of the Communist International ("Communist International"); it shall issue the necessary proclamations in the name of the Communist International and give binding directions to all Parties and organizations, constituting the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Third International is entitled to demand from the affiliated Parties the expulsion of such groups and persons who have violated the international discipline, and also to expel from the Communist International the parties which violate the resolutions of the World Congress. These parties have a right to appeal to the World Congress.

In case of need the Communist International shall organize in different countries its own technical and other offices completely subordinated to the Executive Committee. The representatives of the Executive Committee shall carry out their political tasks in closest contact with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the given country.

Art. 10. The Executive Committee of the Communist International is entitled to receive, with the right of a consultative vote, the representatives of Parties and organizations not included in the Communist International, but sympathizing with and approaching Communism.

Art. 11. The organs of all Parties and organizations constituting the Communist International and those sympathizing with the Communist International shall be bound to publish all the official resolutions of the Communist International and its Executive Committee.

Art. 12. The general conditions in all Europe and America compel the Communists of all the world to form illegal Communist organizations parallel with the lawful ones. The Executive Committee shall be bound to see that this should be carried out everywhere.

Art. 13. As a rule all important political relations between the separate Parties forming the Communist International are carried on through the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In case of urgency the relations are carried on directly but at the same time the Executive Committee of the Communist International is informed thereof.

Art. 14. Labor Unions which adopt the Communist platform and unite together on an international scale under the control of the Executive Committee of the Communist International shall form Labor Sections of the Communist International. The Communist Labor Unions shall send their representatives to the World Congress of the Communist International through the Communist Parties of the given countries. The Section of Labor Union of the Communist International shall delegate one representative to the Executive Committee of the Communist International with a decisive vote. The Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be entitled to delegate its representative with the right of a decisive vote to the Section of Labor Unions of the Communist International.

Art. 15. The International Union of Communist Youth is a fully empowered member of the Communist International and subordinated to its Executive Committee. One representative of the International Union of Communist Youth shall be delegated to the Executive Committee of the Communist International with a right of a decisive vote. The Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be entitled to delegate one representative with the right of a decisive vote to the executive organ of the International Union of Communist Youth.

Art. 16. The Executive Committee of the Communist International shall confirm the appointment of an International Secretary of the Communist Women's Movement and it shall organize the Women's Section of the Communist International.

Art. 17. When passing from one country into another, every member of the Communist International shall meet with brotherly support on the part of the local members of the Third International.

Since 1919 the Third International has been meeting regularly although with decreasing frequency. The Sixth International World Congress met in Moscow in 1928. A "plenum" of the Executive Committee met there in 1929.

In 1921 a Congress of the more conservative Socialists was held in Vienna and succeeded in forming a Working Union of Socialist Parties often called the Second-and-a-Half International. In 1922 the American Socialist Party affiliated with this group. In a conference at Hamburg in 1923 the Working Union and the Second International were merged in the *Labor and Socialist International.* This now represents the non-Communist Socialist parties. Friedrich Adler of Austria is the Secretary and offices are maintained at Zurich, Switzerland.

It can thus be seen that sociological forces are powerful and affect the attitudes even of confirmed revolutionists. Within both the present Internationals, we have social forces reflecting the state of the society in which they exist. Naturally the Third International with headquarters in a Communistic country takes on the colour of Communism and becomes a subservient arm of Communism, and the Labor International with headquarters in a democracy tends to reflect to some extent the democratic capitalistic tradition. The sociologist who reflects on what happened following the World War in the two nations, Germany and Russia, which went through revolution is impressed by the fact that when the forces of aristocracy went into bankruptcy, the socialist parties were the only ones who had enough vitality and power to organize the government. The reader might well ask himself what will happen at the end of the next World conflict.

II. LEADERSHIP

Leaders are the product of social forces as well as of the biologic cycle. They are the sports [7] as well as the epitomes of their age. The reader should ask such questions as (1) What caused this leader to act? (2) What did he say and do? (3) What was the result?

1. KARL MARX [8]

Karl Marx, the first to provide socialism and therewith the whole modern labor movement with a scientific foundation, was born at Treves in the year 1818. In his student days at Bonn and Berlin he devoted himself, to begin with, to the study of jurisprudence, but soon turned from this field to concentrate upon history and philosophy. In 1842 he was on the point of becoming an instructor in philosophy when he was involved in the political movement which had originated since the death of Frederick William III., and he was thus switched into a different career. He collaborated with the leaders of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie (Camphausen, Hansemann, etc.) in founding the "Rheinische Zeitung" at Cologne; and, in the autumn of 1842, his criticism of the proceedings of the Rhenish provincial diet having aroused widespread attention, Marx became editor-in-chief of the new journal. Of course, the "Rheinische Zeitung" was subject to the prevailing censorship, but the censorship was not equal to the task of controlling it. The "Rheinische Zeitung" nearly always managed to publish what it wanted. Sometimes articles of no importance, written to be censored, were sent in as a preliminary. At other times the official's hands were forced by telling him: "If you censor this article, we shall not be able to publish the paper to-morrow." Had there been ten newspapers as bold as the "Rheinische," ten journals whose editors had had a few hundred thalers more to squander upon type-setting, the German press censorship would already have become impracticable in 1843. But the German newspaper proprietors were timid folk, humdrum fellows with small ideas and limited means, so the "Rheinische Zeitung" had to fight alone. Its activities wore out one censor after another. At length a twofold censorship was imposed; after the matter for publication had been passed by the ordinary censor, it had to be submitted to the provincial governor for final approval. Even this was inadequate. Early in 1843, the government realized that the nswspaper was too much for it, and the "Rheinische Zeitung" was unceremoniously suppressed.

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[7] *Sport* is a biologic term meaning a sudden spontaneous variation from type.

[8] Taken through the courtesy of International Publishers from a reprint of a sketch by Friedrich Engels printed in *Karl Marx,* edited by D. Ryazanoff (International Publishers).

Marx, who that summer married Jenny von Westphalen (the father was in later years a reactionary Minister of State), now removed to Paris. There, in conjunction with A. Ruge, he issued the "Deutsche-französische Jahrbücher," beginning here the series of his socialist writings with a criticism of Hegel's philosophy of law. He also combined with the present writer in the publication of a book entitled *Die heilige Familie; gegen Bruno Bauer und Konsorten* (The Holy Family; against Bruno Bauer and Co.), a satirical critique of one of the latest forms then assumed by German idealist philosophy.

While engaged in these activities and in the study of political economy and of the great French Revolution, Marx still had time to spare for occasional attacks on the Prussian government. In the spring of 1845, the Prussian authorities revenged themselves by inducing the Guizot ministry to order the expulsion of the offender from France. (Alexander von Humboldt is said to have acted as intermediary in this matter.) Marx now set up house in Brussels, and there, in the year 1846, published his *Discours sur le libre échange* (Essay on Free Trade), and in 1847 *Misère de la philosophie* (Poverty of Philosophy), a criticism of Proudhon's *Philosophie de la misère* (Philosophy of Poverty). While thus engaged, he now made his first entry into the field of practical agitation by founding in Brussels a German Arbeiterverein (workers' association). His participation in the revolutionary movement became still more active when, in 1847, he and his political associates joined the Communist League, which had already been in existence for several years as a secret society. The whole nature of this body was now transformed. Hitherto it had been more or less conspiratorial in scope and method. Now it remained secret only because secrecy was forced upon it, becoming an organization for communist propaganda, the first organization of the German Social Democratic Party. The League struck root wherever German workers' associations existed. The leading members of nearly all such associations in England, Belgium, France, and Switzerland, and those of many of the associations in Germany, were members of the Communist League, and this body played a notable part in the initiation of the German labor movement. Furthermore, our League was the first to stress the international character of the labor movement as a whole; the first to unite Englishmen, Belgians, Hungarians, Poles, etc., as active participators in a working-class organization; the first to call international meetings of the workers (this especially in London).

The metamorphosis of the League was effected at two congresses held during the year 1847. At the second of these, it was agreed that the party principles should be formulated and published in a manifesto to be drafted by Marx and Engels. Such was the origin of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* which appeared in 1848 shortly before the February revolution, and has since then been translated into almost all the languages of Europe.

In Brussels there was a German newspaper, the "Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung," which ruthlessly exposed the Fatherland's police-made paradise. Here the hand of Marx was once more at work, and the Prussian government therefore moved, though fruitlessly for the nonce, to secure his expulsion from Belgium. But when the February revolution in Paris was followed by a popular movement in Brussels, so that a revolution seemed imminent in Belgium likewise, the Belgian government laid hands on Marx and summarily expelled him from the country. Meanwhile the French provisional government had, through Flocon, invited him to return to Paris, and he accepted the invitation.

In the French capital his chief business was to withstand the crazy scheme of the German workers there, who designed to form themselves into armed legions, bring about a revolution in Germany, and establish a German republic. Marx pointed out: first of all that it was Germany's task to make her own revolution; and, secondly, that the Lamartines and their kind in the provisional government would infallibly betray to the enemy any foreign revolutionary legion organized on French soil—as actually happened in Belgium and Baden.

After the March revolution, Marx went to Cologne where he founded the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung." This newspaper was issued from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1949, and was the only organ of the democratic movement of that period to represent the outlook of the proletariat. It did this, above all, by its unqualified support of the June insurrection in Paris (1848)—a policy which almost all the shareholders of the journal repudiated. In vain did the "Kreuz Zeitung" complain of the "colossal impudence" with which the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" attacked everything sacred, from king and viceregent down to the ordinary policemen—and this in a Prussian fortress city then garrisoned by 8,000 men. In vain did the Rhenish liberals, who had suddenly become reactionaries, furiously rage. In vain did the local authorities of Cologne, where a state of siege had been declared, suspend the offending newspaper for a long period during the autumn of 1848. In vain did the Ministry of Justice in Frankfort instruct the Cologne public prosecutor to take legal proceedings on account of article after article. The work of editing and printing the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" went on unhindered; and the circulation and the repute of the journal grew as the fierceness of its attacks on the government and the bourgeoisie increased. When the Prussian coup d'état occurred in November, 1848, at the head of each issue the "Rheinische" appealed to the people to refuse payment of taxes and to counter force with force. In the spring of 1849, it was prosecuted twice, once for this offense, and once for a specific article; but in both cases the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. At length, however, when the May uprising of 1849 in Dresden and Rhenish Prussia had been suppressed, and when the Prussian campaign against the insurgents in Baden and the Palatinate had been begun by the concentration and mobilization of a large force of troops, the government felt strong enough to make an end of the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" by force. The last issue, that of May 19th, was printed in red ink.

Marx now returned to Paris, but within a few weeks after the demonstration of June 13, 1849, the French government confronted him with the choice of going to live in Brittany or of leaving France altogether. He chose the latter alternative, and went to London (where he lived until his death in 1883).

During the year 1850, an attempt was made to reissue the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" at Hamburg, in the form of a review; but the scheme was soon dropped owing to the increasing violence of the reaction. Soon after the coup d'état in Paris (December, 1851), Marx wrote *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte.* In 1853 he wrote *Enthüllungen über den kölner Kommunistenprozess* (Revelations concerning the Cologne

Communist Trial), first published in Boston, U.S.A.; subsequently reissued at Basle, and later still at Leipzig.

After the condemnation of the members of the Communist League in Cologne, Marx withdrew from the work of political agitation for the next ten years. During this period he was mainly devoted to the study of the treasures of economic literature to be found in the British Museum Reading Room. Throughout the earlier part of this period (down to the outbreak of the American Civil War) he was a regular contributor to the "New York Tribune," which published, in addition to Marx's signed contributions, a considerable number of leading articles penned by him and dealing with European and Asiatic affairs. His attacks on Lord Palmerston, based upon a detailed examination of British official documents, were reissued in London as pamphlets.

The first fruit of his economic researches was entitled *Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie* (published by Duncker, Berlin, 1859).

This work contains the first coherent exposition of the Marxist theory of value together with the theory of money. During the Italian war, Marx (writing in "Das Volk," a German newspaper published in London) was busied in attacking Bonapartism, which was masquerading as a liberal movement for the freeing of oppressed nationalities; and also in onslaughts upon the Prussian policy of the day, showing how Prussia, under the pretext of neutrality, was trying to fish in troubled waters. In the same connection it was necessary to attack Herr Karl Vogt, who, commissioned by Prince Napoleon ("Plon-Plon") and paid by Louis Bonaparte, was working to secure German "neutrality" (read "sympathy"). Assailed by Vogt with the most abominable and deliberate calumnies, Marx replied in the work *Herr Vogt* (London, 1860). Herein the machinations of Vogt and other gentlemen wearing false democratic colors were exposed, and on both external and internal evidence Vogt was accused of accepting bribes from the Second Empire. The justice of this accusation was confirmed ten years later, for in the list of the sums paid to Bonapartist hirelings (found in the Tuileries in 1870, and published by the September government) was an item among the V's: "Vogt, handed over to him in August, 1859, frs. 40,000."

Finally, in the year 1867, there was published at Hamburg, *Das Kapital, Kritik der politischen Oekonomie, erster Band,* Marx's chief work, an exposition of his Socialist economics and of the fundamentals of his criticism of the extant order of society, of the capitalist method of production and its consequences. The second edition of this epoch-making book appeared in 1872. The present writer is now engaged in the elaboration of the second volume.

Meanwhile the labor movement had been regaining strength in the various countries of Europe, so that Marx was now able to work for the realization of a wish he had long cherished. This was for the foundation of a workingmen's association in the most advanced lands of Europe and America, which should give the workers, and also the bourgeois and the governments, a concrete demonstration of the international character of the Socialist movement, should encourage and strengthen the proletariat, and should strike terror into the hearts of its enemies. An opportunity was provided at a public meeting, primarily summoned on behalf of the Poles (then suffering from renewed oppression at the hands of the Russian government), and held on September 28, 1864, in St. Martin's Hall, London. The proposal to found the International Workingmen's Association was enthusiastically adopted; and a provisional General Council, to sit in London, was elected at the meeting. In this General Council, and in all the subsequent General Councils down to the time of The Hague Congress, Marx was the leading spirit. Almost all the documents issued by the General Council, from the *Inaugural Address* (1864) down to *The Civil War in France* (1871), were drafted by him. A description of Marx's activities in the International would be a history of the Association, which still lives in the memory of the European workers.

The fall of the Paris Commune made the position of the International untenable. It was thrust into the foreground of European history at a moment when all possibilities of successful practical action had been cut off. The events which raised it to the position of a seventh great power, made the mobilization of its fighting forces and their use in the field out of the question—for defeat would have been inevitable, and thereby the working-class movement would have been checked for decades. Furthermore, the suddenly acquired fame of the Association had attracted to it elements spurred on by personal vanity, and individuals eager to turn it to account for the gratification of their own ambition, ignorant or regardless of the real position of the International. Heroic measures were needed, and once more it was Marx who conceived them and then carried them into effect at The Hague Congress. The International, in a formal resolution, disclaimed all responsibility for the doings of the Bakuninists, who were the most active among the before-mentioned foolish and unsavory elements. Then, in view of the impracticability (under the shadow of the general reaction) of coping with the increased demands now being made upon the International, and of continuing actively at work except at the cost of sacrifices which would have drained the labor movement of its life-blood, it was agreed that the organization should temporarily withdraw from the stage, the seat of the General Council being transferred to the United States. This decision has often been criticized, but events have shown that it was sound. On the one hand, the step put an end to the endeavors to make the International responsible for futile insurrections. On the other hand, the continued and close association between the Socialist labor parties of the various countries showed that community of interest and solidarity of feeling (once awakened among the workers of all lands through the formation of the International) were able to secure active expression without the existence of a formal International Workingmen's Association—which had for the time being become a hindrance to progress.

After the Hague Congress, Marx could at length find repose and leisure for the resumption of his studies in the theoretical field, and there is good reason to hope that ere long the second volume of *Capital* will be ready for the press.

Among the numerous important discoveries for which Marx's name will be famous in the history of science, two only can be mentioned here.

The first of these is the transformation he has brought about in our general conception of universal history. Hitherto the accepted view has been that the ultimate causes of historical changes are to be found in the changing ideas of human beings; and that, among all historical changes, political changes are the most important—are dominant in history. People did not trouble to ask whence ideas came into men's minds, or to inquire what were the primary causes of political changes. Only upon the newer school of French historians, and to some extent also upon recent English historians, had the conviction forced itself that, since the Middle Ages at any rate, the chief motive force of European history had been the struggle of the rising bourgeoisie to wrest social and political power from the feudal nobility. But Marx has shown that all history down to the present day has been the history of class struggles; that in all the manifold and complicated political struggles, what is really at issue is nothing more or less than the social and political dominion of social classes—the struggle of an old-established class to maintain power, and the struggle of a subordinate class to rise to power. But how do these classes originate, and upon what does their existence depend? Classes arise out of, and their existence depends upon, the material conditions under which society at any given time produces and exchanges the means of life.

The feudal regime of the Middle Ages was based upon the self-sufficing economy of small communities of peasants, who themselves produced almost everything they needed, so that there was practically no system of exchange. The nobles, a fighting caste, protected these peasant communities against attack from outside, and gave them national, or at any rate political cohesion. But with the growth of the towns there arose a system of handicrafts, and commerce developed—national at first and then international. Therewith the urban bourgeoisie came into being; and even before the close of the Middle Ages this new class, after a struggle with the nobility, secured acceptance into the feudal order of society. Then, from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, and especially after the discovery of the extra-European world, the bourgeoisie began to find a much wider area for its commercial activities, and therewith to feel a new spur to its industry. Handicraft, in most fields of production, gave place to the factory system of manufacture. Then, thanks to the discoveries of the eighteenth century (and especially thanks to the discovery of the steam engine), the development of large-scale industry became possible; and this in its turn reacted upon commerce, for in the more backward countries it drove out the old handicrafts, and in the more advanced lands it brought into being new means of communication—steam transport, railways, and electric telegraphs. Thus the bourgeoisie was able to an increasing extent to concentrate social wealth and social power into its hands, whilst political power was still exclusively vested in the nobility and in the monarchy based upon the nobility. But at a certain stage the bourgeoisie is able to win political power as well (in France this happened through the great revolution), and thenceforward it becomes the governing class, holding sway over the proletariat and the lesser peasantry.

From this outlook we can find the simplest possible explanation of all historical happenings, provided we have sufficient knowledge concerning the economico-social conditions of the period we are studying—a knowledge which, however, our professional historians never possess! Thus, too, we can readily explain the prevailing ideas in any historical epoch as the outcome of the economic vital conditions of the time and the social and political relationships that issue from these conditions. Marx's discovery for the first time set history upon its true foundation. The obvious fact (which, though obvious, had previously been overlooked) that human beings must eat and drink, must have clothing and shelter, in a word *must work,* before they can fight for dominion or cultivate politics and religion and philosophy—this obvious fact was at last able to enter into its historical heritage.

The new philosophy of history was of supreme importance to socialist theory. It showed that hitherto all history had been the history of class contrasts and class struggles; that there had always been ruling and ruled, exploiting and exploited classes; and that the great majority of human beings had been invariably condemned to hard labor and little enjoyment. Why was this? For the simple reason that, in all earlier phases of social evolution, production had been so little developed that historical progress had been substantially dependent upon the activity of a small privileged minority, whilst to the vast majority had been left the task of producing their own bare subsistence and also the increasingly generous portion of the privileged minority. Such an analysis of history gives a natural and reasonable explanation of class rule, which had previously seemed explicable only as the outcome of human malevolence. But it does more than this, for it leads us to the view that nowadays, thanks to the tremendous increase in the forces of production, the last pretext for a division of mankind into rulers and ruled, exploiters and exploited, has vanished—at any rate in the more advanced countries of the world. It shows us that the dominant great bourgeoisie has fulfilled its historic mission, that it is no longer competent to lead society on the forward march and has actually become a hindrance to the development of production (as we can see from the occurrence of commercial crises, and especially from the last great collapse and from the depressed condition of industry in all lands). It shows, likewise, that the historic mission of leadership now devolves on the proletariat, a class which, in virtue of its social position, can only free itself by doing away once for all with class dominion, subjugation, and exploitation. It shows, finally, that the social forces of production, which have outgrown the control of the bourgeoisie, only await seizure by the associated proletariat in order to bring about a state of affairs in which every member of society will not merely participate in the production of social wealth, but will have an equal share in the distribution and administration of this wealth; and it shows that, by the purposively organized control of production as a whole, the forces of production and the social yield will be so greatly intensified and expanded that there will be guarantees for the satisfaction of every individual's reasonable needs to an ever-increasing degree.

The second of Marx's epoch-making discoveries is his definitive explanation of the relationship between capital and labor; in other words, his elucidation of the way in which, within existing society and under the dominion of the extant capitalist method of production, the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists is effected. As soon as economic science had proved that labor was the source of all wealth and all value, it became inevitable that people should go on to ask: "How can this demonstration be reconciled with the fact that the wage worker does not receive the whole of the value created by his labor, but is compelled to part with a portion of it to the capitalist?" The bourgeois economists and the socialists alike did their utmost to find an answer that should be scientifically valid, but all their attempts were vain until Marx solved the problem.

Here is the Marxist solution. The present capitalist method of production presupposes the existence of two social classes: on the one hand the capitalists, who own the means of production and life; and, on the other, the proletarians, who, being dispossessed, have nothing to sell but their labor power, and are forced to sell this in order to get the means of life. But the value of a commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor time incorporated in its production or requisite for its reproduction; and the value of the labor power of an average human being for a day, a month, or a year, is thus determined by the amount of labor incorporated in the quantity of the necessaries of life requisite for the maintenance of this labor power during a day, a month, or a year. Let us assume that the necessaries of life requisite for the maintenance of a worker throughout a working day needed six working hours for their production, or (which is the same thing) that the labor incorporated in them represents a labor quantum of six hours; in that case the value of one day's labor power will be expressed by a sum of money which likewise incorporates six working hours. Let us assume, further, that the capitalist who employs our workman pays him this sum, which is the full value of his labor power. Then, as soon as the workman has worked six hours for the capitalist, he has fully repaid the capitalist's outlay—has given six hours' labor for six hours' labor. There is nothing left over for the capitalist, who therefore looks at the matter from a very different standpoint. The capitalist says: "I have bought this worker's labor power not for six hours only, but for a whole day"; and he therefore makes the workman stick to the job for eight, ten, twelve, fourteen, or more hours (as the case may be), so that the product of the seventh, eighth, and subsequent working hours is the outcome of unpaid labor, and finds its ways into the capitalist's pocket. Thus the worker in capitalist employ produces, not merely the value of his labor power (which he receives as his wages), but also a surplus value which, in the first instance appropriated by the capitalist, is subsequently distributed throughout the capitalist class in accordance with definite economic laws, and forms the source of land-rent, profit, the accumulation of capital—in a word of all the wealth that is consumed or hoarded by the leisure classes.

This demonstration shows that the acquisition of wealth by latter-day capitalists is just as much the appropriation of others' labor, of unpaid labor, as was the acquisition of wealth by the slave-owner or by the feudal baron imposing forced labor on his serfs; it shows that these various forms of exploitation are merely distinguished one from another by variations in the method whereby the unpaid labor is appropriated. It cuts the ground from under the feet of the hypocritical contention of the possessing classes that law and justice dominate the existing order of society, that in that order there are established equality of rights and duties and a general harmony of interests. Contemporary bourgeois society is seen, no less than its forerunners, to be a gigantic institution for the exploitation of the overwhelming majority of the population by a small and continually decreasing minority.

Modern scientific socialism is grounded upon these two salient facts. In the second volume of *Capital,* this and other hardly less important discoveries concerning the capitalist system of society will be further developed; and certain aspects of political economy not touched upon in the first volume will likewise be revolutionized.

In his Funeral Oration for Marx, Engels said:

"Two such discoveries might suffice for one man's lifetime. Fortunate is he who is privileged to make even one discovery so outstanding. But in every field he studied (the fields were many, and the studies were exhaustive), Marx made independent discoveries—even in mathematics.

"I have pictured the man of science. But the man of science was still only half the man. For Marx, science was a motive force of history, was a revolutionary force. Whilst he took a pure delight in a purely theoretical discovery, in one which had not and perhaps never would have a practical application, he experienced a joy of a very different kind when he was concerned with a discovery which would forthwith exert a revolutionary influence on industry, on historical evolution in general. For instance, he paid close attention to the advances of electrical science, and, of late years, to the discoveries of Marcel Deprez.

"For, before all else, Marx was a revolutionist. To collaborate in one way or another in the overthrow of capitalist society and of the State institutions created by that society; to collaborate in the freeing of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to inspire with a consciousness of its needs, with a knowledge of the conditions requisite for its emancipation—this was his true mission in life. Fighting was his natural element. Few men ever fought with so much passion, tenacity, and success. His work on the 'Rheinische Zeitung' in 1842, on the Parisian 'Vorwärts' in 1844, on the 'Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung' in 1847, on the 'Neue Rheinische Zeitung' in 1848 and 1849, on the 'New York Tribune' from 1852 to 1861; a great number of pamphlets; multifarious activities in Paris, Brussels, and London; finally, as crown of his labours, the foundation of the International Workingmen's Association: there you have his record. Had Marx done nothing but found the International, that was an achievement of which he might well have been proud.

"Because he was an active revolutionist, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. He was shown the door by various governments, republican as well as absolute. Bourgeois, ultra-democrats as well as conservatives, vied with one another in spreading libels about him. He brushed these aside like cobwebs, ignored them, only troubled to answer them when he positively had to. Yet he has gone down to his death, honored, loved, and mourned by millions of revolutionary workers all over the world, in Europe and Asia as far eastward as the Siberian mines, and in America as far westward as California. I can boldly assert that, while he may still have many adversaries, he has now hardly one personal enemy.

"His name and his works will live on through the centuries."

Besides the above tribute we should perhaps add two modern estimates, one by a Premier of the British government; the other by a leading economist.

Ramsay MacDonald says, "To-day Marx is known over as wide a world as even Christ or Mohammed. He holds a position equal to any one of the few teachers who have founded religious movements, his writings, largely unread, are held as inspired, and upon differences of interpretation of what he has said or written, sects of the faithful are founded, and bitter internecine war is carried on. Books and treaties written upon him and his doctrines are legion, and are to be found in every language which commands a printing press. The validity of his theories are more than doubtful but as with the great religious teachers, that in no way diminishes the homage paid to him, nor stamps out attempts to regard his word as the last thing that has been said." His position is secure for all time because his work gave the workers hope and translated an economic criticism into a living movement which has spread throughout the world. "Thus Marx became the personal embodiment of the working-class revolt against Capitalism and its fight for Socialism."

Regarding his intellectual ability, Professor F. R. A. Seligman, Past President of the American Economic Association, in his book, *The Economic Interpretation of History*, says, "Whether or not we agree with Marx's analysis of industrial society, and without attempting to pass judgment upon the validity of his philosophical doctrine, it is safe to say that no one can study Marx as he deserves to be studied—and, let us add, as he has hitherto *not* been studied, in England or America—without recognizing the fact that, perhaps with the exception of Ricardo, there has been no more original, no more powerful and no more acute intellect in the entire history of economic science."

2. THE SOCIALIST LEADERSHIP IN GENERAL [9]

Socialism is a tendency, not a revealed dogma, and therefore it is modified in its forms of expression from generation to generation. The goal remains the same, but the path twists and twines like every other human path. Its wayside aspects also change, and the people who walk upon it do not remain the same. At one time an expanding industry draws men in one direction, as a gold discovery in new lands draws men from old fields of labors and casts a new glamor over men's vision. At another time thought is inspired by some impulse imparted by scientific discovery when every idea which dominates man is molded by that impulse. At yet another time some outstanding cause becomes the center of all vital intellectual force and every other movement tends to express itself in relation to that cause. Thus we have seen during the past century the magnets round which men's minds have centered change again and again and human interests change with them. Political enfranchisement, scientific discovery, the accumulation of wealth, religion have dominated thought, and have created philosophies, outlooks, systems of criticism, motives. Fluctuations in the Socialist movement and a varying emphasis placed upon aspects of the Socialist creed, have marked these changes as the tides mark the varying course of the moon.

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[9] J. Ramsay MacDonald, *The Socialist Movement*, pp. 195-213. Courtesy of Henry Holt and Company.

Saint-Simon and Fourier.—Long before there was what can be called a Socialist movement, there were men groping after the Socialist plan, examining society with lanterns lit from the lamp of Socialism, making demands which were partial discoveries of Socialism itself, in the same way that many pioneers set foot on America before America itself was explored.

The word Socialism itself appears to have been first used in this country in 1835 to describe Owen and his work. It was adopted by the Frenchman Reybaud and applied by him to the theories of Saint-Simon and Fourier. At that time it was used to indicate theories of social reconstruction in which the state had no part—moral and idealistic movements of Utopists; and when Marx and Engels opened a new chapter in the history of the movement by insisting upon the political character of the transformation, they chose the word Communist as their title, and, in the famous *Communist Manifesto,* attacked the Socialism of their predecessors. One of the amusing tricks which the whirligig of time has brought, is a complete inversion of the application of these terms.[10]

The French Revolution not only stirred up into confidence all the optimistic expectation of human nature but taught it to speak, to educate, to agitate. It was springtime on the earth. The people had not experienced themselves; their friends had not been disillusioned. Years afterwards Owen, so typical of his age, could serenely argue that simple reason would convert kings and that a worthy homily addressed to the angel at the gate of Paradise would induce her to lower her sword. This enthusiastic *naïveté* was also the soul of Saint-Simon who was the first to draw to himself a company that can be called Socialist. These pioneers were queer folk. They were children to the day of their death. The strange being, Saint-Simon, with his valet solemnly wakening him every morning with the salutation: "Remember, monsieur le comte, that you have great things to do," is separated from us by worlds of feeling. And yet his lack of humor and his crytalline sincerity which made him cheerfully accept the terrible poverty of his later years, endear him to us.

In 1817, when he was forty-three years of age, he first wrote on social matters, and for eight years, till his death, he continued to sketch out the pathway to human freedom. He had the spirit of organization in him. He felt that the disintegration of society which followed upon the end of feudalism and marked the beginning of commercialism was ruinous, and his plea was that men of science should manage industry benevolently and wisely in the interests of the whole people. He put the coping-tone on his system by his last work, *The New Christianity,* in which he laid down the fundamental doctrine of social religion, that humanity is a fraternity and should act as such. On the side of economics he had a very clear vision that accumulated property was being used for exploiting purposes. That was the explanation of poverty, and to put an end to poverty a moral society would bend every energy. This mingling of economics and morals was Saint-Simonian Socialism. The founder had few followers during his lifetime, but he left a school behind him.

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[10] One of the many displays of ignorance which the anti-Socialist organizations have made, is a leaflet which one of them has published showing how Marx attacked "Socialism" and thereby denounced the errors of his followers! The same mistake has crept into books like Guthrie's *Socialism before the French Revolution.*

Like all schools, it evolved and threw out shoots. Comtism was one of its branches, another branch grew out towards modern Socialism. It is this branch which I must trace.

Its first fruits was a community of enthusiasts, able and well-educated, who lived from a common purse. But it also produced ideas. The idea of association was amplified and enriched at its hands and given an historical setting. Association was shown to be an historical tendency which alternated with one in the opposite direction. The reign of anarchy, war, exploitation, had worked itself out when it produced the proletariat; the reign of coöperation, of organic unity, was about to begin with religion as its inspiration. At the same time the economics of Saint-Simonism were elaborated, and the necessity of the communal control of the instruments of production was proved by a reasoned sequence of argument. Society was to be a differentiated organization in which merit alone was to determine the place of a man, and the value of his services was to determine the character of his reward. But on its mystical side it toppled over as so many fantastic religious movements have done. When men treat the flesh as anything but flesh and allow themselves to wander on the bewitched paths of symbolism and mysticism, they are in danger of becoming the slaves of the earthy realities which they think they have dissolved, or of becoming mad; and the blight of both misfortunes ended the school of Saint-Simon. But its healthy tenets never died. They were discussed by bands of men wherever discontent, either intellectual or economic, agitated Europe. Society kept them in her heart. Saint-Simonism quickened the social movement of the century.

Fourier, for instance, wrote before Saint-Simon, but it was Saint-Simonian influence that made Fourierism a living thing. Fourier makes the small commune, which he calls the Phalanstery, the governing unity of his ideal world. He has no fantastic hierarchy of wise men. In that respect he keeps upon solid earth. He was as democratic as Saint-Simon was aristocratic, as decentralizing as Saint-Simon was centralizing. The locality is where wealth is actually created, and there one finds the causes of bad distribution. So Fourier fixed his eye upon the commune. The problem he placed before him was how the mechanical advantages of large industries could be secured without lowering the workmen to the status of a mere machine. With that in view he constructed, on paper, his Phalanstery. It was to consist of about three hundred families who were to coöperate in production with commonly owned instruments. Their consumption, however, could be as individualistic as they liked. Policy and economy might induce them to join in the common meal but they were not to be compelled to do so. Machines would lighten toil and not supplant the workman; they would therefore be freely introduced into the Phalanstery. Agriculture would be organized so as to fit in with other industry. Both sales and purchases would be made on a large coöperative scale; wealth would be created and distributed with an economy which men had never experienced. Then came the free play of Fourier's imagination. Theaters, temples, gardens, galleries, balls, concerts were to bless and enliven the people, and the whole organization was to be kept harmonious because, in Fourier's view, a free man will do what is rational and harmonious. The Phalanstery was to be the home, not the prison, of human nature. He argued that it must work because it was harmonious. Therefore it failed. Fourier assumed that he himself was the average man, and yet he had abandoned business because he had found it dishonest! He forgot that his father had punished him for telling the truth. At the end of his life he was patiently waiting—he had waited for ten years—convinced that some honest wealthy man would knock at his door and supply him with the money necessary for making his scheme a success. Through such transparent spirits the social doctrines of the French Revolution were focused and the Socialist theory was the result.

But Fourier was discussed and found adherents. A sheet was published as his organ and experiments were made with his scheme. In 1837 he died at the age of 65, leaving his strange mixture of innocence and insight, quackery and sagacity, to add its gleams of light to the dawn breaking over Europe.

Two plans of association had now been submitted: the centralized aristocracy of Saint-Simon, a feeble child of tottering feudalism and youthful commerce, and the communal self-government of Fourier. Both were fantastic; both contained true suggestions and brought out some lines of further advance. Both helped to throw light upon the problems of poverty which were casting menacing shadows over France, and both encouraged the stricken proletariat to agitate, to think, to combine, and to hope. The superficial optimism of the French Revolution passed as a mirage, and the dark and confusing entanglements of democracy and commercialism gathered round the workers. But the new propaganda gave them heart. In 1831 the workers of Lyons rose to the cry "Live working or die fighting." As a shepherd gathers his sheep from the hills into a banded flock, so the Time Spirit was gathering men into a movement.

Robert Owen and Chartism.—I must turn from France to England. Some of the boldest pioneers of the new movement belonged to this country, for here the evil side of the Industrial Revolution manifested itself earliest and most dramatically. It was British pamphleteers who examined and explained most carefully how the Industrial Revolution led to the impoverishment of the poor and the exploitation of the worker. "The right to the whole Produce of Labor" is a characteristically British contribution to Socialist economies.

The beginnings of the national movement can be traced back into the eighteenth century through what were mainly political associations meeting in taverns and obscure places. But the British political movement has always had a social purpose more or less clearly within its vision, and the theories of land nationalization and of the bad influence of machinery, published by men like Thomas Spence and championed by his followers, the Spencean Philanthropists, were an early disturbing element in Radical politics. Robert Owen imparted both volume and contribution to Social economics.

Owen had the same characteristics as Saint-Simon and Fourier, a simple-hearted faith in human perfectability, a transparent honesty of purpose, an absolute blindness to social resistance, an incapacity to appreciate a flaw or a stain in his own system. It was a type of character which could influence only an age before society had been studied scientifically, but which was invaluable for the stirring up of men's hopes and the launching upon the world of new ideas which could gain precision and accuracy as they went along. Be it remembered that in these days Socialism had to be an inspiration, a discovery of the spiritual insight; it could not be a scientific system of criticism, method or construction. The knowledge to make it such was not then available.

The work of Owen is too well known to need more than summary mention here. His birth in 1771, his rapid rise to fortune, his management of the New Lanark Mills from 1800, his experiments in education, his theories regarding the influence of environment on character, his agitation in favor of the state protecting the physically and economically weak by legislation, the new chapter in his life which opened in 1817 when he declared in his memorandum to the Parliamentary Committee which considered the Poor Law, that misery was caused by competition between men and machinery and that it could be cured only by the coöperative use of the means of production and their subordination to the well-being of the masses, the beginning of his community experiments in 1825, his labor stores with their unique methods of exchange, and finally those pathetic closing years unshadowed by a doubt and unclouded by a thought of failure ending with the appeal to take him home to die where he first saw the light, sum up a life of tenderness, innocence, single-heartedness, the usefulness but not the beauty of which has long been recognized. Its activities were the yeast which made the whole body of English social reform ferment. From it came the positive view of the state as a protector of the weak—and particularly our code of factory legislation; the coöperative movement is its direct fruit; public education and trade unionism owe it much.

From the failure of Owen's schemes arose much more good than from the success of other men's schemes. Since he has lived it has been impossible for men to refuse to ponder over great fundamental social changes. Chartism was one of the first results of Owenism, and it was substantially in advance of Owenism in its method. That, the discerning eyes of Marx and Engels saw. It was political. It sought "no isles of the blest in the quiet sea of rest." It did not trouble its head about communities; it saw that economic problems were national not municipal; it saw further that national problems could only be solved by national machinery. That was the philosophy of the Charter. The Reform of 1832 had blessed the middle class only. Why were the working classes left out in the cold? They did not want to be in for mere ceremony's sake. They wanted to be in because the feast was spread inside. They stood like the foolish virgins at a barred door, without having the comfort which the foolish virgins had—that they themselves were to blame. "We will get the land," they sang in one of their songs, "only when we get the Charter." The Charter was a means to an end. In the background of the Chartist mind was land reform, reduction of factory hours, better education, the control of machinery, associated industry. Chartism rose and fell. It is said that the workmen have always suffered from dishonest leaders. That does not go to the root of the matter, and is misleading. The Chartist movement shows not the dishonest leader but the wind-bag charlatan leader. The people have been sold, but only after they have shown an incapacity to choose leaders.

Thus, in the 'thirties, we find a condition in England similar to what we have found in France. Gropings after association, an optimism regarding the curability of economic misery, an uncertainty as to method, a blindness as to social resistance, a gathering together of the people in more or less revolutionary companionships, that is what we see. To enable me to show the next grouping of these mobile and confused elements, I must again go abroad—to Germany this time.

Marx and Engels.—The French Revolution had wiped off the map the lingering shadow of the Holy Roman Empire known as the kingdom of Germany, and the Treaty of Vienna had painted in again an impossible set of German states with Austria as their political chief, but with Prussia as their real head. From those ruins and these impossibilities, the spirit of nationalism rose up. It was taught in the schools; it glowed like molten metal from the literature of the time. "Young Germany" heralded the March revolution of 1848. The spirit of nationalism, hating

Austria, turned to Prussia to be its champion. In Prussia, every thought took a political turn. The organization of the state, the power of the state, the majesty of the state; politics, working class combinations, revolution, the idea of corporate unity, of national wholeness—in these directions the minds of the Prussians and of the German nationalists ran.

Lassalle began first. Born in 1825, he joined Marx and his friends in their revolutionary activities of 1848, but his temperament prevented him from doing conspicuous work in the organizing, the molding, the negotiating through which Socialism passed from the stages to which Saint-Simonianism, Fourierism and Owenism had brought it. Lassalle's work therefore belongs to the German movement alone and was done at a period somewhat later than I have now reached and where I must pause, as it is the most momentous period in the history of Socialism. It belongs to the biography of Karl Marx, not to that of Lassalle.

Marx was a Jew and a disciple of Hegel. His intellect was of the massive order which conceives big systems, which follows them through their ramifications, and which at the same time is capable of taking instant action on the passing incidents of the day. He was born in 1818, in 1841 he finished his university studies, and next year he embarked upon the stormy waters of Prussian democratic politics. This marks the dividing line between the new and the old Socialist leaders. The German never thought of Utopian experiments. He began with statecraft, with democratic government, straight away. Moreover, he had received from Hegel a conception of social evolution. He saw society as a whole. Institutions were historical products, not the benevolent, or malevolent, work of men's hands. He was not always consistent on this point, however, although it is this view which was embodied in his wider generalizations. The misery around him could be cured only by social change. Prussia became too hot for him and he sought security in Paris. Here he came in contact with the Socialist movement, such as it then was, and Proudhon became his companion.

But Proudhon was a Frenchman and belonged to the old generation of utopists. As he himself confessed towards his end, the greater part of his work consisted of unsystematized gropings after general laws and conceptions, and he inherited to the full the legacy of simple-minded optimism which the French Revolution left as a dowry to two generations of French social reformers and thinkers. And yet he had moved towards the border-line of the new epoch, for one of the points of disagreement between himself and the schools of Saint-Simon and Fourier was that these latter believed too much in sudden transformations. But he had come to see in governments nothing but tyrannies, and thus he forbade himself from ever joining the ranks of the newer movement. It is not to be wondered at that he and the systematic Marx fell out, and it was two Germans, Marx and Engels, and not a German and a Frenchman, who opened the new volume of the history of the Socialist movement.

The preliminary preparation was complete. The economic theory of Socialism was becoming pretty clear, political means were being thrust upon the workers of both Great Britain and Germany, utopian communities had failed absolutely. Two things were required. The vague uncertainties of aim and means had to be swept aside, the moral inanities of some of the schools had to be suppressed, the mind of Socialism had to be made definite. That was the first thing. The second was to place the whole movement on a political footing and to make it understand that it was a period in social evolution and not merely a dream of ingenious and kind-hearted men.

This Marx and Engels did, and their first great act towards that end was the publication of the *Communist Manifesto* just before the Revolution of 1848. Earlier in the year, Marx had published a scathing criticism of Proudhon, and hot foot upon that came the clarion call of the *Manifesto* commanding all the workers of the world to unite to end their misery. Amidst the most heart-rending poverty and destitution in London, Marx strove to complete his work on both its intellectual and its political sides. Having to live sometimes on the proceeds which the pawnbroker handed over the counter, this brave and unbendable spirit wrote what has been called the "Bible of Socialism," *Das Kapital*. He died in 1883, and his body rests on the slope of Highgate Cemetery looking Londonwards. Engels died in 1895 and his ashes, according to his wish, were scattered on the sea.

How did these men perform their work? They started as Hegelians of the Left—pupils of the great philosopher, who, whilst never able to emancipate themselves from the Hegelian method, had thrown off the Hegelian idealism. If the workers were to be emancipated at all, they felt it was to be by a grim struggle against the classes which were exploiting them. They took the proletariat up to a high mountain and showed it the wide panorama of progress. At every stage class was in conflict with class; and that lesson was soon learned. It dispelled all sorts of delusions about idealistic methods. Then another lesson was taught. The motive of the clashings was economic. History was not to be interpreted by spiritual and rational impulses but by economic appetites. Thus idealism recieved another deadly blow. Socialism thus hardened, interpreted as the grand final stage of the struggle between the classes, appealed with new definiteness and new force to the masses. Its vagueness vanished. It became a cause which the meanest intellect could grasp and in which the humblest worker could play a part. The reign of the bourgeoisie was challenged at every point. The wage-earner felt his common interest and was taught his common strength. In his various nationalities he gathered together into a common camp; he looked across the boundaries of his nations and found the comradeship of men bending under a lot similar to his own; and the old clarion call came upon his ears: "Wage workers of the whole world! Unite!" Marx worked for immediate practical effects and he secured them. He sacrificed some of the intellectual accuracy of the Socialist case, but he made the Socialist movement.

Marxism and Revisionism.—I must emphasize what Marx actually did. He contributed nothing to Socialism as a theory except in the sense that a gardener selects from a mass of herbage those plants which are of use, cultivates them, improves their strain, and produces them for the world to admire. This work is neither mean nor of a secondary value. "As to Socialism," says one of his most recent critics, "in relation to the future organization of society, Marx has wellnigh not alluded to it."[11] Marx's reply would probably have been that he left such vain speculations to utopists. He explained the mechanism of capitalism; he explained historical evolution; he showed from both explanations the necessity of Socialism; he formed the army, and gave it the determination which was to bring Socialism into existence. He made many mistakes, both in stating his theories and in forecasting events, but they were the mistakes of the man of action who had to do a certain definite piece of work, and his errors helped him. None of them vitiated the value of his labors or took a jot away from their utility. The Socialist movement will return to idealism, for, though sometimes an unrecognized power, idealism has always existed in Socialism. But in Marx's time the great need was to organize the movement and engraft it upon the mind of the masses, to give it political form, to gather the democracy under its banners and start them on their march. That done, Marx can be revised. The new problems which continue to face this army as it moves onwards necessitate frequent references to first principles, modifications of old dogmas, withdrawals of old forecasts. The goal remains, for it is the creation of such self-evident truths as this: That he who controls the economic conditions of liberty, controls liberty itself, and that association is better than separation, and coöperation than competition. But the path is trod by succeeding generations for diverse reasons. One generation follows it because it is harrassed by misery, another, because it is illumined by reason; and these diverse motives exist side by side in the movement, their relative strength constantly fluctuating.

Thus, to-day we have what is called the revisionist movement—which, however, is not always so much a departure from Marx as from Marxians. I have shown elsewhere in this book why I do not accept some of Marx's explanations—for, after all, he was a commentator on Socialism, not the inspired instrument through which the Socialist faith was revealed. In his book the English title of which is *Evolutionary Socialism*—the book which originated the revisionist movement in Germany—Mr. Bernstein parts company with Marxists on the following points amongst others. He denies that there is an imminent prospect of the breakdown of bourgeois society; he asserts that in the working of capitalism there is not a decreasing number of capitalists, all of them large, but that there is an increasing number of all kinds of capitalists; he rejects the dogma that in every department of industry concentration is proceeding with equal rapidity, and he challenges this with special reference to agriculture. He also emphasizes the fact that the leaven of Socialism is now permeating the capitalist lump, and that therefore Socialist organizations must work as transforming factors in society, and not only as revolutionary agencies. Marx in his earlier years (at any rate up to 1871, when the Paris Commune somewhat modified his view) considered that the conquest of political power by the democracy was to be the signal of revolution; now great sections of the Socialist movement hold that that conquest is to be the occasion for transformation. Mr. Bernstein also modifies the Marxian view of the materialist conception of history and of economic necessity, of the class war and of value. And he does this whilst continuing to proclaim himself a Socialist, because he takes the true scientific view that every dogma and every theory is subject to the law of evolution as well as society itself.

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[11] Dr. M. Tugan-Baranowsky, *Modern Socialism.*

3. EUGENE VICTOR DEBS [12]

Debs was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1855. His parents were Alsatian immigrants who had come to this country some six years previously. After experimenting in various cities they had definitely settled in Terre Haute, where the elder Debs became a grocer. Eugene was one of a large and very happy family. Something of its tone is indicated by the pet names, Dandy and Daisy, which were applied to the father and mother.

Of course the family was not rich. But neither was it, considering the time and place, very poor. Gene was given a good common school education and was graduated with credit from what was called the Old Seminary School. Building on this foundation by wide reading and even wider contacts with men, Gene Debs became, in the best sense of the words, a man of education and culture.

Like most of his companions in that place and time, he went to work when about fifteen, first in railroad shops and then as a fireman. Later, for a period, he worked in a grocery house. Early in life he got a start in local politics. He was City Clerk and afterward a member of the Indiana Legislature. In short, Eugene V. Debs had about the start in life of the average Middle Western American of his period. He soon showed that he had more than average gifts. He might easily have become a prominent citizen in politics or business or both with more than a local reputation. It is worth emphasizing the fact that Gene Debs's passionate sense of identification with the working class was not a matter of necessity but of choice.

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[12] By Norman Thomas. Taken from *Current History Magazine,* Vol. XXV (December, 1926), p. 373.

Almost as soon as he went to work as a fireman he became interested in labor unions, not merely his own but all the various brotherhoods which were then springing up for different classes of railway employees. In July, 1880, we find him Grand Secretary and Treasurer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and editor and manager of its magazine. The titles were more imposing than the office, for the brotherhood had only sixty lodges and $6,000 debt. In a little over ten years of incessant organizing he built up the brotherhood to a point of great strength.

He traveled all over the country, in the early days more often by freight than by passenger train, organizing not only his brother firemen but lending a hand to the organization of every other class of railroad employee. His experiences convinced him of the inadequacy of craft organization. In spite of the tears and protests of his own organization he resigned his $4,000 a year position and in 1894 became head of the new American Railway Union on a salary of $900 a year. The American Railway Union was an industrial organization which included all classes of railway workers from trackwalkers to conductors. Very early in its life this new union conducted a successful strike against the Great Northern Railroad. The strike lasted for eighteen days and was carried on without violence to the benefit of all classes of employees.

Almost immediately came the Pullman strike. In the limitations of this article it is quite impossible to discuss that bitter struggle in adequate fashion. The Pullman employees had real and serious grievances. The American Railway Union refused to handle Pullman cars and so became involved in the strike. Chicago was its center. On the one side was a combination of the employing interests, on the other of the workers. The strike was broken by the Federal troops whom Grover Cleveland sent against the protests of Governor Altgeld of Illinois and by a Federal injunction under which Debs was sentenced to six months in Woodstock Jail for contempt of court. On coming out of prison Debs received a tremendous ovation. But it was impossible to reorganize his industrial union on the railroads. To this day the craft unions or brotherhoods hold the allegiance of such of the workers as are organized. It was characteristic of Gene Debs that without any legal obligation whatsoever, or anything that the average man would consider a moral obligation, he took upon his own shoulders $40,000 worth of debts of the A. R. U. and painfully paid them off out of the proceeds of his writing and speaking.

Although many years have passed, the memory of the Pullman strike still arouses bitter controversy. I do not think any fairminded historian to-day would deny that Debs did his best to prevent violence. The immediate effect of the coming of Federal troops was to stir up violence. Even Grover Cleveland's conservative biographer, Professor McElroy, admits as much. Professor McElroy also acknowledges that "far-sighted men" questioned whether "it was wise to awake so unrestrained a power as the blanket injunction," enforced by Federal troops. And he comments on the interesting development that the injunction—and Debs's conviction under it—was based on the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, although the strike began against "the unjust exactions of the Pullman Palace Car Company, one of the most perfect monopolies in existence."

But Cleveland, the courts and the troops did their work. The railroads won a great victory, and Gene Debs turned his energies from industrial to political action. In Woodstock Jail he had been introduced to socialism and socialistic writings by Victor Berger. He came out of jail more or less of a Socialist, but not until after the first Bryan campaign did he unite his fortunes irrevocably to the Socialist Party. Five times he was its candidate for President of the United States. Twice he received over a million votes, once in 1920, when he himself was a prisoner in Atlanta Penitentiary. The effect of these campaigns and of Debs's immense labors for the Socialist cause between campaigns was to spread among the masses a general acceptance of many Socialist notions, if not of Socialism itself. Let the pace of American industrial expansion slacken and the seed Gene Debs sowed may yet bring forth fruit which will amaze those who now rejoice at the present weakness of his party.

More colorful, however, and perhaps more charged with significance for the future than any of Debs's campaigns, was his famous trial during the World War. I should like to challenge any thoughtful, fair-minded reader to go over the Canton speech and find in it any single sentence which to-day, after the hysteria of war has passed, would seem to justify the conviction of its author under the Espionage Act. In no sense was Debs pro-German. He did not ask our troops to lay down their arms in face of the enemy. He urged no disobedience to the draft. He merely voiced in moving terms his opposition to all war, his belief in the economic causes of this war, his admiration for the Russian revolution and his hope that the workers of the world would end war. These same sentiments found even more moving and eloquent utterances in his address to the jury which tried him and his remarks to the Judge who sentenced him. These speeches, I think, will live so long as men admire the noble expression of noble ideals. As Professor Chafee has pointed out, Debs's conviction—which was upheld by the Supreme Court—means that all verbal or written opposition to any war while it is being waged may be made the basis for punishment. Whether Americans in time of peace like to contemplate this condition of affairs in their own country is for them to judge. At any rate, even the most militant patriot must admire the exalted courage with which a man over 60 years of age, long a sufferer from the heart disease which finally resulted in his death, faced a sentence of ten years' penal servitude.

Three of those years, to the shame of America, Gene Debs served.

One may understand the feeling that during a war so eloquent a lover of peace should be silenced. One cannot understand or excuse the continued confinement of such a man years after the war had ended. The President who refused to pardon him, ironically enough, expressed in his St. Louis speech the same views as to the economic causes of the war which had prompted Debs's opposition to it. This refusal by President Wilson to grant the pardon which even Attorney General Palmer had recommended must rank with his bombardment of Vera Cruz as the two acts most impossible of palliation by his liberal admirers.

Yet those three years in prison revealed to the uttermost Gene Debs's capacity for friendship. He made even the jailers love him. For many prisoners he changed the whole course of life. When the Warden asked Sam Moore, an embittered negro facing life imprisonment, for the secret of the change that Debs had wrought in him, the negro very simply replied: "He was the only Jesus Christ I ever knew."

When President Harding finally pardoned Debs (without restoring his citizenship), the spirit of the old warrior was undaunted, but his health was broken. Nevertheless, to the end of his life he gave himself without stint to the old cause. No act of injustice, no appeal for help escaped his notice. Probably only the devotion of his wife and his beloved brother, Theodore, kept him going through so many years. It was characteristic of the man that his last act was personally to send a money order for the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Rightly to estimate the man and his influence upon his time one would have to consider him against some such crowded canvas as Mark Sullivan has drawn in his fascinating picture of the incoming of the twentieth century. (It is, by the way, a weakness in Mr. Sullivan's book that he gives no place to Gene Debs.)

Eugene V. Debs was a leader of men when Bryan emerged. He was the political opponent alike of Roosevelt and Wilson. He watched the political fortunes of his party wax and wane with economic circumstances, the rise of the new capitalism, the coming of war and the post-war development of economic imperialism. During all these years he preached essentially the same message. It was a message of absolute loyalty to the working class. It was thoroughly Socialist. But Debs's great service to his own movement was not primarily one of intellectual interpretation or the formulation of a philosophy, or even the shaping of policies. In his later years, as contrasted with the earlier, he was not an organizer. He was the flaming incarnation of an ideal. He was the inspiration of his party and of thousands outside his party. Without disparagement to his real gifts and his genuine eloquence, it must be said of him that what he was spoke louder than what he said or did.

Yet, what he was, as well as what he said and did, made him the great champion of a definite method. Uncompromisingly he waged the class struggle. But always he sought for non-violent methods. Gene Debs was a Socialist, but he was also, in the best sense of the word, a democrat. Since his death the Communists have attempted to claim him as at heart their own. He was nothing of the sort. He was big enough and generous enough to welcome every substantial achievement of the working class, under whatever banner it might be won. He was willing to coöperate in particular causes and to correct particular injustices with all those who sought that same end. He sympathized intensely with the Russian revolution. But essentially he was a humanitarian of an early Christian quality.

He had an almost romantic faith in men and in freedom of speech and discussion as a method whereby they could win liberty. All this meant that he was essentially at variance with the Communist philosophy and practise of dictatorship. Though he himself made no great intellectual contribution to the present problems of Socialism, many of us must confess that because Gene Debs was what he was, because he believed as he did in the common man, we find courage still to believe in the possibilities of the democratic ideal and the democratic method. Some of those who now rejoice in the temporary defeat of Gene Debs's Socialist hopes may yet live to pray to whatever gods they worship that Gene Debs's faith in the power of love rather than hate, in democracy rather than dictatorship, may justify itself in the swirling tides of political hypocrisy and the blind crash of contending forces.

But of these things and the real place of Gene Debs in history time must be the judge. We who have known him cannot let him go without a final tribute. He was no plaster saint. He was a man among men. Yet there was something about him that made one very humble before him. He united to an extraordinary degree qualities not easily combined. He was both prophet of humanity and lover of men. The prophet with his vision, his courage, his uncompromising ideals, is often cold, despairing or ruthless in dealing with actual human beings. Debs was a prophet in his spirit, but a prophet who somehow knew how to love his fellow-human beings, not merely for the sake of what they might become, but for the sake of what they are. It was this love, not sentimental, not superficial, sincere and almost unbelievable in its extent, which seemed to give Gene Debs his marvelous courage, his abounding joy, his tremendous hold over all those who came in contact with him. A personality like his lives not so much in some great achievement which poets sing, as quietly in the lives of those who find life better worth living because he has lived.

4. NORMAN THOMAS [13]

Norman Thomas was born into a minister's family at Marion, Ohio, in 1884. As a boy he carried the *Marion Star* and was therefore an employee of one who later became President, Mr. Harding. He went to college at Princeton and studied under Woodrow Wilson who awakened in him an intense interest in politics and economics. At graduation he stood at the head of his class.

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[13] Partly taken from "The Story of Norman Thomas" as published in the *World Tomorrow*, June, 1930.

After college he spent two years in a settlement in the Spring Street slums of New York and then took a trip around the world. He returned to take work in Union Theological Seminary and be the assistant pastor in Christ Church Settlement. There he met Frances Violet Stewart who had organized a tuberculosis clinic and in 1910 they were married.

Although on graduation from the Seminery in 1911 he could have had his choice of a number of large city pulpits, he chose instead the American Parish in a poor section of East Harlem. There for six years he worked with immigrants, the unemployed and others belonging to the underprivileged classes.

When the World War broke Norman Thomas felt he could not fight. He believed that ministers could hardly quote Jesus as justification for machine guns, hatred and poison gas. About this time when Morris Hillquit was running for mayor of New York on the Socialist ticket, Thomas wrote offering to campaign for him. Some of the supporters of his parish work could not swallow pacifism plus socialism and Thomas left the church to found *The World Tomorrow,* "a journal looking toward a social order based on the religion of Jesus." He was editor for four years during all the war hysteria. Department of Justice agents trailed him, tapped his wires, and dozed outside his house at nights. Sometimes they came to his office to question him, only to leave flabbergasted by this jovially earnest, persuasive, and seemingly reasonable man. A few years later he had occasion to chuckle with several United States Senators who told him of a mass, almost six inches high, of illiterate reports on his "seditious" activities. Postmaster Burleson sought on several occasions to suppress *The World Tomorrow.* "Thomas is more insidious than Debs," he growled.

Norman Thomas helped to found with Roger Baldwin the National Civil Liberties Union (to-day called the American Civil Liberties Union). Baldwin was taken to jail for a year because of his refusal to register for the draft and much of the work fell on Thomas. In addition he was the executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an organization which declared, "That since the method of war inevitably involves violation of the law of love and disregard of the supreme value of personality, the members of the Fellowship find themselves unable to take part in it or give it sanction." This was considered by many at the time to be a treasonable organization but Thomas stood courageously for what he believed to be right.

"What I like about Norman," said James Maurer, for sixteen years president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and now Socialist Commissioner in Reading, "is that he came to us when everybody else was running away."

In 1921 Thomas resigned as editor of *The World Tomorrow* and became associate editor of *The Nation.* Shortly after this together with Harry W. Laidler he became one of the executives in the League for Industrial Democracy (formerly the Intercollegiate Socialist Society). The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief set up by this organization has distributed over $100,000 in relief. Thomas has spent considerable time in speaking on behalf of civil liberty in strike zones where freedom of speech was prohibited. During the Passaic strike of 1926-27 he spoke for the American Civil Liberties Union in a lot which they had rented for the purpose in the town of Garfield. Since there was no platform he jumped onto the stump of a tree and began:

"This is the first stump speech I've ever made from a stump. We have come here to test our rights as American citizens to hold a peaceful meeting for a legal and legitimate purpose. Yesterday was the birthday of Thomas Jefferson. You may have heard of the name. His name is being celebrated in Passaic by a shameful desecration of the cause of liberty for which he strove so valiantly."

At this moment the sheriff bawled out in the usual official English, "Lock that bird up." He was carried away to a remote jail and forced to spend the night locked up. As a result of his test case the workers secured freedom of speech for the remainder of the strike. This incident is typical of the man. He is always on duty for the workers and their cause.

During the Presidential campaign of 1928 Thomas was selected as the standard bearer of the Socialist Party and polled over a quarter of a million votes. In 1929 he was nominated for mayor of New York City on the Socialist Ticket and received over one hundred and seventy-five thousand votes—more than any other Socialist candidate had ever before received.

It is probably true that Norman Thomas is the ablest leader the socialist party has ever had in America.

III. THE THEORY OF SOCIALISM

Socialistic theory was born because of certain maladjustments in the economic and political order. It has always been closely related to the social milieu in which its supporters were immersed. However much socialists have tended to look back towards Marx or to cite him as their undying authority, nevertheless their theory has never remained static for long. It has been changing ever since its inception to more nearly adopt itself to contemporary conditions. In order to sense this clearly we shall start with a presentation of Socialism by the leader of the American movement to-day. We shall then go back to the epoch making *Communist Manifesto* written by Marx and Engels nearly one hundred years ago and published in 1848 and follow this with the German Erfurt Program of 1891. The rest of the section will be devoted to a clear modern exposition of socialistic theory.

I. A MODERN STATEMENT[14]

I am a Socialist because in our modern world it seems to me that Socialism affords our best hope of utilizing our immense resources of material and skill so as to abolish poverty and the terrible insecurity of the workers, reduce the menace of war, and increase the measure of freedom and fraternity in our world. Socialism, as I hope to make clear, is no infallible panacea, but it does afford our best hope of comparatively peaceful progress toward that fellowship of free men which is the only Utopia worth while. Socialism may propose changes that may correctly be called revolutionary. Yet the more widespread is the acceptance of its point of view, the more likely are we to escape that violence which heretofore has popularly been associated with the notion of revolution.

Technical Progress Makes Poverty Inexcusable.—Let us begin by examining the situation in which we find ourselves. However much we may differ on many things we shall probably agree that only to-day, or yesterday at the earliest, after the long millenniums of man's life on this planet, has he acquired the technical skill, the command over the forces of nature, the physical power to produce enough and to spare for all his children upon the face of the earth. From the first dawn of human life poverty has been principally due to man's imperfect knowledge of natural forces. For unnumbered generations he wrestled for a living with a capricious and often unfriendly Nature, armed only with the power of his own hands and the muscles of the few animals he had been able to domesticate, aided by a very imperfect utilization of the weight of falling water on primitive mill wheels and of the winds of heaven to sail his boats and turn his mills. That was all. To-day it has been estimated that each of us Americans has the equivalent of the labor of more than thirty slaves in the energy of steam, electricity and internal combustion engines. The energy thus available for the work of men is increasing by leaps and bounds. It is applied to machinery of marvelous ingenuity. The long age of Markham's "Man With the Hoe" is gone forever. It is possible that the pressure of population upon food supply may bring about a new age of poverty. That pressure does not exist to-day if the world is taken as a unit, and the decline of the birth rate and the increasing knowledge of scientific birth control give some hope that this ultimate danger may be avoided.

In other words, the old excuse of the classical philosophers for human slavery no longer exists. The bitter toil of the many is not the necessary basis for the culture of the few. In the words of Professor Simon Patten we have passed from a necessary "pain economy" to a possible "pleasure economy" as a basis for civilization. Yet how far we are even in "prosperous" America from the abolition of poverty. With all our machinery and with all the natural energy at our disposal we do not produce enough really to banish poverty even were we to distribute what we produce by a system more equitable than that under which 1 per cent of the receivers of income obtain 20 per cent of the national income; 10 per cent receive 40 per cent of the total income, while the poorest 25 per cent receive only 3½ per cent.

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[14] By Norman Thomas, Socialist Candidate for the Presidency of the United States in 1928.

For this state of affairs there are to-day only two possible explanations. One blames our fate on human nature; the other upon the inadequacy of human ideals and institutions. The first is popular because it gives men an excuse for enjoying whatsoever advantages they may have. In a day when to read the *American Mercury* is the mark of membership in the modern intelligentsia it is no longer fashionable to affirm that this is the *best* of possible worlds. But one may without any strain on the intellect or any demand upon energy or will declare that it is the best of *possible* worlds and go about his own business or pleasure with a sense of intellectual superiority. Here I have space only to remark that this dogma of the incapacity of men to control for social advantage the machinery they have had the wit to create is as unscientific and as yet unproved as the optimistic faith of early radicals in the "infinite perfectability" of human nature. At the very least we should not adopt it without further examination into social institutions and ideals. The madness of our civilization may arise less from our unalterable biological inheritance than from the system—political and economic—under which we live, a system which lags dangerously behind the demands of our interdependent society.

I am aware that to speak of a capitalist or any other system is to invite the scorn of those who insist that in the changing process of our economic life there is no rigorous system. There is truth in the argument. Certainly Ricardo or Adam Smith would not recognize the child of their economic dogmas. Men are still trying to justify economic practices by an almost religious faith in, let us say, the "automatic working" of those markets with which they themselves spend many of their working hours successfully interfering by high tariffs, trade agreements, etc. Nevertheless we can describe the capitalist system as characterized by an emphasis upon private ownership of property for power and the operation of that ownership for the profit of the owners. This is a system which has played its part in human history—a part nowhere more sincerely eulogized than in the famous Communist Manifesto itself. But whatever the historic necessity for capitalism, it is not to-day giving men the bread, the security, the peace, the freedom, the brotherhood which they have a right to expect.

What Capitalism Does not Give.—Those of you who have had the patience to follow me thus far will not demand of me that I take much space to prove how much tragic poverty still persists among us. Mr. Hoover's estimate of an average annual wage for American workers of $1,280 is not only insufficient on the average to maintain the minimum budgets of health and decency which have been set forth by various authorities, but implies a tragic amount of suffering for the large group below this average.

Even worse than the suffering caused by routine conditions of poverty is the misery of insecurity due to unemployment and old age. In the best of times there is a reserve of one million unemployed in the United States. We are so callous, so indifferent to our social responsibilities, that we do not have adequate figures whereby we can check up unemployment in dull times like the present. To recurring cycles of unemployment due primarily to under-consumption (or, if you like, to the Foster-Catchings "dilemma of thrift") we have the present unemployment due to the great increase in the productive efficiency of machinery. Now, as from the very beginning of the machine age, the under-dog pays the bitter cost of these improvements in machinery which in the long run benefit society. Society compensates him with meager and contemptuous charity. As for old age, the estimate that one-third of the population sixty-five years old and upwards is dependent upon some form of charity in prosperous America suggests that for the workers the evening of life has a terror past any eloquence of a Cicero or a Browning to assuage. Even the charity of children is no adequate substitute for independence for the man with, perhaps, some years of vigor still before him, but no job and no pension. It is one of the worst reproaches on our American civilization that neither for unemployment nor old age have we applied such alleviation as the present system would permit. Our failure is part of the ethical and humanitarian price exacted by our individualistic capitalism.

A still more dreadful indictment of our existing institutions is the constant menace of war inherent in that union of capitalism and nationalism which brings forth imperialism and out of imperialistic rivalry war itself. Lack of space must again excuse dogmatic assertion. The new attitude of the United States toward foreign problems, the shifting emphasis on the relative importance of "liberty" and "law and order" in the territories of our neighbors, our repeated military intervention in the Carribean countries, in short, our general imperialism, is due to the fact that we are to-day a creditor nation busily engaged in the quest of markets for goods, sources of supply for raw material and, above all, markets for the investment capital which piles up in the hands of relatively few people at a time when the many cannot buy enough to maintain a proper standard of comfort. The religion of nationalism makes it easy to persuade the exploited themselves to fight the battles of the investors whose adventurous dollars have got in trouble abroad. I do not mean that any considerable class of men deliberately wills war, at least not large scale war. They do desire that imperialism out of which war arises.

It is scarcely necessary to elaborate the statement that men under our present system do not enjoy freedom and brotherhood. I know that it is customary to attack Socialism as the foe of individual liberty. It is quite true that the problem of the relation of the individual to society will not be automatically solved by Socialism. But it is not the champions of the present order who have a right to pose as the defenders of liberty in a society where property is so much better defended than life, and where freedom is too generally the possession of the man who is strong enough to take it for himself. The regimentation of ideas through a property-controlled press and the economic fear under which most workers live, whether they wear overalls or white collars, makes real freedom an almost non-existent commodity. Diogenes might find an honest man with a lantern. He would have to look for a free man with a searchlight in our modern age. As for brotherhood in other than a sentimental Y.M.C.A. sense, that is denied by the very nature of a system based on

"The good old rule, the ancient plan
That he should take who has the power,
And he should keep who can."

Kindness there is among us and charity. Yes, and a capacity for brotherhood but not the reality of that "fellowship which is life."

These failures of our civilization in spite of its tremendous mechanical competence are, I repeat, the natural consequence of the economic principles and their corresponding ethical ideas on which we operate. They are inherent in the system and not excrescences on it. Take, for example, Stuart Chase's brilliant study of "The Tragedy of Waste." No one has yet shown how we can eliminate the waste of idle men, the waste of the production of "illth" rather than wealth, the waste of uncoördinated industry, the waste of the ruthless destruction of natural resources, without a profound modification of our system of private ownership of basic resources and their operation for private profit.

The Socialist Proposal.—What do the Socialists propose to do about this situation? In Socialism as in every great historic movement there are divergencies of opinion and ideas. There is the sharp and bitter division between Socialists and Communists, principally on the important question of method and tactics. In general, however, Socialists propose to bring about as rapidly as possible the social ownership of land, natural resources and the principal means of production, thereby abolishing the possibility of the existence of any class on an income derived not from work but from ownership. This does not necessarily mean that no man will have a home that he can call his own. His right will rest on use and not on a title deed. The rental value of land belongs to society and not to the individual. Socialism would end the monstrous and absurd injustice under which generations of men and women can live in luxury without useful labor of any sort because they were wise enough to pick an ancestor who in his day had been clever enough to pick, let us say, a farm in New York City on or near which some six million people now have to live. This is a criticism not of individuals but of the social system which heretofore we have collectively tolerated. Socialists unlike single taxers object not merely to economic dynasties founded on ownership of land and natural resources but to similar dynasties founded on the ownership of stocks and bonds passed from generation to generation by inheritance. They do not expect to abolish them with the stroke of the pen or the sword.

The experience of Russia is not, as the Communists believe, a norm to which the experience of every other country must conform. Each country has its own traditions and its own economic situations. Nevertheless there is a great deal to be learned from the Russian experiment—a great deal, I believe, that is encouraging. But among other things the Russian experiment, no less than the experience of Socialist parties in Western Europe which have got some degree of power, shows clearly that not even the most cataclysmic revolution can create overnight those habits of mind and that social machinery necessary to the successful functioning of a new social order. Intelligent Socialists do not expect to reach Utopia by one leap. Indeed, they do not envisage any static Utopia, wherein all social problems will have been satisfactorily solved for however many million years life may last upon this planet.

Reflections upon the World War, moreover, and upon the even more disastrous consequences of new world war have made most Socialists aware of the supreme importance of averting such disaster. They like to think of Socialism as the alternative to the imperialist wars which capitalism, left to itself, inevitably brings forth. This does not mean that most Socialists are complete pacifists. It means that they are profoundly anxious to avert the wholesale madness of war with its incalculable consequences. If they must fight at all they prefer, if possible, to fight in defense of rights otherwise won against the counter revolutionary violence of a class unwilling to be dispossessed by any process whatsoever.

The means by which Socialists hope to make progress include the organization of labor industrially through labor unions, of the power of consumers through consumers' coöperatives and of citizens through a labor party. The reliance of Socialism is upon the working class, not because of peculiar virtues possessed by the working class but because it is peculiarly in its interest to end exploitation and waste. The class struggle may not be as simple or clear-cut as some Socialist agitators have supposed. It is, nevertheless, a fact of history. But it is also a fact of history that very valuable sympathy and leadership have been given to the exploited classes down through the ages by men of more favored groups to whom justice and the ultimate good of society are dearer than any immediate class interest of their own. The hope of peaceful and intelligent progress depends in large degree upon increasing the number of these men and women who thus transcend class lines.

Wanted: A Labor Party.—When, therefore, Socialists in the United States as in England speak of a labor party they do not confine its membership to industrial or agricultural workers. They welcome all those who will honestly strive for Socialist ideals. Indeed, we American Socialists are willing to throw in our lot with a labor party even before it is ready to adopt a thorough-going Socialist philosophy, believing that such a party must move, if it moves at all, in the direction in which Socialists would go.

Nothing in our American life seems to me more important than the formation of a vigorous labor party. It is as pioneer, prophet and teacher of those who some day will form that party that the American Socialist Party finds its chief function. Even conservatives who still have some faith in democratic political processes should, I think, welcome a party with ideas and a program. Our present two-party system lives on the strength of organization rather than of principle. Both parties belong to the same general set of masters who pay their bills. It is their business to obscure issues and to amuse and distract the people. It would appear that we select presidents as we select jurors, on the ground that they have no opinions that can be discovered. The senior Senator from New York was once the Republican Mayor of Ann Arbor, Michigan. He is now the Democratic Senator from New York and all he ever changed was his address. This is characteristic of the two old parties which fight only for office.

Some Immediate Objectives.—What we need, what the Socialist Party seeks to supply, is organized, disciplined, intelligent action in cities, states, and nation through a party based consciously on the interests of the great producing masses. Certain immediate issues are ready to hand:

1. Our party will stand resolutely against imperialism and for international coöperation. It will oppose the collection of private debts in weaker nations by the arms of stronger nations. It will consciously seek peace.

2. It will stand for a wider and fuller measure of civil liberty, for the right to organize, for the reform of our judicial procedure which works such gross hardship on the poor and exalts property above life, and especially for the abolition of injunctions in labor disputes.

3. It urges social insurance against unemployment and old age, not only for humanitarian reasons but as a condition of effective labor organization. And this is only part of its immediate program against unemployment which also includes public employment exchanges, public works in dull times, and the shorter working week.

4. It would use taxation to promote social justice. It will sharply in-

crease inheritance taxes and super-taxes on income, and recover by a tax the rental value of land which society creates. It advocates lower tariffs for international as well as national reasons but under conditions which will protect the workers from wholesale unemployment. Lower tariffs, the encouragement of coöperatives, and a federal marketing plan will give help to farmers.

5. It will earnestly and vigorously seek to put in operation a progressive system for the acquisition and democratic or functional control of natural monopolies and basic industries beginning with coal and super power which for varying reasons especially demand nationalization at this time. The principle to be followed here is that which J. A. Hobson has ably expounded: namely, that we should proceed to take over those economic processes in which already the engineer is more important than the entrepreneur. The real social revolution, as Veblen pointed out, will come when engineers and administrators work for society as they now work for absentee owners.

At this point I can almost hear the usual shouts of protest. "What, do you want a lot of politicians to run our industries? How about graft and inefficiency in government service?" etc., etc. I have not space to answer these questions in detail but to answer them in principle is relatively easy. No modern Socialist of any stripe wants bureaucratic political government of industries through a set of post master generals or their equivalent. We propose to have public ownership with title vested in the nation, state or municipality, but control under a public authority representing so far as may be possible the genuine and permanent interests not of profit seeking private owners but of producers in the particular industry and consumers of its products or services. There will have to be a considerable variety in structure to meet the needs of coal mines, railroads, etc. In every case we shall try to put a premium on efficiency through the intelligent application of the merit system. We shall temper bureaucracy, moreover, by a recognition of the union and a direct sanctioning of collective bargaining. And, of course, we recognize that with nationalized industries will or should go along a development of consumers' coöperation in the distribution of goods and in other lines like housing.

Even now the case for the honesty and efficiency of private as against government business is grossly overstated. Indeed the chief source of graft in government arises from the efforts of private business to get special privileges and perpetual right to what belongs to the people. It was the oil industry which sought to corrupt the government, not the government the oil industry. Again in private industry there is an immense deal of nepotism, favoritism and graft which is accepted as a matter of course, though it is challenged in the public service. Sinclair and his fellow buccaneers robbed their own stockholders of 25 cents a barrel in the Continental Oil deal. It was not the directors or the stockholders who discovered the fact or protested effectively and compelled restitution. It was the much abused government.

Eulogists of private business and critics of the government deal more in assertion than proof and they are not always careful as to the honesty of their statements. Witness the dishonest attacks on the very successful Ontario hydro-electric development and the Canadian National Railroad. Witness, too, the substantial achievements of the Bureau of Standards in Washington in the service of the government and the people and the success of governmental building of the Panama Canal when private enterprise failed. There is no panacea against dishonesty but a stock gambling world of business cannot afford to talk as loosely as it does about graft. Indeed many of the men who most deplore the inefficiency of our government rejoice in that very inefficiency as an excuse for their failure to support this immediate program of gradual socialization which I have urged. But every day's news of the breakdown of private ownership in bituminous coal fields and the immense fraud worked upon the public by the progaganda of the associated power interests is an argument for the Socialist remedy.

A Philosophy of Life.—Such are some of the immediate issues. But beyond any immediate program lies the necessity of a philosophy of life. We need to oppose the rather shabby capitalist religion of Babbitt and the Rotary Clubs with a higher religion of intelligent coöperation in the use of the world's wealth for the abolition of poverty and war and the realization of freedom and brotherhood. So great a task outruns the life of one generation or the functions of any political party. The party or the movement which undertakes it will often falter and fail. Socialism as an organized movement here and abroad is a movement of men, not of supermen. It has its own disappointments and failures, but nowhere except in the Socialist movement do I find any heartening answer to that great challenge of our day and generation: how shall we, men of all nations and races, forced by the development of our machine civilization into dependence upon one another, work out our destiny in terms of world-wide fellowship instead of exploitation and strife.

2. THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO [15]

A specter is haunting Europe—the specter of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this specter; Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

[15] The "Manifesto" was published as the platform of the "Communist League," a workingmen's association, first exclusively German, later on international, and, under the political conditions of the Continent before 1848, unavoidably a secret society. At a Congress of the League, held in London in November, 1847, Marx and Engels were commissioned to prepare for publication a complete theoretical and practical party program. Drawn up in German, in January, 1848, the manuscript was

Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as communistic by its opponents in power? Where the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Communism against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

Two things result from this fact.

I. Communism is already acknowledged by all European Powers to be itself a Power.

II. It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the specter of Communism with a Manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London and sketched the following Manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages.

I. Bourgeois and Proletarians[16]

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master[17] and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

sent to the printer in London a few weeks before the French Revolution of February 24th. A French translation was brought out in Paris shortly before the insurrection of June, 1848. In Marx's and Engel's preface to the German edition of 1872 they said:

"However much the state of things may have altered during the last 25 years, the general principles laid down in this Manifesto are, on the whole, as correct to-day as ever. Here and there some detail might be improved. The practical application of the principles will depend, as the Manifesto itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing, and, for that reason, no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of Section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently worded to-day. In view of the gigantic strides of Modern Industry since 1848, and of the accompanying improved and extended organization of the working-class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months this program has in some details become antiquated."

[16] By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern Capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labor. By proletariat, the class of modern wage laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor-power in order to live.

[17] Guild-master, that is, a full member of a guild, a master within, not a head.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other—Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

From the serfs of the middle ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolized by close guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new market. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle-class: division of labor between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labor in each single workshop.

Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry, the place of the industrial middle-class, by industrial millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.

Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class is under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the medieval commune,[18] here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), there taxable "third estate" of the monarchy (as in France), afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against nobility, and, in fact, corner stone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world-market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned the most heavenly ecstacies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of Philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage laborers.

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

The bourgeoisie has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigor in the Middle Ages, which reactionists so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former Exoduses of nations and crusades.

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into the air, all that his holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

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[18] "Commune" was the name taken in France by the nascent towns even before they had conquered from their feudal lords and masters, local self-government and political rights as "the Third Estate." Generally speaking, for economical development of the bourgeoisie, England is here taken as the typical country, for its political development, France.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world-market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being desroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrowmindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world-literature.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In a word, it creates a world after its own image.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralization. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments, and systems of taxation, became lumped together in one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, one frontier and one customs tariff.

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?

We see then: the means of production and exchange on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organization of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their places stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past, the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity —the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation, had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of the bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions by which they are fettered, and as soon as they overcome these fetters they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working-class—the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working-class, developed, a class of laborers who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital. These laborers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labor, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous and most easily acquired knack that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted almost entirely to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and also of labor, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labor increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work enacted in a given time, or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of laborers, crowded into factories, are organized like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they the slaves of the bourgeois class and of the bourgeois state, they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the overlooker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and exertion or strength implied in manual labor, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labor of men superseded by that of women. Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labor, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex.

No sooner is the exploitation of the laborer by the manufacturer, so far at an end, that he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.

The lower strata of the middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual laborers, then by the work people of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labor, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages.

At this stage the laborers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form more compact bodies, this is not yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the bourgeoisie, which class, in order to attain its own political ends, is compelled to set the whole proletariat in motion, and is moreover yet, for a time, able to do so. At this stage, therefore, the proletarians do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial bourgeois, the petty bourgeoisie. Thus the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie, every victory so obtained is a victory for the bourgeoisie.

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crisis, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battle lies not in the immediate result but in the ever-expanding union of workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by Modern Industry, and that places the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

This organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus the ten hours' bill in England was carried.

Altogether collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times, with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education; in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally, in times when the class-struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class—in fact, within the whole range of an old society—assumes such a violent, glaring character that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movements as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie to-day the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more; they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

The "dangerous class," the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of the old society at large are already virtually swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labor, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for and insurances of individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the selfconscious, independent movement of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Hitherto every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule, because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie; in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage labor. Wage labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

II. Proletarians and Communists

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand practically the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushed forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented or discovered by this or that would-be universal reformer.

They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes. The abolition of existing property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of Communism.

All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions.

The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favor of bourgeois property.

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonism, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labor, which property is alleged to be the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

Hard won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of the petty artisan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form? There is no need to abolish that; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily.

Or do you mean modern bourgeois private property?

But does wage labor create any property for the laborer? Not a bit. It creates capital, i.e., that kind of property which exploits wage labor, and which cannot increase except upon condition of getting a new supply of wage labor for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage labor. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

To be a capitalist is to have not only a purely personal, but a social status in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

Capital is therefore not a personal, it is a social power.

When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character.

Let us now take wage labor.

The average price of wage labor is the minimum wage, i.e., that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the laborer in bare existence as a laborer. What, therefore, the wage laborer appropriates by means of his labor, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labor, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labor of others. All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the laborer lives merely to increase capital and is allowed to live only in so far as the interests of the ruling class require it.

In bourgeois society, living labor is but a means to increase accumulated labor. In Communist society accumulated labor is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the laborer.

In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in communist society the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society, capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom is meant, under the present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying.

But if selling and buying disappears, free selling and buying disappears also. This talk about free selling and buying, and all the other "brave words" of our bourgeoisie about freedom in general have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with restricted selling and buying, with the fettered traders of the Middle Ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the Communistic abolition of buying and selling, of the bourgeois conditions of production, and of the bourgeoisie itself.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so: that is just what we intend.

From the moment when labor can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolized, i.e., from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes.

You must, therefore, confess that by "individual" you mean no other person than the bourgeois, than the middle-class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way and made impossible.

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society: all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labor of others by means of such appropriation.

It has been objected that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease and universal laziness will overtake us.

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology: that there can no longer be any wage labor when there is no longer any capital.

All objections urged against the Communistic mode of producing and appropriating material products have, in the same way, been urged against the Communistic modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to the bourgeois, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine.

But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply, to our intended abolition of bourgeois property, the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, etc. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class.

The selfish misconception that induces you to transform into eternal laws of nature and of reason the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property—historical relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production—this misconception you share with every ruling class that has preceded you. What you see clearly in the case of ancient property, what you admit in the case of feudal property, you are of course forbidden to admit in the case of your own bourgeois form of property.

Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations when we replace home education by social.

And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate; by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society by means of schools, etc? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed correlation of parent and child, become all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor.

But you Communists would introduce community of women, screams the whole bourgeoisie chorus.

The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each others' wives.

Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common, and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, i.e., of prostitution both public and private.

The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationalities.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they don't possess. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The charges against Communism made from a religious, a philosophical, and generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?

What else does the history of ideas prove than that intellectual production changes in character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society they do but express the fact that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its last throes the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the eighteenth century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death-battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.

"Undoubtedly," it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical and judicial ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change."

"There are, besides, eternal truths, such as Freedom, Justice, etc., that are common to all states of society. But Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience."

What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, viz., the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety it displays, moves within certain common forms, or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

But let us have done with the bourgeois objections to Communism.

We have seen above that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organized by the ruling class; and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which in the course of the movement outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labor in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc., etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

III. Socialist and Communist Literature[18a]

1. *Reactionary Socialism*

a. *Feudal Socialism.* Owing to their historical position, it became the vocation of the aristocracies of France and England to write pamphlets against modern bourgeois society. In the French revolution of July, 1830, and in the English reform agitation, these aristocracies again succumbed to the hateful upstart. Thenceforth, a serious political contest was altogether out of the question. A literary battle alone remained possible. But even in the domain of literature the old cries of the restoration period had become impossible.

In order to arouse sympathy the aristocracy were obliged to lose sight, apparently, of their own interests and to formulate their indictment against the bourgeoisie in the interest of the exploited working class alone. Thus the aristocrats took their revenge by singing lampoons on their new master, and whispering in his ears sinister prophecies of coming catastrophe.

In this way arose feudal socialism: half lamentation, half lampoon; half echo of the past, half menace of the future; at times, by its bitter, witty and incisive criticism, striking the bourgeoisie to the very hearts' core, but always ludicrous in its effect, through total incapacity to comprehend the march of modern history.

The aristocracy, in order to rally the people to them, waved the proletarian alms-bag in front of a banner. But the people, so often as it joined them, saw on their hindquarters the old feudal coat of arms, and deserted with loud and irreverent laughter.

One section of the French Legitimists, and "Young England," exhibited this spectacle.

In pointing out that their mode of exploitation was different to that of the bourgeoisie, the feudalists forget that they exploited under circumstances and conditions that were quite different, and that are now antiquated. In showing that, under their rule, the modern proletariat never existed, they forget that the modern bourgeoisie is the necessary offspring of their own form of society.

For the rest, so little do they conceal the reactionary character of their criticism that their chief accusation against the bourgeoisie amounts to this, that under the bourgeois régime a class is being developed which is destined to cut up root and branch the old order of society.

[18a] While this section was designed to deal with the various brands of pseudo-Socialism of 1848, it applies to various parlor Socialists and those liberals who talk about but never act on their radicalism to-day.

What they upbraid the bourgeoisie with is not so much that it creates a proletariat, as that it creates a revolutionary proletariat.

In political practice, therefore, they join in all coercive measures against the working-class; and in ordinary life, despite their high-falutin phrases, they stoop to pick up the golden apples dropped from the trees of industry, and to barter truth, love and honor, for traffic in wool, beetroot-sugar and potato spirit.[19]

As the parson has even gone hand in hand with the landlord, so has Clerical Socialism with Feudal Socialism.

Nothing is easier than to give Christian asceticism a Socialist tinge. Has not Christianity declaimed against private property, against marriage, against the State? Has it not preached, in the place of these, charity and poverty, celibacy and mortification of the flesh, monastic life and Mother Church? Christian Socialism is but the Holy water with which the priest consecrates the heartburnings of the aristocrat.

b. *Petty Bourgeois Socialism.* The feudal aristocracy was not the only class that was ruined by the bourgeoisie, not the only class whose conditions of existence pined and perished in the atmosphere of modern bourgeois society. The medieval burgesses and the small peasant bourgeoisie were the precursors of the modern bourgeoisie. In those countries which are but little developed, industrially and commercially, these two classes still vegetate side by side with the rising bourgeoisie.

In countries where modern civilization has become fully developed, a new class of petty bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie, and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society. The individual members of this class, however, are being constantly hurled down into the proletariat by the action of competition, and, as modern industry develops, they even see the moment approaching when they will completely disappear as an independent section of modern society, to be replaced, in manufacturers, agriculture and commerce, by overlookers, bailiffs and shopmen.

In countries like France, where the peasants constitute far more than half of the population, it was natural that writers who sided with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie should use, in their criticism of the bourgeois régime, the standard of the peasant and petty bourgeois, and from the standpoint of these intermediate classes should take up the cudgels for the working class. Thus arose petty bourgeois Socialism. Sismondi was the head of this school, not only in France, but also in England.

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[19] This applies chiefly to Germany, where the landed aristocracy and squirearchy have large portions of their estates cultivated for their own account by stewards, and are, moreover, extensive beetroot-sugar manufacturers and distillers of potato spirits. The wealthier British aristocracy are, as yet, rather above that; but they, too, know how to make up for declining rents by lending their names to floaters of more or less shady joint-stock companies.

This school of Socialism dissected with great acuteness the contradictions in the conditions of modern production. It laid bare the hypocritical apologies of economists. It proved incontrovertibly the disastrous effects of machinery and division of labor; the concentration of capital and land in a few hands; overproduction and crises; it pointed out that the inevitable ruin of the petty bourgeois and peasant, the misery of the proletariat, the anarchy in production, the crying inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the industrial war of extermination between nations, the dissolution of old moral bonds, of the old family relations, of the old nationalities.

In its positive aims, however, this form of Socialism aspires either to restoring the old means of production and of exchange, and with them the old property relations and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange, within the framework of the old property relations that have been, and were bound to be, exploded by those means. In either case it is both reactionary and Utopian.

Its last words are: corporate guilds for manufacture; patriarchal relations in agriculture.

Ultimately, when stubborn historical facts had dispersed all intoxicating effects of self-deception, this form of socialism ended in a miserable fit of the blues.

c. *German or "True" Socialism.* The Socialist and Communist literature of France, a literature that originated under the pressure of a bourgeoisie in power, and that was the expression of the struggle against this power, was introduced into Germany at a time when the bourgeoisie in that country had just begun its contest with feudal absolutism.

German philosophers, would-be philosophers and *beaux esprits* eagerly seized on this literature, only forgetting that, when these writings emigrated from France into Germany, French social conditions had not emigrated along with them. In contact with German social conditions this French literature lost its immediate practical significance and assumed a purely literary aspect. Thus, to the German philosophers of the eighteenth century the demands of the first French Revolution were nothing more than the demands of "Practical Reason" in general, and the utterance of the will of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie signified in their eyes the laws of pure Will, of Will as it was bound to be, of true human Will generally.

The work of the German literati consisted solely in bringing the new French ideas into harmony with their ancient philosophical conscience, or, rather, in annexing the French ideas without deserting their own philosophic point of view.

This annexation took place in the same way in which a foreign language is appropriated, namely, by translation.

It is well known how the monks wrote silly lives of Catholic Saints over the manuscripts on which the classical works of ancient heathendom had been written. The German literati reversed this process with the profane French literature. They wrote their philosophical nonsense beneath the French original. For instance, beneath the French criticism of the economic functions of money they wrote "Alienation of Humanity," and beneath the French criticism of the bourgeois State they wrote "Dethronement of the Category of the General," and so forth.

The introduction of these philosophical phrases at the back of the French historical criticisms they dubbed "Philosophy of Action," "True Socialism," "German Science of Socialism," "Philosophical Foundation of Socialism," and so on.

The French Socialist and Communist literature was thus completely emasculated. And, since it ceased in the hands of the German to express the struggle of one class with the other, he felt conscious of having overcome "French one-sidedness" and of representing, not true requirements, but the requirements of Truth, not the interests of the proletariat, but the interests of Human Nature, of Man in general, who belongs to no class, has no reality, who exists only in the misty realm of philosophical phantasy.

This German Socialism, which took its schoolboy task so seriously and solemnly, and extolled its poor stock-in-trade in such mountebank fashion, meanwhile gradually lost its pedantic innocence.

The fight of the German, and especially of the Prussian, bourgeoisie against feudal aristocracy and absolute monarchy, in other words, the liberal movement, became more earnest.

By this, the long-wished-for opportunity was offered to "True Socialism" of confronting the political movement with the socialist demands, of hurling the traditional anathemas against liberalism, against representative government, against bourgeois competition, bourgeois freedom of the press, bourgeois legislation, bourgeois liberty and equality, and of preaching to the masses that they had nothing to gain and everything to lose by this bourgeois movement. German Socialism forgot, in the nick of time, that the French criticism, whose silly echo it was, presupposed the existence of modern bourgeois society, with its corresponding economic conditions of existence, and the political constitution adapted thereto, the very things whose attainment was the object of the pending struggle in Germany.

To the absolute governments, with their following of parsons, professors, country squires and officials, it served as a welcome scarecrow against the threatening bourgeoisie.

It was a sweet finish after the bitter pills of floggings and bullets with which these same governments, just at that time, dosed the German working class risings.

While this "True" Socialism thus served the governments as a weapon for fighting the German bourgeoisie, it at the same time directly represented a reactionary interest, the interest of the German Philistines. In Germany the petty bourgeois class, a relic of the Sixtenth Century, and since then constantly cropping up again under various forms, is the real social basis of the existing state of things.

To preserve this class is to preserve the existing state of things in Germany. The industrial and political supremacy of the bourgeoisie threatens it with certain destruction; on the one hand, from the concentration of capital; on the other, from the rise of a revolutionary proletariat. "True Socialism" appeared to kill these two birds with one stone. It spread like an epidemic.

The robe of speculative cobwebs, embroidered with flowers of rhetoric, steeped in the dew of sickly sentiment, this transcendental robe in which the German Socialists wrapped their sorry "eternal truths," all skin and bone, served to wonderfully increase the sale of their goods amongst such a public.

And on its part, German Socialism recognized more and more its own calling as the bombastic representative of the petty bourgeois Philistine.

It proclaimed the German nation to be the model nation, and the German petty Philistine to be the typical man. To every villainous meanness of this model man it gave a hidden, higher, socialistic interpretation, the exact contrary of its true character. It went to the extreme length of directly opposing the "brutally destructive" tendency of Communism, and of proclaiming its supreme and impartial contempt of all class struggles. With very few exceptions, all the so-called Socialist and Communist publications that now (1847) circulate in Germany belong to the domain of this foul and enervating literature.

2. *Conservative or Bourgeois Socialism.* A part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of redressing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society.

To this section belong economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organizers of charity, members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, temperance fanatics, hole and corner reformers of every imaginable kind. This form of Socialism has, moreover, been worked out into complete systems.

We may cite Proudhon's *Philosophie de la Misère* as an example of this form.

The socialistic bourgeois want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements. They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat. The bourgeoisie naturally conceives the world in which it is supreme to be the best; and bourgeois Socialism develops this comfortable conception into various more or less complete systems. In requiring the proletariat to carry out such a system, and thereby to march straightway into the social New Jerusalem, it but requires in reality that the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie.

A second and more practical, but less systematic, form of this Socialism sought to depreciate every revolutionary movement in the eyes of the working class by showing that no mere political reform, but only a change in the material conditions of existence, in economical relations, could be of any advantage to them. By changes in the material conditions of existence this form of Socialism, however, by no means signifies abolition of the bourgeois relations of production, an abolition that can be effected only by a revolution, but administrative reforms, based on the continued existence of these relations; reforms, therefore, that in no respect affect the relations between capital and labor, but, at the best, lessen the cost, and simplify the administrative work, of bourgeois government.

Bourgeois Socialism attains adequate expression when, and only when, it becomes a mere figure of speech.

Free trade: for the benefit of the working class. Protective duties: for the benefit of the working class. Prison reform: for the benefit of the working class. This is the last word and the only seriously meant word of bourgeois Socialism.

It is summed up in the phrase: the bourgeois is a bourgeois—for the benefit of the working class.

3. *Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism.* We do not here refer to that literature which, in every great modern revolution, has always given voice to the demands of the proletariat: such as the writings of Babeuf and others.

The first direct attempts of the proletariat to attain its own ends, made in times of universal excitement, when feudal society was being overthrown, these attempts necessarily failed, owing to the then undeveloped state of the proletariat, as well as to the absence of the economic conditions for its emancipation, conditions that had yet to be produced, and could be produced by the impending bourgeois epoch alone. The revolutionary literature that accompanied these first movements of the proletariat had necessarily a reactionary character. It inculcated universal ascetism and social leveling in its crudest form.

The Socialist and Communist systems properly so called, those of St. Simon, Fourier, Owen and others, spring into existence in the early undeveloped period, described above, of the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie (see Section I. Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.)

The founders of these systems see, indeed, the class antagonisms, as well as the action of the decomposing elements in the prevailing form of society. But the proletariat, as yet in its infancy, offers to them the spectacle of a class without any historical initiative or any independent political movement.

Since the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the development of industry, the economic situation, as they find it, does not as yet offer to them the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. They therefore search after a new social science, after new social laws, that are to create these conditions.

Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action, historically created conditions of emancipation to phantastic ones, and the gradual, spontaneous class organization of the proletariat to an organization of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history resolves itself, in their eyes, into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans.

In the formation of their plans they are conscious of caring chiefly for the interests of the working-class, as being the most suffering class. Only from the point of view of being the most suffering class does the proletariat exist for them.

The undeveloped state of the class struggle, as well as their own surroundings, cause Socialists of this kind to consider themselves far superior to all class antagonisms. They want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favored. Hence, they habitually appeal to society at large, without distinction of class; nay, by preference, to the ruling class. For how can people, when once they understand their system, fail to see in it the best possible plan of the best possible state of society?

Hence, they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, and endeavor, by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example to pave the way for the new social Gospel.

Such phantastic pictures of future society, painted at a time when the proletariat is still in a very undeveloped state and has but a phantastic conception of its own position, correspond with the first instinctive yearnings of that class for a general reconstruction of society.

But these Socialist and Communist publications contain also a critical element. They attack every principle of existing society. Hence they are full of the most valuable materials for the enlightment of the working class. The practical measures proposed in them, such as the abolition of the distinction between town and country, of the family, of the carrying on of industries for the account of private individuals, and of the wage system, the proclamation of social harmony, the conversion of the functions of the State into a mere superintendence of production, all these proposals point solely to the disappearance of class-antagonisms which were at that time only just cropping up, and which, in these publications, are recognized under the earliest, indistinct and undefined forms only. These proposals, therefore, are of a purely Utopian character.

The Significance of Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism bears an inverse relation to historical development. In proportion as the modern class struggle develops and takes definite shape, this phantastic standing apart from the contest, these phantastic attacks on it lose all practical value and all theoretical justification. Therefore, although the originators of these systems were in many respects revolutionary, their disciples have in every case formed mere reactionary sects. They hold fast by the original views of their masters, in opposition to the progressive historical development of the proletariat. They, therefore, endeavor, and that consistently, to deaden the class struggle and to reconcile the class antagonisms. They still dream of experimental realization of their social Utopias, of founding isolated "Phalansteres," of establishing "Home Colonies," of setting up a "Little Icaria"[20] —duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem, and to realize all these castles in the air they are compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois. By degrees they sink into the category of the reactionary conservative Socialists depicted above, differing from these only by more systematic pedantry, and by their fanatical and superstitious belief in the miraculous effects of their social science.

They, therefore, violently oppose all political action on the part of the working class; such action, according to them, can only result from blind unbelief in the new Gospel.

The Owenites in England, and the Fourierists in France, respectively oppose the Chartists and the "Reformistes."

IV. Position of the Communists in Relation to the Various Existing Opposition Parties

Section II has made clear the relations of the Communists to the existing working class parties, such as the Chartists in England and the Agrarian Reformers in America.

The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. In France the Communists ally themselves with the Social-Democrats against the conservative and radical bourgeoisie, reserving, however, the right to take up a critical position in regard to phrases and illusions traditionally handed down from the great Revolution.

In Switzerland they support the Radicals, without losing sight of the fact that this party consists of antagonistic elements partly of Democratic Socialists, in the French sense, partly of radical bourgeois.

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[20] Phalanstères were Socialist colonies on the plan of Charles Fourier. Icaria was the name given by Cabet to his Utopia and, later on, to his American Communist colony.

In Poland they support the party that insists on an agrarian revolution, as the prime condition for national emancipation, that party which fomented the insurrection of Cracow in 1846.

In Germany they fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie.

But they never cease for a single instant to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself many immediately begin.

The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution, that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilization, and with a more developed proletariat, than that of England was in the seventeenth and of France in the eighteen century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution.

In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time.

Finally, they labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Working men of all countries, unite!

3. THE ERFURT PROGRAM OF 1891

The economic development of the bourgeois society leads by a necessity of nature to the downfall of small production, the basis of which is the private property of the workman in his means of production. It separates the workman from his means of production, and transforms him into a proletarian without property, whilst the means of production become the monopoly of a comparatively small number of capitalists and great landowners.

This monopolizing of the means of production is accompanied by the supplanting of the scattered small production through the colossal great production, by the development of the tool into the machine, and by gigantic increase of the productivity of human labor. But all advantages of this transformation are monopolized by the capitalists and great landowners. For the proletariat and the sinking intermediate grades—small tradesmen and peasant proprietors—it means increasing insecurity of their existence, increase of misery, of oppression, of servitude, degradation, and exploitation.

Ever greater grows the number of the proletarians, ever larger the army of superfluous workmen, ever wider the chasm between bourgeoisie and proletariat, which divides modern society into two hostile camps, and is the common characteristic of all industrial lands.

The gulf between rich and poor is further widened through the crises which naturally arise out of the capitalistic method of production, which always become more sweeping and destructive, which render the general insecurity the normal condition of society, which prove that the production forces have outgrown the existing society, that private property in the means of production is incompatible with their rational application and full development.

Private property in the instruments of production, which in former times was the means of assuring to the producer the property in his own product, has now become the means of expropriating peasant proprietors, hand-workers, and small dealers, and of placing the non-workers, capitalists, and great landowners in the possession of the product of the workmen. Only the conversion of the capitalistic private property in the means of production—land, mines, raw materials, tools, machines, means of communication—into social property, and the transformation of the production of wares into socialistic production, carried on for and through society, can bring it about that the great production and the continually increasing productivity of social labor may become for the hitherto exploited classes, instead of a source of misery and oppression, a source of the highest welfare and of all-sided harmonious development.

This social transformation means the emancipation, not merely of the proletariat, but of the entire human race which suffers under the present conditions. But it can only be the work of the laboring class, because all other classes, in spite of their mutually conflicting interests, stand on the ground of private property in the means of production, and have as their common aim the maintenance of the bases of the existing society.

The struggle of the working class against capitalistic exploitation is of necessity a political struggle. The working class cannot conduct its economic struggle, and cannot develop its economic organization, without political rights. It cannot effect the change of the means of production into the possession of the collective society without coming into possession of political power.

To shape this struggle of the working class into a conscious and united one, and to point out to it its inevitable goal, this is the task of the Social Democratic party.

In all lands where the capitalistic method of production prevails, the interests of the working classes are alike. With the extension of the world commerce and of the production for the world market, the condition of the workmen of every single land always grows more dependent on the condition of the workmen in other lands. The emancipation of the working class is therefore a task in which the workers of all civilized countries are equally interested. Recognizing this, the Social Democratic Party of Germany feels and declares itself at one with the class-conscious workers of all other countries.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany therefore contends, not for new class privileges and exclusive rights, but for the abolition of class rule and classes themselves, and for equal rights and equal duties of all without distinction of sex and descent. Proceeding from these views it struggles in the present society, not only against exploitation and oppression of the wage-workers, but against every class of exploitation and oppression, whether directed against class, party, sex, or race.

4. THE BASIC ARGUMENT OF SOCIALISM [21]

By the capitalist or profit system of industry is understood that arrangement under which the materials and instruments of production are, for the most part, the private property of a group called capitalists, but the labor of production is chiefly performed by a different group, the laborers or proletariat. These workers receive wages only when a capitalist chooses to employ them to produce goods or services, and he does so only when he expects to obtain a profit from the sale of their product. The conservative considers the present political and industrial system thoroughly satisfactory, and ascribes all social ills to the failure of the individual to live up to the requirements; he therefore recommends thrift and increased production. The liberal regards the system as fundamentally satisfactory, but recognizes serious defects in its actual operation due to error and maladjustment or failure to play according to the rules of the game. His remedies, therefore, are usually attempts to remove obstructions to the free play of the system, such as monopolies or tariffs, or to enforce the rules of the game by uncovering and punishing corruption. A third group of liberal proposals, steadily growing more important, are partial modifications of the profit system in the direction of Socialism. To Socialists and other radicals the system itself is fundamentally unsound; the game is an iniquitous one, even when played according to the rules; a *radical* transformation is demanded.

The Socialist believes that the root cause of social injustice is that relation of capitalist and wage-earner upon which the profit system is founded. He proposes, therefore, that social capital become the property of the workers; and since the complexity of modern industry makes it impossible for each producer to own and control the objects upon which he labors, the Socialists demand that these capital goods be owned and controlled collectively by the entire society of workers with hand and brain.

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[21] Jessie Wallace Hughan, *What Is Socialism?* (Vanguard Press, 1928), pp. 41-64.

The Economic Interpretation of History[22]

Opponents of Socialism have often carelessly applied to it the term *Utopian,* a word derived from Utopia, the imaginary commonwealth of Sir Thomas More, and signifying a social ideal to be artificially introduced irrespective of the processes of evolution. This term is correctly applied to the ideals of Cabet and Fourier which inspired the early community experiments to be mentioned in our historical sketch. Present-day Socialism is not Utopian, however, but scientific, as the New Order to which it points is not the artificial creation of desire, but, in its details as well as in its larger aspects, a natural development of the economic and social forces active in the present capitalist society.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, two Germans working in England, were the social scientists who first traced these tendencies in our industrial system and established them as the basic argument of scientific or Marxian Socialism.

The first principle of Marxian Socialism is that of the Economic Interpretation of History, sometimes termed the Materialist Interpretation of History.

There is a tendency among mankind to regard social relationships as permanent, and judicial, ethical and religious systems as absolute and perfect. The caste system in India, the aristocracy in England and the plutocratic republic of America all claim our submission "in the place where it has pleased God to call us"; and we resent any imputation of fallibility in our ethical or juridical *ideals,* at any rate, however much we may plead guilty to falling short of these ideals. The courts, for example, are to many Americans sacred ground, and even the tenth commandment must be modified sooner than the moral maxims of the present competitive régime.

Many of us recognize this point of view to be unsound. We know that our society, like that of the classical nations, is in a state of evolution and that at some time our present ethical code will be considered only less primitive than that of the cave-dweller. We do not all keep in mind, however, that among the scientists who have elaborated the laws of social evolution, Karl Marx was one of the first to discover the predominating

[22] The subheadings in this section are given as printed in the original.

cause of social changes, setting it forth as "the economic interpretation of history."

Engels in the preface to the *Communist Manifesto* states the doctrine in the following words:—"In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

Illustration of the Economic Interpretation of History.—A familiar illustration of the economic interpretation of history may be found in the conditions of the New England and the Southern states before the Civil War. In the former, the climate, configuration of the country and character of the settlers conduced to small scale farming and afterwards to manufacture. Society consisted chiefly of independent agriculturists grouped near one another in villages and employing little hired labor; later on, as manufactures developed, the towns became crowded with an industrial population of wage-workers, skilled to handle delicate machinery and free to rise one above another by individual effort. Social relationships were in general free, individualistic and approximately equal. Political democracy was the natural outcome of this Northern society, and in the New England town meeting there existed as near an approach to it as has yet been made; equality before the law was a genuine ideal, enforcing strictly the personal rights of the individual; the ethical code inculcated the ascetic virtues of industry, thrift, temperance, and personal morality.

In the South, on the contrary, the nature of the country, the climate, and the settlers made extensive agriculture the most attractive pursuit. It was profitable for the landholders to live far from one another on plantations that were largely self-sufficing, and to work these with unskilled and irresponsible labor. Slavery rather than free wage labor, and the feudal demesne rather than the village community, thus became typical of Southern society. Upon these social relationships grew up a political aristocracy which still exists in defiance of the United States Constitution, and a judicial system in which inequality is taken for granted and lynch law for the Negro has not yet been entirely superseded by regular justice. Instead of the ascetic morals of the New Englander we have the virtues of courtesy, generosity and high spirit in the master class, good nature and personal devotion in the dependents. So strong has been the grip of economic conditions that the forcible change in social relationships brought about by the Civil War has not yet made a very material impression upon the judicial, political and ethical codes of the South.

Limitations of the Doctrine.—It is indeed true that the economic factor, while fundamental, is not the only one in history. Such conditions as climate and race exercise direct influence upon social relations. These relations themselves, as well as the ideals of politics, ethics and religion, react upon the economic environment that has given them birth and may even change it radically.

Engels himself says:—"According to the materialistic view of history the factor which is *in the last instance* decisive in history is the production and reproduction of actual life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. But when anyone distorts this so as to read that the economic factor is the sole element, he converts the statement into a meaningless, abstract, absurd phrase. The economic condition is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—the political forms of the class contests, and their results, the constitutions, the legal forms, and also all the reflexes of these actual contests in the brains of the participants, the political, legal, philosophical theories, the religious views . . . all these exert an influence upon the development of the historical struggles, and in many instances determine their form."

Extreme Interpretations.—Although Marx and Engels limited the doctrine as just quoted, certain Socialists have sometimes carried it to the extreme of economic determinism, denying the existence of free-will, and of economic materialism, which allows no scope to the idealistic factors. It is almost entirely against these special views that criticisms of the economic interpretation of history are now directed, since the theory as modified by Marx is now thoroughly incorporated in modern historical method, of non-Socialists and Socialists alike.

Socialist Application of the Doctrine.—While the economic interpretation of history is thus no longer confined to Socialism, in the application of this doctrine to human evolution Marxism and orthodox economics take different paths. Since, according to Marx and Engels, the social structure is always an outgrowth of the economic conditions of a given period, it follows that a radical change in the latter must always bring about an equally radical social transformation. If for any reason the outworn forms of society have persisted into a new economic régime, there ensues maladjustment, suffering, and sometimes actual catastrophe. Sooner or later, a revolution must occur; gradually, as the seed pushes into the light, or suddenly, as the bird breaks its shell, the new society emerges from the integument of the old and continues until in its turn it yields to the course of economic changes. In this portion of the theory, Marx makes use of the Hegelian dialectic, an interesting form of reasoning which space forbids us to discuss.

The Evolution of Society

Applying economic interpretation to the history of past ages, we find that classical society passed away with slavery, feudal society with serfdom, and that the third great system of civilized production, the bourgeois or capitalist, came in, at various dates in different countries, with the prevalence of free labor and handicraft. As feudal economics, the production for a self-sufficing domain by workers bound to the soil, was characterized by the feudal, or personal and local, relations, so competitive manufacture, the production by handicraftsmen of goods for exchange, was characterized by a society of relatively free individuals, bound only by the "cash nexus." The worker owned his own tools, produced independently or with the aid of apprentices on their way to independence, sold in the open market and pocketed the equivalent of his labor. As the expression of this free individualism came the mighty ideals of the eighteenth century: liberty, equality before the law, and economic *laissez faire.*

So breathless, however, has been the material development of the last few centuries that the system of economic individualism could maintain but a momentary existence—has perhaps never existed at all in full perfection. Encumbered during the early modern period by the forms of feudalism, it burst through these only by the violent revolutions commencing in the eighteenth century and still going on in Eastern Europe and Asia. Even in 1793, however, individual production had been undermined by the beginnings of modern capitalism. The employing manufacturer had long been competing against the craftsman, and the tremendous industrial revolution following the inventions of textile machinery and the steam-engine was already in full swing. Hardly, therefore, had individualism established its forms and its ideals upon society when the new capitalist system had gone far toward taking its place in production.

Modern Capitalism

The independent laborer, producing, marketing and receiving his price individually, still exists in a few backward or specialized pursuits such as carpentering, and in that form of labor which was the last to break through feudal shackles, agriculture. In the typical modern industry, however, production is no longer individual, but social. In Adam Smith's time eighteen men contributed to the making of a pin, but in the twentieth century we have the mighty organization of a metal trust involved in the making of the pin and the railroad system of a continent in its marketing.

On the other hand, owing to the fact that the social structure and its resulting legal tradition are still shaped by free individualism, we have the anomaly that this product of social industry is still owned individually by the person or group possessing the title to the tools and raw material. Most important of all, this owner, as in the craftsman days when he was the laborer also, still takes the profit, after paying the market price for wages, whether he himself has labored or not.

This transitional system, in which wealth is produced socially by propertyless wage laborers, and owned individually by capitalists who possess the tools of production, is called by the Socialists *capitalism.*

The Downfall of Capitalism

This contradiction between social production and individual appropriation means no less, according to the Marxian philosophy, than that our economic conditions have outgrown the social and legal structures that rest upon them. There is but one outcome—a revolution that will put an end to capitalism and establish in its place Socialism, a type of society in which the forms of economic individualism shall have vanished and the fruits of labor, like the labor itself, shall be socially shared.

The inevitable transformation will be brought about by three different causes:

I. The Tendency toward Overproduction.—The first of these is the tendency toward capitalist overproduction.

Individual marketing was a simple matter in the days of handicraft. The village carpenter or wheelwright possessed a local market independent of transportation, and the middleman knew his own customers and their probable rate of consumption; in case of accidental overproduction he could wait, secure in the ownership of his trade, till his stock diminished.

Since production, however, has grown to be no longer independent, the market also has been transformed. The manufacturer produces for ultimate consumers whom he has never seen, whose demand is conditioned on forces unknown to him; between him and the customer are ranged the transportation systems, the middlemen, and the complexities of the stock exchange; and, most serious of all, competitors, perhaps in distant quarters of the globe, are throwing goods upon the same market in quantities and at prices to suit themselves. Although production has become more and more socialized, more and more efficient, the direction of production, still hampered by the survivals of individualism, is, in general, anarchistic.

The Crisis.—There can be but one result; frantic underselling, falsely stimulated production in various lines, and finally a piled-up plethora of goods, a crisis and "hard times."

There is also another set of circumstances which, from the Socialist point of view, tends to render the crisis more certain and more disastrous. Although the capitalist system is raising the absolute wages of the working-class with a fair degree of steadiness, nevertheless it tends to assign them an ever smaller proportion of the total income as the cost of subsistence diminishes and as improvements in machinery and organization reduce the amount of labor required per unit of product. Accordingly, the demand of the workers for finished goods must also show a proportional, though not an absolute, decrease. The working class, however, because of its number, must constitute the majority of the market for staple products, and the capitalist minority finds it harder each decade to dispose of its lion's share of income by a greater consumption of luxuries. As opponents of Socialism have pointed out, the overplus of wealth is turned, to an ever-increasing extent, into capital goods by reinvestment. Socialism replies, however, that this process only increases the difficulty by multiplying the ultimate product, consumers' goods, at a greater rate than before, and by increasing the share of capital, rather than of labor, in its creation and therefore in the resulting reward. Even aside from the anarchy of industry, therefore, there is an essential tendency, under the profit system, for the supply of ultimate products to outrun demand, until overproduction reaches a crisis and stagnation ensues.

During the consequent "hard times," businesses fail, credit is checked, factories are closed, men are thrown out of employment. The effective demand of the working class is still further reduced, with a progressive depression of prices. For two or three years little is produced, and then, the surplus product having been consumed and the surplus producer having been put out of the game, demand once more overtakes supply and the rush for profits begins again.

Many times since modern capitalism began this cycle has repeated itself. Nineteenth century economists were accustomed to predict a crisis every ten to fifteen years; recent investigations have shown the cycle, while definitely periodic, to be less regular in length, varying from three to eleven years for its entire course.

Modern Socialists realize that the industrial crisis is neither so regular nor so easily recognized as the observations of Marx and Engels would indicate. While the latter foresaw the development of the trust, they could not comprehend the extent to which it would be able to modify in certain areas the anarchy of the productive system. Monopolies and near-monopolies are now able not only to curtail deliberately the supply of certain commodities, but through tremendous financial combines to affect the entire market. Thus the superficial acuteness of the recurrent crisis is less apparent than in the last century; yet there is reason to believe that the duration of the depression is longer than in former times. According to the observations of Willard Thorp and Wesley Mitchell, the longer cycle tends to signify a longer period of depression, and the tables compiled by them show an increase in the length of the cycle in recent years.

Unsatisfactory as the monopolistic checking of production has proved, however, it is hopeful as illustrating what could be done by an intelligent regulation of industry for the benefit of society.

The recurrent crisis has been modified, furthermore, by a second development which, though pointed out by Marx and Engels, has grown to a scale undreamed-of by them: that is, the progressive enlargement of the foreign market. This feverish quest for new markets and new fields for exploitation is the basis of modern Imperialism. It is not only the secret of most treaties and diplomatic events of the last half-century, but is the underlying cause of almost every modern war, including the World War. Yet even at this terrible price, the world market cannot be indefinitely extended by the Western nations. Imperialism itself has instituted a process by which this market becomes self-narrowing. Business is no longer content with exporting to backward countries cloth and other consumers' goods. It has long been selling them producers' goods, the machinery and railroads that are already bringing these remote regions into the market not as mere customers but as dangerous competitors. The imperialist solution is more and more clearly a suicidal one. There is only one permanent escape from the industrial crisis. This is nothing less than the socialization of the whole industrial system, to keep pace with social production within the factory. The modern trust, curtailing within its own sphere the anarchy of production, is a definite step in this direction, and has already begun to exert an appreciable influence upon the periodic crisis, as has been noted. Government regulation and government ownership of certain industries are even more radical measures of socialization which are forced a little further by every such period.

Since this one permanent way of escape is in itself an abandonment of the competitive principle, it is evident to the Marxist that capitalism must, at no very distant date, pass, a victim either to its own anarchy, to the wars inherent in capitalist enlargement of markets, or to gradual socialization by trusts or by society.

II. The Tendency toward Socialization.—The second cause working to undermine the capitalist system has just been suggested: the inevitable tendency of industrial coöperation to take the place of competition. When Marx and Engels published their Manifesto in 1848 the joint stock company was still a new development, and the modern trust was forty years in the future. They set forth with approximate accuracy, however, the general industrial tendencies of the late nineteenth century, the necessity of progress by labor-saving invention and organization, of reducing the cost of production and increasing its volume, of checking the inherent waste of competition by combination on a large scale. The individual employer would give way to the partnership, the partnership to the corporation, and the corporation to the great aggregation of interests that we call the trust.

A glance at some recent figures will show something of the pace at which concentration in manufacturing is still going on. In 1914 there were less than 4,000 establishments in the United States reporting an annual product valued at $1,000,000 or over, their united product being 48.6 per cent of the total. In 1925 there were over 10,000 such establishments, the value of their products having mounted to 67.6 per cent of the total, from less than one-half the national product to more than two thirds. Of the larger corporations the United States Steel reported in 1923 over $2,000,000,000 assets, and the Pennsylvania Railroad, American Telegraph and Telephone, New York Central, Union Pacific, and Standard Oil of New Jersey each over $1,000,000,000.

At every step in the closing of industry that makes for these stupendous aggregations, certain capitalists are left out of the running, sometimes to become passive receivers of income, sometimes to take their places in the ranks of salaried employees. When combination, according to Marx, shall have done its perfect work, the independent producer will have practically disappeared, the majority of society will consist of property less wage or salaried workers, and all the chief industries will be socialized within themselves, controlled by a minority of exploiters, and ripe for complete socialization at the hands of the people.

It is the custom of apologists for the present system to point to the diffusion of ownership indicated by the increase of savings accounts and by such statistics as that of the Federal Trade Commission,—where corporations have reported that the employees own from 1½ to 2 per cent of the stock. These facts are indeed important from a psychological point of view, as the worker who has entrusted his savings to a bond or a bank account tends to the "capitalist psychology" and is likely to take sides accordingly in the class struggle. The persuasion of the worker to investment is therefore an efficient form of anti-radical propaganda.

The multiplication of savings accounts is important in showing how the worker's little hoard has been coaxed from the old stocking of former years into the modern stream of production, there to add to the power of the financier. It must be remembered, however, that the extensive duplication of savings accounts by persons of means renders the statistics as to numbers of little value as showing diffusion. A large proportion of accounts, also, are so small as to be quite negligible, representing only the pennies of propagandized school children or the pitiful savings of the poor against a pauper's grave. Not until we have a set of figures showing the number of wage-earners holding bank accounts of appreciable value—say the amount of a year's wages—can statistics concerning savings be considered pertinent to the subject.

The statements of stock ownership are illuminating as an indication of the almost incalculable distance that separates the worker, under the most favorable modern conditions, from the craftsman who owned and controlled his own job. Let us glance at the figures. The average number of workers to a manufacturing establishment was, in 1923, between 57 and 58. The corporations reporting to the Federal Trade Commission would of course employ far more than this average, probably 600 and upward. Using the general average of 57 employees to an establishment, however, we find that in a factory where these workers own 2 per cent of the stock, the share of each man would be less than .00035 of the whole.

Even if this diffusion of stocks and savings were really great enough to signify extensive working-class ownership, it would serve still further to show the tremendous concentration of *control* which, irrespective of ownership, is bringing individualist industry to an end. As every one knows, the small stockholder and the savings bank depositor are equally helpless with regard to the actual control of their funds. The most they can expect is security and the current rate of interest. It is the men on the ground floor who keep for themselves the direction as well as the rich pickings; and every dollar stored up by the thrifty worker, except in a coöperative establishment, serves to make tighter the control of the masters of industry. On the other hand, this massing together of small savings, whether under capitalist or coöperative control, plays its useful part in the onward sweep of socialization.

III. The Class Struggle.—While economic development may be expected to bring about, automatically, as it were, the undermining of capitalism by the anarchy of production and the building up of a new socialized structure within the shell of the old, the final transfer from individual to social ownership and control can be accomplished only by deliberate human action. The last of the three causes, therefore, the class struggle, is the most important to the Socialist.

"The recorded history of social progress," says the *Communist Manifesto,* "has been the history of class struggles." The slave against his master, the serf against his lord, won independence when economic conditions had prepared the way for a new relationship. Although altruistic spirits among the ruling class have from time to time renounced their own privileges and championed the cause of the oppressed, the masters as a whole have never given freedom to those beneath them until, as with the classical nations, their civilization was overwhelmed by outside forces, or, as in the case of feudalism, the subject class became strong enough to assert and secure its rights.

The Social Classes at Present

Our present capitalistic state has no statutory or hereditary division into social classes; yet such classes actually exist. On the one side are the capitalists, or bourgeoisie, who may be defined as those whose income, or the major part of it, is derived from the possession of capital; these may be either passive coupon cutters, or active employers who draw both salary and profits. On the other side is the working class or proletariat, consisting of those persons who are without appreciable capital and therefore dependent for their income, or the major part of it, upon employment by others; this may be divided into the intellectual proletariat and the skilled and unskilled manual workers. Between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is the middle or old yeoman class, composed in small part of individuals whose income happens to proceed in approximately equal portions from labor and the possession of capital, but chiefly made up of those farmers, small craftsmen, and professional workers who own their own tools, and produce without either employing or being employed.

The proportion and status of these three classes are constantly changing. The steady tendency toward concentration in the industrial system is every year pushing into the salaried proletariat the least fortunate of the capitalists, this process becoming most acute at the time of an industrial crisis. Still more is the middle class, consisting essentially of isolated craftsmen, tradesmen and agriculturists, gradually disappearing as improved processes make socialized production necessary. We see its decline in the presence of the department and chain store and the abandoned farm. It is conceded by modern Socialists that Marx and Engels somewhat over-estimated the speed of the yeoman's disappearance, and the attitude of Socialist parties toward the farmer has altered materially in consequence. This subject is so important that it must be taken up later in more detail.

It is true also that the increasing application of science in many fields, as well as the greater volume of educational and intellectual products as civilization progresses, have added materially to the numbers of the salaried and professional classes. Except for the greater opportunities for saving a portion of one's income and ultimately entering the capitalist ranks that accompany a higher salary, these persons are as completely proletarian as the day-laborer. In the absence of employers, they, too, must subsist upon charity, in this case, perhaps, the veiled charity of loans from more fortunate friends. Since these workers, however, usually move in the social circles of the lesser capitalists, it is not easy for them to realize their status as proletarians. On the other hand, since this particular sub-class is that which includes the majority of social scientists and social idealists, it is especially valuable in the Class Struggle.

The Condition of the Proletariat

The proletariat, at the same time that it is becoming a larger and larger section of the community, does not remain in the same situation from one decade to another. The same industrial progress that brings about the concentration of capitalist control has worked with equal pressure to reduce the labor cost of production through inventions and organization. Almost all important improvements in process throw out of employment whole sections of the working class. Some of these are absorbed again to meet increased demand, but not all, and those who for one reason or another cannot make the new adaptation, go to swell the number of the army of unemployed or casually employed which has existed ever since the break-up of serfdom. The recurrence of the crisis adds to the number still further, while these purely industrial causes are strengthened by the chance unemployment due to sickness, accidents, and personal deficiencies. Even in good times there are estimated to be one million adult workers unemployed in the United States, and in periods approaching depression, such as January, 1928, the number is nearer four million.

While all reformers deplore the existence of the unemployed, the non-Socialists consider the phenomenon a mere accident and attempt by education and organization to remove it. To the Socialist, however, it is an integral part of the capitalist system. The normal working of this system is what throws the unemployed out from its center, and, furthermore, their presence as a reserve is necessary to our industry as at present constituted. If we look at the figures of the unemployed, we find that but a small proportion are idle the year round; nearly all are engaged for a few months in some casual or seasonal occupation. The facts of industry, moreover, show that much of our production is dependent upon this same casual or seasonal labor. Most trades have their slack periods; in coal mining, for example, little anthracite is produced during the winter, because storing diminishes its selling value. Harvesting, canning, and lumbering employ hordes of persons at certain seasons only, and docking is an example of an employment almost entirely casual. Until these industries are materially altered, we cannot normally dispense with the reserve army.

Wages Pressed toward the Minimum

Yet the existence of the unemployed is the great factor which, according to the Socialists, keeps wages pressed down toward the minimum of subsistence for the given place and period. While fifty men are fighting at the factory gates for a job that will bring this minimum, that employer must indeed be an altruist who will offer more, and even the benevolent employer is forced by the pressure of his rivals to keep down labor cost as near the minimum as possible. The reserve army of unemployed may be seen in its function of keeping down wages and working conditions at the time of any large strike. When the employer makes his usual declaration to the public that in the absence of interference the industry will be kept running with "scab" labor, it is this reserve upon which he relies; and the fact that this confidence is frequently justified even in the strike of skilled and specialized workers is a suggestive commentary upon our capitalist system.

While profits, then, have steadily increased—in bulk rather than rate—with the progress of industry, the tendency of wages has been to hover around this subsistence level for the unskilled worker, with corresponding gradations for those above him. We repeat here certain figures given in a preceding chapter. In 1919 the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics made up a "minimum health and decency quantity budget," below which a family of five could not fall without danger of deterioration. Measured by the average prices current in June, 1927, in eight typical cities, this budget would now require an income of $2,301 a year, or $44 a week, allowing no losses for vacation or illness. We find, however, that only three million out of the thirty-one million wage-workers—the "aristocrats of labor" such as plumbers, builders and printers—have succeeded by 1928 in attaining this minimum weekly wage.

Doctrine of Increasing Misery

It is true that the standard of subsistence has indeed been raised in many respects since the days of Marx, and that labor unions and legislation have done much to maintain this rising standard, but Socialism contends that, notwithstanding this absolute improvement, the relative condition of the working-class has shown little or no improvement. Not only is there a far greater disproportion between the incomes of the capitalist and the laborer than there was fifty years ago; not only is there an abysmal gulf in living standard between the New Bedford textile worker with wages less than half the estimated minimum for health and decency and the Pittsburgh multi-millionaire who celebrated his wedding anniversary by inviting several score friends from "back home" to Paris, all expenses paid, and entertained them on the scale of the Roman emperors; not only is modern advertising spurring each class to demand luxuries beyond its income and modern publicity stimulating every one to envy of those above him; but it is the greater and greater dependence upon the capitalist class for the means of living, for the job, which makes the proletarian of to-day, in spite of the higher standard indicated by shoes and stockings, white bread, ice-cream and moving pictures, a veritable wage slave.

So, says Marx, grows the "accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation" among the proletariat.

This doctrine of increasing misery must be restricted largely to mental rather than physical conditions, and must be carefully distinguished from the doctrine of "increasing poverty" with which it is often confused. While many Socialists have for this reason repudiated the term itself, and few Socialists would characterize it in the vivid expressons quoted above, yet the substance of the doctrine appears in stronger or weaker form throughout Socialist thought.

In our criticism of present conditions, we sketched briefly some of the circumstances which cause the modern Socialist to believe in the doctrine, if not of Increasing Misery, at least of *Increasing Anxiety and Discontent.*

While the lot of the workers is thus becoming more and more contrasted with that of the capitalists, and while these workers are learning through popular education to desire the same opportunities for individual expression as the ruling class, they are beginning to realize that, as the political majority, they possess the power of molding the laws in their own interest. Furthermore, the system itself, by its massing of men in large industries, organizing them under their own leaders, and removing them wholly from personal association with their employers, is rendering the workers united, capable of efficient coöperation, and class-conscious —that is, cognizant of their own interests as laborers and of the fact that these are one with the interest of the entire working-class.

The Alignment of the Class Struggle

Aside from the vanishing middle class, society is thus ranged into capitalists and proletarians, mutually dependent, but with interests inherently opposed. It is to the advantage of the capitalist that his laborers should work for the smallest proportional share of the product compatible with efficiency; it is to their advantage, on the other hand, to work for the largest proportional share of the product compatible with their being hired at all. It is true that the laborer and his employer may as neighbors be mutually interested in pure water supply, as Christians in the support of foreign missionaries, and as fellow-countrymen in the maintenance of peace; that there is sometimes a further banding together of the two as partners in the same industry, by which they may occasionally unite in fighting the consumer or some other producing group in an effort to increase the price or the output; and lastly, that there are certain apparent concessions to labor such as the eight-hour day and the sanitary factory which are now known to be of advantage to both employer and worker.

But the fundamental question between the capitalist and laborer lies far deeper than these slight mutual interests. After all matters of maximum efficiency have been disposed of, we have the simple proposition that increasing the subtrahend diminishes the remainder—the larger the actual wages the smaller the profits. The capitalist class is continually pressing wages toward the minimum of subsistence, and the working-class pulling them toward their maximum, the entire product of labor—a class struggle of which the labor movement is the visible manifestation on the economic field. Sometimes the struggle is peaceful and diplomatic, as when the labor delegate and the employer meet with their knees under the same table; sometimes it takes the form of a conspiracy unrecognized by the official labor movement; sometimes it becomes open warfare, where police and mob kill one another.

Socialism is not responsible for the existence of the class struggle. The violent manifestations just mentioned are carried on chiefly by non-Socialists on the sides of both capital and labor. Socialism recognizes the struggle, however, as an essential outgrowth of the present system, and becomes its representative in the political field. It believes that the capitalist class, as a whole, will never renounce the privileges it enjoys at present, and calls upon the manual and intellectual workers to unite in transferring to community ownership through their political and economic power the industries as they grow ripe for socialization, and managing them in their own interest—that is, the interest of the whole producing class.

5. MARX'S THEORY OF SURPLUS VALUE [23]

The concept of value is closely related to that of price, but they are not identical. The price of a commodity is what it actually sells for. In a competitive market price alternately rises and falls. Such an oscillatory movement always suggests to us the idea of a norm, an intermediate point, toward which the thing which oscillates is the more strongly pulled back the farther it has been pushed away from it in one direction or the other—a point at which it would rest if the reciprocal action of the forces which make it oscillate could be instantaneous. To this norm of competitive price Adam Smith gave the name of "natural price"; Marx and other economists of his time called it "exchange value"; since we have taken to using the term "utility" for what they called "use value" we commonly employ the one word "value" to designate this norm.

Price rises and falls in response to the increase and diminution of demand relatively to supply. But rising price stimulates production and thereby increases supply relatively to demand, and falling price diminishes it. So price depends upon the ratio of demand to supply, but this ratio in turn depends upon price. All this is true and important. It explains how the price of each commodity oscillates. But it does not explain why the price of this commodity oscillates about one level and the price of that commodity about another. It does not explain value. We must inquire what it is that determines the point above which competition tends more strongly to pull price down and below which it tends more strongly to push price up.

Not only Marx, but Ricardo before him and Smith and others before Ricardo, though with less precision of statement, held that this determinant of value is the amount of labor which, under existing conditions and by the methods of production commonly in use, is required to produce the commodity. If it takes six times as much labor to produce a ton of flour as to produce a ton of iron, the value of flour will be six times the value of iron—that is to say, although the prices of the two will fluctuate independently of one another, in response to changing conditions in the flour market and the iron market, yet competition in the general labor market and in the general market for investment capital will so limit and govern their fluctuations that the ratio between them will be alternately above and below the ratio of six to one. To put it in general terms, commodities tend in the long run to sell at prices proportionate to the quantities of labor that are socially necessary for their production; or, since value is defined as what competitive price tends to be, the values of commodities are proportionate to the quantities of labor socially necessary for their production.

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[23] From Algernon Lee in *The Socialism of Our Times* (Vanguard Press, 1929), pp. 336-343.

This conclusion does not rest upon abstract reasoning alone. It was originally reached through observation of objective facts; and I think that, wherever competition prevails and in so far as it prevails, continued observation of the course of prices confirms the theory.

I doubt if we would ever have had much dispute about this if Marx had not developed from the law of value certain further conclusions about what he called "surplus-value," which we must next consider. But not quite next, for between the concept of value and that of surplus-value lies the question of wages.

Subsistence Theory of Wages.—Labor-power has in our modern society become what the lawyers would call a quasi-commodity. For all practical purposes we may speak of it as a commodity. A large and increasing majority of the workers are wage-workers. Not having the means to employ themselves, they must sell their labor-power to those who own the land, mines, factories, railways, and so forth. The same laws which hold good for the price and value of material commodities hold good for the price and value of labor-power—that is, for actual wages and for the level toward which wages tend in a competitive labor market.

The value of labor-power, then, is determined by the amount of labor required to produce or replace it. It is equal to the value of the commodities which are required for the wage-workers' subsistence, which of course includes the subsistence of their dependents. In other words, actual competitive wages tend to hover about the subsistence level.

This theory has been vigorously attacked. The wide range of difference between wages in one country and another, and between wages in different industries or occupations in the same country, is urged as a fatal objection. It is pointed out that, especially here in the United States, large numbers of working men own pianos or radio sets, carry life insurance, and have savings bank deposits. Forcible as these objections may at first glance appear, I do not think they invalidate the theory—provided, of course, the theory is rightly understood.

In the first place, we do not say that wages are always actually equal to the cost of subsistence. "The iron law of wages" is not a Marxian phrase. It is of Lassalle's coinage, and occurs in that very part of his book, *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch,* to whose theoretical inaccuracy Marx called attention in one of the prefaces to *Capital.* In his letter on the Gotha Program, also, Marx definitely repudiates the idea. Marx did not deal in "iron laws." No man knew better than he that every economic law is the statement of a tendency. So, for that matter, are Grimm's law of consonant change and Weber's law of sense stimuli and Kepler's laws of planetary motion; and I do not suppose this lessens their scientific value. What we do say is that, in so far as competition prevails, wages tend to equal the workers' cost of subsistence.

In the second place, Marx made it clear that by subsistence he did not mean barely keeping soul and body together. Besides the basic physical necessities, he says, a social or historical element must be taken into account—"the traditional standard of life . . . wants springing from the social conditions in which people are placed."

So understood, the subsistence theory of wages holds good. Many of the occupations in which wages are exceptionally high are those in which trade unionism restrains competition among the workers. More of them are occupations in which subsistence cost is high, either because it takes years to learn the trade or because the nature of the work is such that only physically strong or mentally fresh and alert men can do it satisfactorily. Where wages for a whole industry are exceptionally high, the same causes are usually at work; and in addition, these are as a rule young and rapidly expanding industries, whose demand for special kinds of labor is still in advance of the supply.

The same is true if we compare countries. The case of the United States, which is so much relied on by those who attack the theory, in fact goes far to confirm it. According to the Marxian theory we should expect American wages to be relatively high, because past history has given us a higher "traditional standard of life," because the greater intensity of labor here makes a better subsistence physically necessary, and because the more rapid tempo of our industrial expansion gives a higher ration of demand to supply in the labor market.

In brief, all the apparent exceptions which are brought forward to disprove the Marxian law of wages are just the kind of exceptions which, in the true sense of the proverb, "prove the rule."

Marx fully recognized the possibility of actual wages being made to vary pretty widely from the level toward which they gravitate if competition is unrestrained. That is the main thesis of *Value, Price, and Profit,* which he wrote in 1865, and it is implied in many other places in his writings. The cost of merely physical subsistence, is, he says, the minimum limit of wages. Practically, the social standard of living usually fixes a somewhat higher minimum. By unresisted pressure from above this standard may be broken down. On the other hand, by trade union action and social legislation actual wages may be raised considerably above it. There is no theoretical maximum, short of that point at which surplus-value would become so small that it would not be worth the capitalists' while to employ the workers. Between these limits, says Marx, the fixation of wages "resolves itself into a question of the respective powers of the combatants."

What Determines Surplus-Value?—From wages we pass to surplus-value. By this term Marxians designate the excess of the value produced in an enterprise or in an industry over the wages paid for the labor performed in producing it. Let me say in passing, that we have no objection to including under the head of wages the salaries paid to managers and so forth, in so far as these are in fact "wages of superintendence" and not merely disguised profits. The surplus-value realized in any establishment does not necessarily all go to the owners of that establishment. They commonly have to pass on some portion of it to landlords or to money lenders or both. This division of surplus-value into rent, interest, and enterprisers' profit cannot be considered within the space at my disposal. We are here concerned only with surplus-value as a whole and its relation to wages.

To avoid irrelevant complications, let us suppose an enterprise in which all labor of management and superintendence is entrusted to salaried employes, so that the capitalists immediately concerned are owners pure and simple. And let us, for the purposes of the argument, suppose the number of workers to remain constant and the methods of production not to be changed.

Materials, fuel and supplies are purchased, workers are hired, and wear and tear of the plant are made good at the owning capitalists' expense; goods are produced and sold for those capitalists' account. The excess of the gross value of the output over the value of the pre-existent commodities used up in the process (that is, over the cost of materials, fuel, supplies, and wear and tear) constitutes the product-value, the value produced in this particular enterprise. Out of this new value wages and salaries must be paid—or, to speak more accurately, the amount that has been advanced to carry the pay roll must be replaced. The residue is what we call surplus-value. This goes to the capitalists, and for no other reason than that they are capitalists—goes to them solely by reason of the fact that they own or control the means of production involved.

Upon what does the amount of surplus-value depend? Since it is the difference between the value produced and the wages paid for labor employed in producing it, its amount obviously depends upon those two quantities. But these are mutually independent quantities; they stand in no necessary fixed relation one to the other. The amount of wages corresponds to the workers' cost of subsistence, with some differential in the one direction or the other which depends upon the relative bargaining power of employers and of wage-workers. The amount of value produced depends upon the volume of the output and its unit-value; and the value per unit of the commodities in question is determined by the amount of labor required for their production by the methods generally in use at the time.

The amount of surplus-value, then, will be increased if the volume of the output can be increased without equally increasing the amount paid out in wages, or if the amount paid in wages can be reduced without equally diminishing the volume of the output. If the hours of labor and the speed of work be constant, reduction of the daily wage will increase surplus-value; if the wage and the speed be constant, extension of the workday will increase it; if the wage and the working time be constant, speeding the work will give the same result.

In sum, at any given stage in the development of the methods of capitalist production, the amount of surplus-value to be obtained through the employment of a given number of workers can be increased only by getting the workers to do more work for the same wages or else by getting them to do the same work for less wages. Conversely, if the workers succeed in getting more wages for the same work or the same wages for less work, the amount of surplus-value is diminished.

Antagonism of Class Interests.—From these economic relations, which are inherent in the capitalist mode of production, there follows a diametric antagonism of interests between capitalists and wage-workers, individually and as classes. It is idle to blame either party for this situation, but it is worse than idle to deny or ignore the fact. No ostrich ever escaped danger by burying his head in the sand. The more clearly the antagonism is felt and understood, the more vigorous and resolute—not necessarily the more bitter and brutal—becomes the struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat.

Oh, yes, I know that there is a sense in which the interests of these two classes are interdependent. We who have read *Wage-Labor and Capital,* which Marx wrote as early as 1849, do not need to be told that. So are the interests of the work-horse and his master interdependent. It is the interest of the horse to be useful to his master, lest a worse thing befall him. It is the interest of the master to keep his horse in good health and working condition. This does not save the horse, however, from being discarded as soon as an automobile can do his work better or cheaper. And if horses had the faculty of speech we could hardly wonder if we heard them grumbling about exploitation, exhorting one another to class-consciousness, and considering the possibility of escape to the wide open spaces, where there is plenty of grass and no such thing as whip or harness. In like manner, so long as the capitalist can be a capitalist and the worker must be a wage-worker, each needs the other. It is the employers' interest to treat the workers as well as is consistent with a maximum of net profit, and it is the workers' interest to work well enough to hold on to their jobs. Industrial prosperity enriches the capitalists and assures the workers a hard-earned livelihood; industrial depression somewhat lessens the capitalists' wealth and dooms myriads of workers to degrading privation and dependence. In a declining capitalism, the working class either stagnates in dumb misery or breaks out into futile revolt. Only on condition that capitalism expands and develops can the working class defend its own interests, raise its standard of life, and—what is yet more important—grow in numbers, in solidarity, in self-reliance, and become capable of socializing an economic system which is meanwhile becoming ripe for socialization.

To recognize this interdependence of bourgeois and proletarian interests is not to deny the antagonism between them. The very nature of the interdependence implies the antagonism. To ignore either aspect of the relation would lead us into grave practical error—in the one case, to abject acceptance of capitalist policies in the shop and in the state; in the other, to purely negative and destructive tactics.

6. THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY[24]

The Motive to Work.—Finally, it is necessary to indicate, however imperfectly, the outline may be, and however subject to revision and adaptation may be the details, the bonds which will keep a Socialist Society together, and the impulses which will prevent it from becoming mechanical and so stagnate. It is also requisite to indicate reasonable grounds for believing that the changed conditions will produce changed motives, otherwise Socialism remains a Utopia, for it has to be admitted that if men carry capitalist motives into the Socialist State, that State will not work.

In the very first place, it is necessary to consider what motive to work Socialist Society will afford, for if production fails, everything fails. I refer my readers to what I have already written upon this in the section on Production, and I need do little more than summarize it here. Capitalism claims that its motive is the desire to possess property. That obviously can apply to a very small section of the community, because, as I have shown, property beyond the most insignificant saving upon weekly wages, not only small in amount but of not great certainty, is unknown to the mass of the people. The person who controls capital, uses it to increase his wealth, but that statement is not the same as that he uses it to increase communal well-being; the mass of the workers work that they may be able to live from day to day. They are literally driven to the factories by the whip of starvation. Of them it is true that he who does not work cannot eat. This whip will be wielded under any form of Society, for what is consumed must first of all be produced. But it seems clear that the production which a community requires cannot be procured by forced labor. When labor becomes educated until it acquires self-respect and self-knowledge, and when men combine to look after their own economic interest, work done under the whip of physical necessity must deteriorate both in quantity and quality and must increase in repulsiveness. In relation to drudgery, the intellectual man is hostile. When the worker understands distribution, profits, and dividends, he becomes a more and more unwilling part of the industrial scheme, and the idea of "working primarily for the advantage of another" makes him withhold part of himself. He is like a man shut in by a wall over the top of which he cannot see. He is closed out from the motive of communal service. His circumstances compel him to see nothing but the antagonism between his and his employer's interests, and from this he can not escape because it is at his elbow all day long. He is therefore prone to consider wages as his first and last concern, and labor as a task not for producing wealth on which he shares, but for producing profits which he desires to absorb. He can see Society only in its class aspects. Therefore when we appeal for a generous production in the communal interests, language is used to express ideas which are quite foreign to workshop psychology, and the response is not forthcoming. So much is this true that when the workman becomes a public servant he is blamed for employing "the government stroke," which means that he takes things easy. When that accusation is well founded, its explanation is not that public work must always be done less efficiently than private work, but that under present conditions the bureaucratic control of public work is sometimes careless or weak, that the whip of necessity is not laid on men's backs in the public service so ruthlessly as in private service, and that (and this is the most important of all) men take into public service the psychology of the forced labor of the private workshop and are influenced by it under conditions which give it a somewhat greater freedom for action. It ought to awaken a more imperative obligation, but Capitalism has stunted the sense of that obligation and it is not available. The idea of working for another person's profit vitiates all labor done in a Capitalist State, and no oasis of a higher service morality is left in the worker's mind. Moreover, the difficulty of establishing such an oasis is made all the greater from the fact that in so many respects the lower strata of public service have been treated no better than the same strata in private service. This is borne out by a study of the conflicts with labor in the Post-Office.

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[24] Reprinted from *Socialism, Critical and Constructive*, by J. Ramsay MacDonald, pp. 274-292. Indianapolis, The Bobbs Merrill Co., Publishers, 1924.

This is the major failure of Capitalism. It cannot provide a motive to work when men have gone beyond the state of passive obedience. Before the war there were many signs that the capitalist motive for work was breaking down and that forces were gathering within the ranks of labor which were bound to issue in a great challenge to capital as labor's owner. Education was spreading among the younger workmen in the engineering, mining, and transport industries, industrial history and economics were, in particular, being taught to them. The workmen were beginning to go to the factory under protest against the system of which they were a part, and in a hard business way were regarding their work as an unjust bargain made between themselves and Capitalism, to be fulfilled only up to the letter. A system run in this way must come to grief or at best remain totally inefficient and inadequate. The war strengthened this sense of resentment. The nation's experience of Capitalism during its times of stress did not add to its respect for Capitalism; the exploiting example that Capitalism gave to labor was not good; the workman learned what power he had; the conditions of the peace settlement showed how rich was the harvest of victory assigned to and claimed by capital, and how scanty was that offered to labor—so much so that it became a common thing to attribute the whole war from beginning to end to capitalist influences; during the war there was a levelling of economic classes and an establishment of equality—not of a uniform, but of a varied and essential service. On the political side, this secured the vote for women; on its industrial side, it meant unsettlement, resentment and a disposition to fight Capitalism on any pretext.

All this means that the capitalist motive is of lowered value in production, and that the whip of physical necessity will get less and less out of workmen and will certainly not restore to the remnants of this generation or to the next the will to work which war conditions did so much to deteriorate. The whip had a certain influence on the worker's physical energy, it had none on his moral or intellectual energy. But the will to work in an intelligent body of workmen depends upon moral and intellectual impulses, and, when Socialism claims to be a better system of production than Capitalism, it has to make its case good by explaining how it can command these impulses better than Capitalism.

In the first place, private profit disappears and its devisive effect upon labor's mind also disappears. But will work of a factory character still remain distasteful? Will workmen use their new powers to reduce it to too low levels? Everything points in the opposite direction. Men on the whole do not dislike work, however much Capitalism may have succeeded in deteriorating them. They dislike prolonged task work, they have no great interest in work which means profits to others, and in the payment for which they believe they would be cheated if they did not look after themselves; they can have no heart in work which they cannot improve, and upon which they are not encouraged to exercise their brains. In spite of that, however, the man who takes a real interest in his work and does it in no casual way, is far more common, and has survived capitalist influences in far greater numbers than the critics of the British workman are willing to allow. It can be fairly assumed that the requisite production will require less work energy when the parasites who live upon it are cleared off, when science, now only in its infancy, is applied to it, and when the relation between science and production is more intimate than is possible under Capitalism, when the brains of the workmen are enlisted with those of the management and of the scientist to make coöperating labor effective. This will not only reduce the wearisome task features of production, but will bring into the work places a more vigilant labor energy and intelligence. Then, when in addition, the psychology of communal coöperation has displaced that of capitalist interest, especially as the younger generation takes the place of the older one, the moral impulse to do one's unstinted best comes into play and both the will to work and the habit to work are complete. When, finally, the workmen are in control of the workshop as I have already described, shirking will not "be paid for by employers," and will not be a fault in which fellow-workmen believe they have no interest. The work undone by one will be seen to mean the poverty of all, and thus the economic pressure will come from fellow workmen, and the system will provide its own driving force. It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that the Socialist system will provide the incentives to work which Capitalism can never command, but which are now required to take the place of the whip which irritates rather than spurs on.

Property and Liberty.—Capitalism has not only falsely appropriated the winning of property as its justification for its system of production, but also for its system of liberty. It argues quite rightly that liberty must have an economic foundation. The thorough-paced tramp who sleeps on the roadside or in a barn may declare that he enjoys liberty because he owns nothing, and conversely the man of much wealth may feel the imprisonment to which his property condemns him. And yet, the tramp is free because experience makes him confident that he can beg or steal the property of others, and be able to use it as though it were his own, while the imprisoned rich suffers from a superfluity which deprives him of the liberty to use his wealth. A freeman must have command over things essential to his physical and intellectual life, and this is just what Capitalism denies to the great majority of the sons of men, and on the other hand he must not be so burdened by his possessions that they rob him of freedom. Some wealth is a treasure; much wealth is a burden. Capitalism, also, by enabling property to be acquired without service, or out of all proportion to service, exposes it to the critical intelligence and deprives it of moral support. Thus an attack upon property to-day may be repelled because the owners of property wield an influence upon opinion which enables them to defend their interests by the same means as a political party wins an election. But this is a precarious protection. The mass has no interest in property and no respect for it, but can be swayed in obedience to the wires which property can pull, and the irrationalities which property can spread. The real security of property is when it is held by virtue of service. Then the tramp will become a workman because the charity on which he depends will not be given. He will then be known to be the creator of his own misfortunes. Nor will the property owner be imprisoned, because property thus acquired will never be sufficient to become a burden; and thus held will never be subject to attack, because it will be known to have no title deeds but those of services rendered. Property will be enough for its purpose—the liberation of the individual personality and its clothing in culture, and it will be secure. In its more accumulated forms it will be held in common as parks, libraries, picture galleries, museums, are now, but representative parts of it into which personality can retire and be alone like gardens, books, pictures, small but choice private collections, will be held for personal use and enjoyment. Thus property will be held in such a way as to fulfill its functions and receive the assent of the whole of Society. There will be no need of great embarrassing individual wealth; individual character will take its place. Industries will supply their own capital, the community will procure the rare and the beautiful things, the individual will not be threatened by undeserved poverty and hardship. Life will be the wealth that men will seek, and the considerate and affectionate parent will enrich the qualities of his children rather than endow them with the hazardous possession of things. Values will be changed and though sought after will not be material. And when the community so organized, consciously molds the minds of the young and turns their faces toward desirable goals, as it can do in its education, it will put ideals of service and the communal spirit before them without the hesitation which must now be felt, because in a Society governed by materialism these finer minds are doomed to a life of unsatisfied strife, a prolonged existence of failure (as men see it), and a kicking against the pricks. Only a very courageous parent to-day will teach his children to pursue the things of the spirit and not those of the flesh, and he will do it somewhat in the frame of mind in which Abraham led Isaac up Mount Moriah.

By prolonging the tasks of toil until they absorb the whole of men's energies, Capitalism decrees that leisure has to be largely a satisfaction of the lower appetites and an exercise of the inane and sensuous; it condemns the toiler to a life midway between that of the brute and the man, and makes him a credulous and unreflective believer, a spectator in displays, a reader of snippets, and a patron of the most devastating melodrama (when it is no worse) in the "pictures" and on the stage. When it gives wealth it gives vulgarity, because, when the mind cannot use its possessions, the possessions have to be shown for their own sakes. Upper Society in a large industrial center which I know with some intimacy is graded into sub-strata by the costs of its dinners, and I have heard families classified quite seriously into two or three-guinea sets. That is why Byzantium is the first stage in the decay of nations. A nation becomes Byzantine when its riches are too raw or too plentiful for its mind to absorb, and when its material prosperity and interests crush down its spirit and culture.

So long as property is the reward of service it is both an expression of, and a medium for expressing, liberty. It was thus in the early stages of Capitalism. But when property becomes self-perpetuating by affording the means for the holders to exact toll upon production, it destroys liberty and loses its social defense. When labor uses capital and pays it its market value, property is defensible; when capital uses labor and retains as its reward the maximum share in the product upon which it can keep its grip, property is devoid of a sure defense. Socialism rectifies this evil evolution of the powers of property from service to exploitation, and, restoring it to the performance of a social function, also restores it to being an aid to liberty and makes it conform to the reasons by which it is properly defended. Unless this is done property will continue to be the cause of social unsettlement and of class resentment; it will control labor and be regarded in consequence as an enemy; it will obstruct all fundamental improvements in the industrial system; its rights will be social wrongs. Socialism, by relating property to social ends and values, does not destroy it but establishes it; it discriminates between the property held for pure exploitation and that held as the result of service and declines to mix up both in one class of thing as though they were one and the same, and as though the former could be defended by the same considerations as defend the latter. To talk of abolishing property is folly, and those who think that Socialists do so only betray an ignorance of the matter. But the "right" of property should have to be earned, and social utility is the only test. The Socialist system of property holding will come up to that test.

The Transition. A transition from the Capitalist State to the Socialist one must be beset by grave risks, and during it cautious guidance is required. The habits of the old stifle or pervert the growth of the new. The first won liberties and advantages have to be used by a generation brought up and starved by the old conditions, and the men who gain them naturally regard them as prizes wrested from a class who monopolized them. So, just as it is the most difficult thing in the world for a people passionate in their triumph after military victory to settle peace, because when the hated enemy has disappeared from the field he still devastates in their hearts, so it is difficult for a generation that has become possessed of liberty as a trophy of battle to use it positively for its own advantage. The strife and opposition by which it was won, the methods by which those who exclusively possessed it used it, are too dominant in the minds of those who now share in it. The new users have been habituated to old ways of thinking, and the only models they have had placed in front of them are those who have used their privileges so badly. Who is to blame, the workman, who, having been brought up to regard the wealthier section of his neighborhood as his betters, attains to some liberty and income and proceeds to show by his use of both that even when opposing that section his heart was doing homage to it all the time? Hence "the government stroke." Men must have their fling backward before they take their step forward. They imitate before they discover. I therefore fear the moral failure of the transition rather than any social or political revolution. But obviously we ought to go on rallying the best elements with strenuous labors. When Luther proclaimed the Reformation, Europe had to suffer excesses before it settled down to its new liberties; when Cromwell broke the political fabric of tyranny England had to endure the vagaries of visionaries before it enjoyed the peace of Parliamentary government; when France proclaimed the Revolution it had to shudder through its terrors before it became established in its political freedom. Someone will write similar sentences of the times we are now going through, but now, as then, our existence depends on going through and not in running back. The transition from Capitalism to Socialism, even if it be not submerged in the wild waters of a revolution, will be attended with much to dishearten the pioneers. Who, to-day, for instance, can justify every demand that labor may present, or look with satisfaction on every use that it makes of its opportunities? I certainly do not, and I know of no Socialist who does. At best we can regard them with a generous and excusing historical eye, for the child of the wind is the whirlwind. Those classes whose conduct and example are being copied have no right to condemn even if the copy may too often be a crude caricature.

In Socialism are the ideals which will protect Society against the perversions of the transition. For Socialism is not fully explained as the revolt of labor against Capitalism; it is a conception of Society in which the antagonisms from which that revolt arises are harmonized. Did Socialism only mean to put labor in power so that grouped working class interests could pursue the same self-regarding policy as capitalistic interests have pursued, gloomy indeed would be the prospect. It is true that in the imperious conflicts which divide the workman from his employer in present-day Society, Socialism has to take sides with the forces that are making for the new Society; but it is above the conflicts in spirit, and it is steadily infusing into both sides the creative desire to get beyond present divisions and reach a state in which all service will be done for communal ends by men who feel the community in their hearts and know its wealth means their own wealth. Thus it is that Socialism which frowns at Capitalism and would transform it, frowns equally upon those in the transition period who use their new liberties in the frame of mind of the old order. For this very reason, Socialism lays itself open to a heavy attack from the defenders of the present system, who rally to their standard all those appetites and desires that want no new moral obligations—the public house, the betting fraternity, the pleasure and contentment of the man-animal. The alliance against Socialism is too often—certainly not always—material interest and the minds to which life is but a uniform vacuum and an insignificant inanity. Therefore Socialism can only move men by education and moral idealism; its sound economic criticisms of the classes must be used as logs by which the fires of moral idealism are kept blazing; it takes no part in a purely horizontal tug of war between the working and the capitalist class, but is a Plutonic force beneath both heaving them upward. Or, the case may be put in another way. Socialism does not create the strife, but regards it as a historical stage and hurries it on to its completion in a new social synthesis. When that is understood, we can see how little the perversions of the transition period are in accord with Socialism, and how much the Socialist regards them as dangers by the way which must be hurried past with all possible expedition. Its goal is a new spirit of service and a form of social organization which will not be alien to that spirit.

It does not regard the transition as being of necessity a time of revolution as modern Communism does. The failure of Capitalism will show itself more and more by deadlocks with labor and continued sacrifices imposed upon the community. But Socialism does not seek such things. Its task is to transform a state of society in which capital controls labor and industry into one in which labor and industry control capital. For this, parliamentary power is essential, as, for instance, for the transformation of the mining and railway services. But it is not enough. Industrial changes must also be made. Management and labor must be coördinated; the workman must claim greater interest in his work than that of a wage earning agent in production; the claims of labor in industry—for instance, that unemployment should be a charge upon profits just as idle machines are—must be amplified and made equitable; encouragement must be given to such enterprises as the Building Guilds wherever trade conditions allow them to operate; the movement of Coöperation must be brought more into the working of the economic system; the tolls taken by land and capital must be reduced by taxation and spent on public welfare; and, on the political side, municipal powers must be greatly extended. These things must be done systematically and as parts of a well understood and comprehensive policy not of patchwork but of reconstruction, not of reformism but transformation. Thus we shall go through the transition period.

Socialism a Fulfilment. When economic and material evil is recognized and armies are engaged in fighting it, moral battalions have to be hurried up not only to secure the victory, but to settle the peace. The war cry for the opening of the fight may relate to the injustice of the sharing, the peace idea after victory must be the universality of service. So, if we are to create a community of public service as the condition of individual freedom, we must begin by looking at things from a new angle. Class interest and class distinction color every one's thought to-day—more to-day than ever. The Socialist seeks to infuse education into community and coöperative frames of minds, so that people will think of their partners in different fields of service, rather than of their subordinates, or their employees (whom, erroneously, except on purely personal service like that of a valet, they imagine that they employ). Such a change in thought will lead to a revolution in social organization right from beginning to end—from class relationships to workshop control. It has begun. It may be hampered, it cannot be dammed back. The Socialist State is already appearing within the Capitalist State. Its creative force is an intelligence which can conceive of organized communal service, not as a purposeful exercise of sacrifice and moral strenuousness like the discipline of a religious fellowship, but as an ordinary grouping of human effort for production, for distribution and for culture. The workman in the workshop managed as I have described will work better, not because he exercises more strenuously an exacting moral consciousness (though I hope in time he will do that), but because in the freedom of his work he is part of a more perfect machine and belongs to a system more coherent, more economical, and more responsive to common needs than the present. That organization alone can give civilization any meaning is true on the one hand, but on the other it is equally true that only as civilization determines the nature of the individual intelligence can organization be adapted to civilization's end. The Socialist conception of a working Society combines both views. If there should appear to be any Utopian idealism in this, it is only because we use minds stiffened by the imperfect exercise of the past to understand the changes that, manifesting themselves already around us, are the beginnings of future conditions. When the Socialist is met by the argument that his Society is impracticable, his reply should be made on a double line. In the first place he should insist that he uses no single motive that is not now in operation, and makes no demand on imaginative possibility that cannot be supported by actual experience, and he can insist still further that the motives he trusts and the assumptions he makes are those which in actual tendencies now are growing and not decaying. The construction of Socialism is a development of tendencies already in operation. The Socialist scheme in Society is not a dream fabric spun from a belief in "the good man" or "the divinity of human nature," but the completion in idea of social patterns whose outlines are already appearing in Society. If the Socialist believes in a scheme in which "the good man" has an essential part assigned to him, he does so simply because he sees the scheme growing up under his very eyes, and because he knows that if such evolution is not to be perverted by the interests that rule—is not to be strangled as the young and innocent heir of a fortune which the guardians covet for themselves—reason and organization must protect it, clear encumbrances from its way, and make men's minds hospitable to it. When considering the practicality of Socialism the thought in critical minds should not be, therefore, "Can the nature of man bear such a change?" but, "Is the change in its completeness being fore-shadowed and announced by what is happening now?" I believe that I have shown that it is, and that constructive Socialism is not a remaking but a fulfilling. This is a reply of the first kind. The reply of the second kind is that if a system like that of Socialism is not adopted, Capitalism will be found to give no peace and no security, and the failure of communal organization will result in continued social discord and moral deterioration.

When we have visions of a Society organized for its own comfort, so consciously felt by the individual that his life is part of it, an interrelation of coöperating services devised and kept going by human intelligence, we indulge in no Utopian dreams. In such a Society, there may be ignorance, there may be poverty, there may be crime, there may be unsocial conduct, there may be a mass of unhelpful acquiescing indifference, but they will have a different significance from what they now have, for the organization of things will invite the coöperation of minds, and the activities of the State in all its forms will draw out the social instincts. To begin with, the atmosphere and the bent of education will nourish and direct the child's mind in citizenship. Youth will go out into the world with some notions of duty and conduct, and will take its place in an organization of service in which it will set its ambitions as naturally as it now sets its ambitions in Capitalism. Muscle, head and imagination will coöperate knowing that each is necessary, and unimpeded by differences in education and culture in making friends with one another. Living conditions will be more equalized by the abolition of sordidness at the bottom, and of vulgar wealthiness at the top. The middle will expand and all that makes class distinction will disappear because it does not belong to nature, but to the circumstances and the training of man. Public service is as easy as private service, and far more inspiring once the mind is turned in that direction and taught to make its assumptions in relation to the changed system. The confusion on this point to-day arises solely from the fact that what is called "public service" is not public service at all. It is only employment under the State; it is not coöperation with the community; it is done in a capitalistic atmosphere of self-interest; from it, the moral consequences of coöperative effort cannot arise. So long as men working in a society of economic inequality and social class are asked to concentrate their minds upon tasks they do but stinted work; when in a state of more economic equality both as to possession and class, they will give *service* for their share in the common wealth. Even now in many of our municipalities where the employees are well treated, and where Labor dominates the Councils, better service is given than where the old-fashioned relation between employer and employed is maintained, and the experience of the Building Guilds supports the same conclusion. Therefore, one is perfectly justified in claiming that a Socialist Society, completed by stages, is a society based upon human motive and conduct as we now experience it and upon economic and industrial change as we see it in process of evolution at this moment. True, our Socialist plan is conceived by an effort of the intelligence, but of the intelligence not searching the clouds but scrutinizing the life movements in Society to discover their meaning and direction. What other way of safety and wisdom is there? The complaining voice of the sluggard who would soon allow his roses to return to briars and his cultivation to run to thistles, will not prevent such scrutinizings; the marshalled opposition of mass habit or of class interest will not imprison the mind of men on a pilgrimage for justice and reason; the risks of the unknown will never discourage exploration and final settlement. The minority will always be there and with the minority is life. However substantially man may build the houses where he shelters his body, his mind like a Bedouin will dwell only in tents which it strikes with the morning light. All we can strive to do is to see to it that we enter upon no journey onward without a rational plan and purpose, and without practical intelligence for our guide. The Socialist can claim that he has taken that precaution.

IV. CRITICISMS OF SOCIALISM

Strong and trenchant criticisms of socialism are hard to secure because there are few countries which have yet adopted it, and therefore the criticisms must be largely theoretical since the socialist structure still remains a blue-print plan. For our first criticism we have selected an English writer who has been a very able defender of capitalism. We then turn to the analysis of an American economist and close with the attack of the radicals themselves.

I. FROM THE CAPITALIST POINT OF VIEW [25]

One of the strongest points in the case for Capitalism is the doubt that all candid and unprejudiced inquirers must feel concerning the practical results of adopting any of the proposed alternatives. And on this subject doubt is enough. Unless we can be definitely assured that we are going to secure improvement it would be madness to upset our whole economic system, especially at a time when the whole world is lacerated and impoverished and has to work hard for its economic recovery. If and when general prosperity has been secured, we may be justified in trying fancy experiments. But there never was a time in which leaps in the dark were more untimely. Let us begin with Socialism, now commonly called State Socialism to distinguish it from the Guild Socialism which is the latest fashion. Some of us can remember the time when Socialists were looked upon almost as outcasts by "respectable" folk, partly because some of them had a habit of applying the acid of their criticisms to many things besides the economic structure of society, such as the marriage laws and established forms of religion. So stuffy respectability jumped hastily to the conclusion that all Socialists were atheists and advocates of free love. After passing through this phase Socialism became quite fashionable for a time, and then having been laughed at as a discredited back-number by the Guildsmen, has come back into the limelight owing to the craving for nationalization which is cherished by many of the Labor leaders.

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[25] Hartley Withers, *The Case for Capitalism* (E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc.), pp. 138-155.

If we find that the form of society at which Socialists aim is somewhat hazy and not worked out in full detail, it would be very unfair therefore to criticize Socialism as mere rainbow chasing. They propose to rebuild society, and we cannot expect them to prepare for us a plan of the whole building worked out in every detail. The details will obviously have to be filled in as the building goes on. All that we can expect from them is a clear statement of the main principles which they aim at establishing, and the advantages which they expect to be derived from their establishment. Luckily one of the clearest thinkers on the Socialist side published just before the war a compact handbook showing the aims of Socialism, the reasons why in his opinion it ought to be introduced, and the benefits which he expected to accrue from it. Mr. Philip Snowden's book on Socialism and Syndicalism, though there is no date upon the title-page, seems to have appeared in 1913 or later, since it contains a reference to the election of the German Reichstag in 1912. This authority tells us (page 107) that "so far as it is possible to express the aim of present-day Socialism in a formula, that has been done by Dr. Schäffle in a statement which will be accepted by all Socialists as a reasonable definition of their aims." The economic quintessence of the Socialistic program, the real aim of the international movement is as follows: To replace the system of private capital (i.e., the speculative method of production, regulated on behalf of society only by the free competition of private enterprises) by a system of collective capital, that is, by a method of production which would introduce a unified (social or collective) organization of national labor, on the basis of collective or common ownership of the means of production by all the members of the society. This collective method of production would remove the present competitive system, by placing under official administration such departments of production as can be managed collectively (socially or coöperatively), as well as the distribution among all of the common produce of all, according to the amount and social utility of the productive labor of each!"

It will be noted that according to Schäffle's definition, adopted by Mr. Snowden, and accepted, according to him, by all Socialists, the common produce of all is to be distributed under official administration according to the amount and social utility of the productive labor of each. It appears from this passage that the wage-earner under Socialism is going to be paid according to the amount and social utility, whatever that may mean, of the work which he does. This very important item in the Socialist programe is also adopted and clearly expressed by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald on pages 122 and 123 of his book on the Socialist Movement. Mr. MacDonald tells us that it is a mistake to confuse Socialism with Communism.

> "Communism presupposes a common store of wealth which is to be drawn upon by the individual consumer not in accordance with services rendered, but in response to 'a human right to sustenance.' It may be in accordance with Communist principles to make this right to consume depend upon the duty of helping to produce, and to exile from the economic community every one who declines to fulfil that duty. Some Communists insist that one of the certain results of their system will be the creation of so much moral robustness that in practice this question will never arise for actual answer. But be that as it may, the distributive philosophy of Communism is as I have stated, and it contains the difference between that system and Socialism. 'From all according to their ability; to each according to his needs' is a Communist, not a Socialist formula. The Socialist would insert 'services' for 'needs.' They both agree about the common stock; they disagree regarding the nature of what should be the effective claim of the individual to share in it. Socialists think of distribution through the channels of personal income; Communists think of distribution through the channels of human rights to live. Hence Socialism requires some medium of exchange whether it is pounds sterling or labor notes; Communism requires no such medium of exchange. The difference can best be illustrated if we remember the difference between a customer going to a grocer and buying sugar, and the child of the family claiming a share of that sugar the next morning at the breakfast table. Or the position may be stated in this way: Socialism accepts the idea of income, subject to two safeguards. It must be adequate to afford a satisfactory standard of life, and it must represent services given and not merely a power to exploit the labor of others."

It thus appears that the economic freedom which modern reformers are groping after will be under Socialism different only in kind from the economic freedom which is nowadays possessed. In this respect a difference in kind may be of the highest possible importance, because we have already recognized that complete economic freedom is impossible to anybody in a state of nature, since under natural conditions everybody must do more or less work in order to live, and is impossible to the great majority under society as at present organized. As things are at present, all the workers of the world have to work in order to provide something which the consuming public wants, generally under the management of an employer who organizes the particular enterprise in which that work is done, with the exception of a few professional men who work directly for their consuming customers. The wage-earner works under an employer in a factory, mine or railway for the consuming public; the journalist works under a newspaper proprietor for a reading public. The variety entertainment artist works under a theatrical or music-hall proprietor for the public that is trying to amuse itself. The author works under a publishing employer for a public which he hopes may be going to read his books. Under Socialism, instead of working under a proprietor employer for the consuming public, the worker would work under official administrators for the consuming public.

But there would be two great differences. Under official administration the consuming public would have to take what it could get, since owing to the abolition of competition, it would have no chance of exercising choice in the matter of goods and services which it would consume; and the worker, instead of working to put profit into the pockets of a proprietor employer, would be working to supply the general consumption, as organized, directed and controlled by official administrators.

He would have no more freedom, in fact he would have less, because owing to the cessation of competition and the concentration of the whole organization of industry in official hands, he would have no power of exercising choice between one employer and another. Nevertheless it is possible that the fact that he is working for the general consumer, without the intervention of a profit-making capitalist, might give him a feeling of satisfaction which would very much more than balance his loss of choice between one employer and another; while at the same time the fact that the official administration would, by a democratic organization of society, be to a certain extent based upon the wishes and ideals of himself and his fellows, might enable him to believe that he was really only working for himself, and therefore give him that sense of freedom which is nearly as good as its actual possession.

The Socialistic artisan working in a State boot factory would no longer be dissatisfied because the harder he worked the more profit he was going to put into the pocket of his employer, without doing any good to himself, unless he were able to secure an increase in wages. He might feel that the harder he worked the more boots he would be turning out for the benefit of the other members of society, and that his efforts would be compensated by similar efforts being made by all his brethren who were working in other industries for the good of himself and other consumers. If he had not attained economic freedom, which is impossible for humanity until we have arrived at the point when all the needs of life can be served by automatic machinery, he might have arrived at a state of things in which the conditions of his work were so entirely different from what they are at present, that he would work hard for the joy of the thing, because he knew that he was helping everybody else, and that everybody else was working hard to help him. If such a state of things could really be brought about, it is clear that the gain would be enormous. Instead of restricting output so as not to "use up the amount of work that wants doing," every worker would work as hard as he could. He would welcome the introduction of labor-saving machinery, because it would lighten his task and that of everybody else, and it might quite possibly be true that the different spirit in which industry would be managed might lead to a very great increase in output.

All this looks very nice, but would it be likely to happen? We have seen, according to Mr. Snowden, workers would be paid, under Socialism, according to the amount and social utility of the productive labor of each. This clearly implies a differential scale of wages, based on piece-work in order to gauge the amount, and on the decision of somebody, or some committee, concerning the social utility of the labor of each. It may be that the strong prejudice against piece-work, now commonly said to be cherished by trade unionists, might not survive under Socialism, but this is by no means certain. The differential scale according to the amount of work done, would involve difficulties of measurement and would very probably produce jealousy and friction, and the question of social utility seems to open up endless possibilities of dispute and differences. If we could be sure that, as many Socialists seem to assume, a radical change in the nature of all of us would be wrought in the twinkling of an eye because we found ourselves members of a Socialist State, those details might not lead to disaster. But *natura nihil facit per saltum*—nature does nothing with a jump. For some time to come we should continue to be human beings—"most remarkable like you" and me—and it is only too probable that the jealousy between one Trade Union and another, which is so often a cause of industrial strife and discord, might be renewed, under Socialism, in the shape of acute differences between the workers on the question of the wages paid to themselves and others. With the best goodwill in the world of all parties the problem of social utility as between the work of a coal-miner, a bootmaker and a platelayer, would be hard to settle; and if instead of a universal smile of goodwill there were the old natural desire on the part of each man to do the best for himself, the industrial strife of to-day might be reproduced on an extended and much more uncomfortable scale.

Because under Socialism there would be no mediator in the shape of the State or public opinion. The State would be the employer and a party in the quarrel, and nearly all the public would be liable at any time to be directly interested in similar disputes and so would be unable to approach them with the detachment which is so necessary to impartiality. Mr. Snowden, following Schäffle, does not propose that all private enterprises shall be abolished under Socialism, but he does, as will be shown later, lay down conditions which seem most likely to abolish it. So that whenever there is a quarrel between any workers and the State, all the other workers, who, with their dependents, will be all the community except the ruling bureaucrats, will feel that it might be their turn next.

But even if all these difficulties were overcome and the workers worked with an enthusiasm and success that profit-making employers have so far failed to secure from their efforts, we are still faced by the very serious doubt as to the efficiency of official management. Ready work by the rank and file is of little or no use if it is ill directed, and if those responsible for leadership are not always eager to adopt new methods and to take risks by trying experiments which may cost them, or somebody else, dear in case of failure. We have to remember that in order to make the world what we want great increase in output, as was shown in Chapter I, is necessary. If every man, woman and child in the country is to have a real chance of a real life, it is not enough to do about as well as we did, with a power of consumption measured at about 42£ ($210) (pre-war) per head of the population, according to the highest estimate. We have to go ahead rapidly. Are we as likely to do so under bureaucratic management as under private enterprise, with the incentive of profit before it, tempting and spurring it to make experiments and take risks? Are we not much more likely to fall into a slough in which movement is much more difficult because those who would have to initiate new departures would get little or no reward if they succeeded, but would be liable to criticism and blame if they failed?

Those who oppose nationalization of industry on this ground, that it would be most unlikely to secure the adaptability and enterprise that are necessary to progress, are sometimes accused of "attacking government officials." I hope that as far as I am concerned there is no truth in this charge. Having had the honor of being, for a short time, a government official, I can testify from personal knowledge to the great store of ability that is to be found in our government offices—this goes without saying, seeing that the intellectual flower of our university youths used to go year by year into the Civil Service—and also to the devotion with which, at least during the war, they overworked themselves into pulp. In the matter of ability and hard work our officials are unsurpassed if not unrivaled. And yet, owing to some fault in the system, even before the war, the net result of their efforts was the subject of much criticism.

And it is putting it mildly to say that the experience of Government management and control during the war does not at all encourage one to expect that any Government which it would now be possible to call into existence could deal with the tremendous task of organizing the nation's economic activities with any approach to success.

This experience must not tempt us to be too certain about future possibilities. We may be able to create some day a bureaucracy which shall be efficient, intelligent and economical in the best sense of the word. It is not much more than a century since Adam Smith in comparing the possibilities of joint-stock enterprise with private activity, decided that joint-stock enterprises owing to want of adaptability and elasticity could only compete with private enterprise in businesses such as banking and transport, which could be conducted more or less in accordance with routine. It is true that in those departments which Adam Smith marked out as the special province of joint-stock companies, joint-stock enterprise has won some of its greatest triumphs, but it is also true that it has driven the private undertaker out of many other fields of activity in which he has expected to be victorious, and that even in such matters as retail shopkeeping, the joint-stock company is rapidly establishing itself as the dominant force. As joint-stock enterprise has grown and improved itself, it is quite possible that State enterprise worked by official administration might do likewise. But when we have made the fullest allowances for what the State might or might not be able to do some day, the fact remains that at the present crisis we have no right to gamble on possibilities. As things are at present, it seems most probable that it would be economically disastrous to hand over the whole productive power of society to officials. The mere hugeness of the scale on which things would have to be done must, until we have bred a race of supermen, lead to cumbersome and tardy management. It is said that some of the big industrial amalgamations, and also their smaller competitors, are beginning to find that size, after a point, brings weakness.

We are not justified in drawing too decided inferences from what has happened during the late war. Government control has unquestionably exasperated, not only the employers and organizers of industry but the great majority of the working classes, and the great majority of the consumers, but then we must remember that government control has had to undertake a task for which we had previously done our best to make it unfit for something more than a century, by telling the government to do as little as possible in the matter of controlling industry. It is true that the post office, which has many years behind it of experience and practice in conducting an important enterprise, showed great lack of adaptability during the war. It took nearly two years to induce it to bring home to the nation the need for putting its money into war bonds by the use of a postmark stamp on envelopes, and the manner in which it handled the selling of War

Saving Certificates and the various forms of government securities which have been issued through it was a cause of much complaint. But here again we must remember that owing to the claims of the recruiting sergeant and the conscription officer, the post office lost many of its best workers at a time when the work thrown upon it was greatly increased.

More serious in its immediate practical effect was the competition between one government office and another for the goods and services which they required. Attention was called in the fourth year of the war to this form of extravagance in a Report of the National Expenditure Committee. It does seem astonishing that government offices should not by that time have evolved some better system than going into the market against one another, raising the cost of their administration and impairing their efficiency. Unfortunately this fault was probably only a symptom of inter-departmental jealousy, the extent of which is almost incredible to those who have not been brought face to face with it, and caused some cynics to maintain that during the war the departments were much more eager to win victories over one another than to defeat the Germans. If these things could happen at a time when the nation's existence was in jeopardy, anything like good team work between the departments for the furtherance of industry in normal times seems to be a very remote aspiration.

2. From the Standpoint of an Economist[26]

The developments during the last decade in both capitalistic America and in bolshevistic Russia should compel a modification of socialistic theory and practice and lead to a consideration of other problems which have hitherto been slighted. If one may speak of the lessons which these crowded ten years should have taught, I would list the following as the most important, although not necessarily in the order named.

1. *That Marx was wrong in predicting an inevitable breakdown of capitalism from purely economic causes.* The Marxian prediction of the cataclysm which was inevitably to result from the industrial reserve army, the increasing misery of the workers and increasingly catastrophic crises, was based primarily upon the labor theory of value and the tacit assumption that the quantity of variable capital (the amount expended in wages) would not increase as rapidly as the working population. As a matter of fact, however, the physical productivity per worker in American manufacturing has increased by about 40 per cent since 1919 and the real wages of the employed workers have gone up by no less than 28 per cent since 1914. Interestingly enough, Canada and the Scandinavian countries have enjoyed almost parallel increases. In countries which were not subject to the many strains of the World War, capitalism has, therefore, shown itself alert in improving the processes of production. Be-

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[26] Reprinted from *The Socialism of Our Times* (Vanguard Press, 1929), pp. 29-57.

cause of the competition of the employers for laborers this has also resulted in a very large increase in the real standard of living of the wage-earners. The lot of the workers is, therefore, on the whole, getting better under capitalism rather than worse.

It may, however, be objected that, while the real wages of the workers have risen, these have not increased as fast as their productivity and that consequently the relative share which the workers receive of the product has decreasd. It is undeniable that real earnings in manufacturing have not increased as rapidly as has per capita *physical* productivity. But what the worker in such a line of industry is really paid from is *not physical product* but rather *value product*. If the output in the iron and steel industry were to double, while the price of iron and steel remained the same with all other prices doubling, then the exchange value of a unit of iron and steel would only be half of what it was previously and, despite the doubled physical output, the funds with which to pay wages, interest and profits would be no larger than before.

The relative ability of industry over a period of years to pay wages is determined, therefore, not only by the output of physical commodities but by the exchange ratio of its products as compared with all others including agriculture. When allowance is made for this, it is found that, since 1899, real wages in manufacturing have increased as rapidly as has the value product per worker, namely by approximately 25 per cent. It is true, however, that, since 1921, the value product per worker has increased more rapidly than real earnings and wages have tended to form a smaller percentage of the total value product of manufacturing industry.

The capitalistic system has, therefore, done a great deal during the last decade to improve the material conditions of the American workers and shows great productive vitality. Socialistic arguments based upon the theory of increasing misery are consequently in direct opposition to the facts and will make no appeal to the workers. Nor can the socialists hope to make many converts by an attempted demonstration of the inevitability of the cataclysmic downfall of capitalism. The whole structure of capitalism is so solid in the United States that the workers can properly take little stock in the prophecies of an apocalypse which will sweep it away. If socialism is to be effective, therefore, it must hold out a confident promise of a still better and more orderly economic life than that which the workers now enjoy. Moreover, since the mass of mankind will never desert on the wholesale one economic system which is working fairly well in order to adopt an entirely different one, it will be necessary for socialism to prove its way by making a success of a series of specific experiments. Barring foreign wars, its progress will, therefore, necessarily be slow. It will grow just to the extent to which in problems of hard matters of fact, it can demonstrate its superiority.

Many socialists may feel that this abandonment of the hope of an economic apocalypse is as great an injury to their dignity as that which the Fundamentalists suffer in the denial of the Second Coming. But this should not be so. If the destiny of American socialism is not to be so heroic as it once was dreamed, it is nevertheless better adapted to the actual abilities of the socialists. The opportunity is theirs to initiate new principles and institutions within the old order and to make them successes. They cannot rest on destiny: they must trust to themselves.

2. *A characteristic of American industrial progress is that the supply of fixed capital has increased at a faster rate than the population.* From computations which I have made, the former has grown at the rate of seven per cent per year compounded, while that of labor has increased by slightly less than 2 per cent. This means that progressively more capital is being mixed with each unit of labor and that the latter is becoming more scarce in relation to the former. This naturally tends to put labor in a somewhat better position, and at least in part accounts for the increase in production and the improvement in the status of the worker.

3. *The unemployment which has accompanied the great increase in physical production has demonstrated the necessity for socialists to consider the problem of stabilizing the price level through controlling the supply of money and credit.* If the supply of money and credit does not increase at as rapid a rate as production, then the inevitable result[27] will be a fall in the price level. Enterprises which have bought raw materials and labor at one price level, will therefore be forced to sell them when made up into finished commodities at another and a lower price level. This shrinkage in prices might abolish profits and under private ownership generally leads to a curtailment of production lest a similar result should follow in the future. Even a socialistic economy might find its profits disappearing in this fashion and to protect itself would always have to issue sufficient money and credit to balance the increase in productivity and keep the price level constant.

4. *The force which above all others may destroy capitalism is not the blind movement of economic factors, but war.* Since the capitalistic classes are generally in political control of all the industrialized countries, then it follows that in the event of an unsuccessful war, they will generally be held responsible by the mass of the people. When the military power of the state is badly shattered by defeat, a popular revolt participated in by large groups of soldiers will tend to oust the former group from power. Equalitarian standards will have been fostered by the sufferings of both the military and civilian populations and these ideas will be applied to the economic as well as to the political world. Russia is here, of course, the great example while Germany is a partial one. While the revolution in the latter country did not succeed in establishing socialism, it did suc-

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[27] Assuming the rate of turnover of money and bank credit to be constant.

ceed in abolishing political feudalism. Few can doubt that if the countries of Western Europe were to engage in another great war, the almost inevitable result would be mass revolts in the defeated countries and the replacement of capitalism by socialism.

5. *Economic evolution is not, as Karl Marx reasoned, a blind force working toward its own inevitable goal but a vis a tergo which is capable of being directed to widely varying goals.* Under the influence of Marx, Socialists came to regard the future as inevitable. History was ground out from the machine of time with perfect inerrancy. The past and present formed the inexorable elements from which the future was woven. Man's will or intelligence could not alter or control the stream of events to the slightest degree. Life ran down its mechanical grooves and all that the human spirit could do was to recognize the direction of the movement and to board the train of change.

This doctrine of predestination, like that of Calvin, might logically be supposed to numb the energies of man and to lead to an oriental fatalism. But by a curious twist of human nature, it, like Calvinism, imbued its followers with a firm confidence that their lives and beliefs were in harmony with the very structure of the universe. This removed the inner doubts and uncertainties which perplex and disturb all those who regard the world as essentially planless and vagrant, and it gave a firmness of character and belief to the early Socialists which enabled them to stand up under hardship and persecution and to build a mighty movement. But if this philosophy created both extraordinarily capable propagandists and devoted saints, it also induced a lack of intellectual vivacity and an unwillingness to make any plans for the coming society. Marx himself scornfully declared that he was not writing recipes for the cookshops of the future, and his followers in general absolved themselves from thinking through any plans upon which the new society was to be based, on the ground that the revolution when it came would inevitably reveal what should be done and would dictate the courses to be followed.

This completely mechanistic philosophy of change was being undermined prior to the war by the political engineers of the Social Democratic parties who found it necessary to work with at least some immediate policies in order to conduct their electoral campaigns and to steer their course of action in the legislative bodies in which they were represented. The war and its attendant revolutions in Russia and Germany, however, administered the final *coup de grace* to this theory. When the bolshevists assumed power in November, 1917, there were few even of their number who either believed that they could retain control for any period or that they could succeed in establishing Socialism on any large scale. Despite the fact that the comparatively few Russian factories were extremely large in size, the industrially undeveloped nature of the country, and the vast numerical predominance of the peasants over the city workers seemed to render a successful Socialist revolution an impossibility. Kerensky, and the mensheviks had felt this so keenly that they had refused to put socialism into effect and had aimed instead at a democratic capitalism tempered by social reform. Though the bolshevists insisted that the effort to socialize must be made, they nevertheless expected ultimate failure. Lenin's goal at first was merely to stay in power longer than the Commune of 1871 and thus give the proletariat in the future a new mark at which to aim. And yet, despite internal war and the military intervention of the chief capitalistic nations of the world, after eleven years their organization is still supreme and gives every promise of continuing to be dominant for many years to come.

Nor have the bolshevists continued in power at the price of giving up their principles. Some compromises, to be sure, they have been compelled to make, but they have not only nationalized manufacturing and socialized trade, but they have put control into the hands of the class-conscious workers and have kept it there.

How then has this unexpected result come to pass? Sheer chance has played some part but the main feature has been the resolute planning and discipline of the bolshevists themselves. Almost alone among the pre-war Russian revolutionaries, the interminable discussions on method had borne their fruit. They were ready with a plan and it is significant that Lenin, when fleeing for his life in the summer of 1917, should, in the refuge of his Finnish haymow, have written out his projected course of action in his brochure, *The State and Revolution.* What saved the bolshevists was the fact that they knew their own minds and had the determination to carry their policies into effect. Lenin conceived of the State as not merely the passive reflection of the dominant economic classes but as the embodiment of force and violence. He believed that if the proletariat could once seize the State they could turn this apparatus of violence in their favor and that, by cowing the bourgeoisie and educating the young, they might create a new economic system. Despite Lenin's continuous assertion that he was merely carrying out the literal precepts of Marx, he was instead substituting the idea of a creative for that of a passive revolution.[28]

It was not inevitable that the Communist program should win. Any one of half a dozen programs could have been adopted had their proponents possessed the courage to grant peace to the soldiers, ratify the seizure of the land by the peasant and resolutely assume power. The distress caused by the war and the agrarian and urban discontent furnished, in other words, the driving force for change of some kind but these mighty powers were susceptible of being guided to very divergent goals.

The German revolution is an instance, on the contrary, of where all the circumstances were ripe for the introduction of Socialism but where the official leaders of the movement were too timid and confused to realize any of the ideals to which they had formerly pledged their devotion. In late 1918 and in 1919 all the material was at hand for the overthrow of capitalism in Germany. Here was a defeated nation, betrayed and deserted by its stupid and cowardly rulers, with a population desperate from suffering and through which the fires of revolt spread as through timber in the last days of October. Here was also a large, well-disciplined, and ostensibly intelligent working class and revolutionary movement. If Lenin and his followers had succeeded in evolving Socialism out of the chaos in Russia, how much more chance was there apparently in Germany? Yet it was the Germans who failed.

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[28] Max Eastman has seen this clearly in his *Marx, Lenin, and the Science of Revolution.*

They failed in part because their former belief in the very inevitability of Socialism had led them to shirk any detailed planning. Their great opportunity consequently found them intellectually unprepared. Added to this was the fact that their own natural timidity and their fear of communism actually made them distrustful of any attempt at thoroughgoing socialization. In the hands of such men the coming of Socialism not only was not inevitable, but it was instead inevitable that it should fail. It is dangerous, therefore, for Socialists to rely on a fancied inevitability. If Socialism is to be realized, Socialists must do detailed planning and must show daring as well as judgment in initiating their experiments.

6. *The Russian practice of creating State corporations or trusts is an invaluable administrative device which lessens many of the difficulties which would otherwise attend nationalization.*

The fear of creating a powerful and cumbersome bureaucracy dominated by politicians rather than technicians prevents many from supporting nationalization. As is well known, Russia has created some 500 state trusts of varying sizes which actually carry on the work of manufacturing and mining. The governing boards of these trusts are appointed by the Supreme Council of National Economy and the boards in turn appoint the managers of the specific plants. The general policies as regards prices, fixed capital, etc., are determined by the Supreme Council. The trusts, however, purchase the raw materials, borrow from banks, fix wages in conjunction with the trade unions, carry on production and sell the product. They are held up to the money test of making profits and if they fail they are subject to examination by the Supreme Council. Considerations of public policy may cause the Supreme Council to fix the price of the product in some cases at so low a figure as to make profits impossible. But equal pressure will still be exerted to keep costs down. Minimum quotas of production and maximum unit costs are in turn fixed by the trusts for the separate factories and the managers are held strictly responsible for results. Managers who greatly reduce unit costs and make a success of their work are promoted to more responsible positions, although not necessarily to a higher salary. It has been possible in this way to infuse the managerial staff with a real zeal for efficiency and to avoid the ever-present danger of their contenting themselves with the consolation that even if they fail to show a profit the Government, from its plentiful purse, can foot the bills. Administration is, moreover, decentralized into manageable units and a closer degree of supervision and responsibility achieved.

If and when the power and the coal industries of this country are nationalized, similar administrative devices would greatly improve the efficiency of production. Our government indeed discovered this during the war when it created such government corporations as the Emergency Fleet Corporation, the Railway Administration, the Grain Corporation, etc. The governing boards of these new State corporations should be made up not only of representatives of the Government but also of the technicians, workers and consumers.

7. The wage system under Socialism should provide for moderate differences in wages as between important differences in skill and arduousness and piece-rates should be introduced as widely as possible.

One of the reasons for the rapid recovery of Russian industry after the collapse of military Communism was the replacement of the previous virtually uniform wage by a wage rate with seventeen categories. In this new wage "net" the highest category received eight times the wage of the lowest. Workers are thus given a material inducement both to raise themselves to a higher category and to prevent their falling to a lower. Payment by results was also enthusiastically adopted and two-thirds of the workers in manufacturing and three-quarters of those in the building trades are now paid by piece-rates. These are set for each establishment by the union shop committee and the management who agree on a "norm" of output for each operation which is usually slightly higher than the average output. This is then used as the denominator with which to divide the established hourly rate. The resulting piece-rate gives an incentive to output which has helped to raise Russian productivity above its pre-war level.

Many idealists will undoubtedly object to this apparent concession to the acquisitive spirit and will urge that, since men should work for the general good, they should be paid equally. But while most men can rise to heights of great devotion at moments in their lives and while a few may even maintain this attitude throughout, it seems probable that the great mass of mankind cannot permanently give of its best if denied the hope of economic reward. Socialism will strengthen the altruistic and creative impulses in man, but architects of the new society should beware of overestimating the strength of the human material out of which it must be built and, like good structural engineers, should not expose it to stresses and strains which it cannot withstand. Ultimately equality of payment may perhaps be achieved but until the success of the new régime is assured, those whose output is greater should be given higher daily earnings.

8. *The price system can largely be used to determine what shall be produced. This should be tempered, however, by considerations of social policy.* What makes market demand so largely unreliable at present as a measure of social necessity is the great inequality of incomes. Even the most trifling desires of the millionaire are, therefore, backed up by more purchasing power than the urgent human needs of the manual worker. Business is, therefore, stimulated to produce luxuries for the wealthy before the necessities of the poor have been satisfied. We thus have the cruel spectacle of an economic system which turns its energies toward Park Avenue and its host of lesser counterparts at the very time when multitudes of children still lack milk and adequate clothing and shelter.

Under socialism these inequalities of income would largely be abolished. The minimum would be raised and the maximum so drastically reduced that it probably would not be more than eight or ten times the former instead of as to-day a hundred or a thousand times more. This leveling of incomes would tend to make the monetary demand as between individuals measure much more nearly equal units of desire. The relative amounts which people would pay for different commodities might then be accepted as fairly close approximations to the relative intensities of their desires.

The economic general staff will, therefore, be provided with a barometer in the form of the relative prices which consumers will pay for commodities. These will furnish a guide as to what commodities are most desired. Consumers' goods should in the main be furnished to the public according to these relative intensities of desire rather than according to the ideas of the general staff as to what is best for people to consume. A much greater degree of freedom would thus be given to the people than if some form of rationing were practiced and the danger of bureaucracy would be still further reduced.

But since production is carried on in anticipation of demand, it would be necessary to have the economic general staff which has been referred to, fix quotas for each industry and tentatively apportion raw materials and labor to the various uses. Russia, as is well known, has created such agencies in its Supreme Council of National Economy and the Gosplan [29] (State Planning Commission). Judging from the experience of Russia, one important and hitherto somewhat unforeseen problem is likely to develop. If the economic general staff merely fixes prices *to* the wholesale or retail agencies and permits the latter to charge what they will, then in those cases where the quantity of consumers' goods produced is less than what would be demanded at the normal price which the consumers would pay under such conditions, a bidding up of price on the part of the consumers will take place which will apportion the goods among those who desire them most but which, because of the higher prices paid, will net large profits to the distributing agencies. This in itself points to the necessity of having the major portion of distribution in the hands of socialized (although not necessarily governmentalized) agencies which may catch at least the major portion of these surpluses for the common benefit and not permit them to accrue in full to private traders.

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[29] See pp. 321-343.

If, however, prices are fixed to the consumers as well, then, on these commodities for which the quantity demanded at those prices has been underestimated, the price system will not of itself adjust the quantity demanded to that supply. This will necessitate the use of some form of rationing of the goods to the consumer and of limiting the quantity which any one person can buy. If a shortage still exists, the goods may be sold subject to such limitation, on the basis of first come, first served. If the disparity between the quantities supplied and demanded at the given prices is appreciable, then queues of prospective purchasers will inevitably form in front of such stores as they now do for theatrical performances when more people want to attend than can be seated. Since some persons will be willing to pay more than the fixed price in order to save time in the queue and to be certain of their purchases, private traders will bootleg goods from the Socialistic price system and sell them at appreciably higher sums. Individual purchasers of the goods under the Socialistic price structure will also be tempted to resell to private traders at higher figures and many will in fact do so. As long as this discrepancy between the quantities supplied and demanded under socialism at given prices continues, then a capitalistic price system can be expected to develop for the same commodities alongside the socialistic system.

Precisely such developments have occurred in Russia and will inevitably occur elsewhere in similar circumstances. The remedy for such a situation lies, of course, in so increasing the production of these goods as to make the quantities supplied and demanded roughly equate at the prices fixed. But precise approximations will be virtually impossible to effect and some speculative profits will necessarily accrue, even under a planned economy, to private traders.

In those cases where the general staff has over-estimated the quantity which will be demanded at a given price, the expense of the unsold stock will have to be borne either by the distributive or the manufacturing agencies or by both. It will generally be better to lower the prices of these articles in order to clear the shelves of them and to take a loss rather than have the goods unused with a probable greater total loss. But if the prices are slashed in order to dispose of these articles, it will also be necessary to compensate for these losses by permitting some increase in the prices of those goods for which there is a shortage. These considerations point, therefore, to the ultimate inadvisability of "freezing" the prices to the consumers and, instead, of allowing the various intensities of desire as expressed in terms of money offers to fix the retail prices. Relative profit margins will, therefore, determine what lines of consumers' goods are most in need of expansion.

In many instances, however, it may be socially advisable to sell some goods at cost or even less and to build up some industries which, at least in the beginning, are not economically self-supporting. This may be especially true of beneficial services for which the public does not immediately develop a strong desire. Music, the theater, the opera and ballet, and medicine, are obvious examples which come to our minds. In some cases these services might be made completely free but in general the payment of a small fee would be desirable in order to prevent the consumer from accepting them as a matter of course and in order to arouse his personal interest.

A Socialist commonwealth in the midst of a world dominated by private enterprise may well desire to be industrially self-sufficient so that it may defend itself in the event that the other nations make war upon it. It may, therefore, properly produce some commodities at a higher cost than they could be manufactured by foreign firms but this excess should be known and treated as an outright subsidy. Infant industries may also be helped over the transitional period but here again the costs should be recognized and faced.

9. *A liberal provision should be made for the annual investment of large sums of fixed capital and this should be drawn from the profits of industry, from personal savings and in some cases from State taxes.*

Socialism can only ultimately supplant capitalism if it gives a better life to the vast majority of the people. Since economic goods furnish the material basis for the good life and are indeed regarded by many as being synonymous with it, the Socialist society must turn out at least as great and, if possible, an even greater volume of goods than the capitalistic. To do this, it must constantly add to its supply of machinery and equipment and must be ever ready to introduce new and improved devices. The annual rate of growth of fixed capital in Western Europe has been estimated by Gustav Cassel at 3 per cent, while from studies which I have made for the United States, the growth here has been as stated at the rate of approximately 7 per cent. The Socialistic system must, at least in the beginning, save as much. In order to build up new and backward industries and to provide for those which produce capital goods, some pooling of the profits of the various trusts is necessary. In Russia approximately half of the profits of each trust are pooled in a general fund which has largely been used to build up the "heavy" industries of coal, iron, steel, and machine manufacture. The remaining half is retained by the industry for its own uses and one-fifth of this, or 10 per cent of the total, is used for welfare purposes. Because of the great shortage of housing, these latter sums have been almost entirely used or this purpose.

It is thus possible to prevent that over-investment of capital in a given line of business which so frequently results under capitalistic economy from the ploughing back of profits and instead to distribute the profits over the field of industry as a whole.

Such provisions as these will largely solve the problem of saving under socialism if prices are set at such figures as to enable these savings to be made. It may also at times be advisable for the industries to float bond issues to be taken up by public subscription. These can and should bear interest. But any tendency to create a permanent leisured class from such issues will be defeated by the fact that the profits will primarily be in the hands of the socialized agencies rather than of individuals, while progressive income and inheritance taxes can prevent private fortunes from multiplying or even continuing.

10. *It is highly necessary to create powerful voluntary organizations within the Socialist State which will protect workers, consumers and farmers, from potential bureaucracy, which will represent the economic interests of these groups and which will also perform some affirmative economic functions.*

During the period of military Communism in Russia, the trade unions and the coöperatives were nationalized. Membership in them was compulsory and they were merely organs of the State. It was one of the merits of the new economic policy that, despite the protests of Trotsky, they were placed upon a voluntary basis and given the power of representing their members. The trade unions are thus able to bargain collectively with the Gosplan and the Supreme Economic Council in fixing the average wage increase and themselves to apportion how this total increase is to be distributed between the different industries and classes of labor. They also fix, in agreement with the factory management, the norm of production to be used for piece-rate workers and act as a body of appeal on cases of wage classification, discipline, discharge, etc. They thus protect the individual against the possible tyranny of the management and, in return, assist in stimulating their members to help increase production.

The consumers' coöperatives, which by now handle nearly half the retail trade of the country, have taken a great load off the shoulders of the state in managing the major problems of distribution. A wider participation by the consumers in economic problems is thus secured and a live interest kindled. The farmers' coöperatives have also been of assistance in grinding wheat and in marketing some of the crops while the associations of Kustarni, or handicraftsmen, have also facilitated the sale of these hand-made products.

There are now few in Russia who would wish to make these agencies rigid national organs, as Trotsky advocated in 1921 and 1922, and instead the idea of voluntary socialized organizations within the State has steadily increased in strength.

11. *The creation both of numerous state trusts and of such voluntary organizations creates, however, the possibility of a conflict of policies.*

Thus the trade unionists may naturally desire to absorb most of the profits by increasing wages while the trusts may well wish to retain them in order to increase their capital equipment. The coöperatives will want low prices at the factory in order that the margin to their members may be as large as possible. The trusts, on the other hand, will want to have prices at the factory form as large a percentage as possible of the final prices to the consumer. If the trade unions and coöperatives were outside State control, such conflicts of interest might well lead to deadlocks, to strikes, and to a serious impairment of production. Within the system of state trusts itself, we would, moreover, find the prosperous groups reluctant to give up a large slice of their profits to industry as a whole and frequently attempting, as in Russia, to conceal such profits by ploughing them back in the form of fresh capital investments but so disguised as nominally to appear to be allowances for depreciation.

Socialists have in the past attempted to brush aside such difficulties with the assertion that under Socialism men will have such a passion for the success of the venture as a whole that they will not push their own narrow interests. Such regard for the general well-being is of course not only desirable but highly essential, but if there is not a unifying organization, the greater intensity of local as compared with general interests will lead almost inevitably to a great deal of waste and friction. Some of this conflict is probably inevitable as long as we retain the ideal of voluntary association and must be accepted as part of the price of freedom. Much of it could, however, be removed by the organization of the most active members of the new society into a fellowship, or party, which would work out within itself a common policy. These policies would then be accepted by the members who, as members both of the State and of the voluntary agencies, would work for their adoption. This is indeed at present one of the chief functions of the Communist Party in Russia. Once the decisions of that party are made, they are not only carried into the state organs but also into the unions and coöperatives. Were it not for this program, which is coherent at any one moment of time, it is quite possible that the divisive influence of industrial and group interest might break down the solidarity of the Socialist Society. The party, however, furnishes the unifying influence which is needed to bring the various institutions into rough harmony with each other. It has been this desire to secure economic unity as well as the fear of bourgeois control which has led the Communists to continue their period of dictatorship. Just as the American business man will not tolerate from any other group opposition to his business policies, so the Communists will not brook the eistence of any other groups with conflicting philosophies from theirs lest the delicately interlocked mechanism of a controlled economy should thereby be thrown out of gear.

One of the great tasks for a Socialistic Society to accomplish will be to guarantee full freedom of opinion, discussion and agitation and yet bind together into a fraternal unity economic and social institutions. There is thus a need for the vigorous, devoted, and self-critical association of the leaders in the new society into a cohesive party or fellowship. This was not foreseen by the earlier Socialist theoreticians but has been abundantly demonstrated by the Russian revolution.

12. *The members of this fellowship or dominant party must resolutely refuse to accept any special economic privileges and must live a simple, non-luxurious life upon an appreciably lower scale than that enjoyed by men of equal ability who are not members of the party.*

One of the reasons why the Communists have been able to retain control in Russia is because the workers and peasants have become convinced, from observation, that the vast majority of Communists are not trying to obtain a soft life for themselves. No communist, however high his station, can receive more than $113 a month and in most cases the limit is $100 or even less. A skilled technician can, therefore, receive more if he does not become a Communist than if he does. Communists are in addition liable for special assessments, for a heavy program of organizational work, and can be sent anywhere at the will of the party. Much as they would writhe under such an appellation, they are thus in a sense economic Franciscans. This gives a moral prestige to them and to their faith which would be totally lacking if they had feathered their own nests.

The leaders of the Socialist movement cannot expect to ride into socialism in luxurious motors. They cannot even live on what would now be a middle class income. Parlor socialists and trade union officials, for example, must expect, and if they are sincere, should welcome, a very large diminution of income. They can only obtain the loyal support and confidence of the workers if they live as the workers and experience in their lives as consumers and citizens the same difficulties which the great mass of mankind must suffer.

We come, therefore, to a conclusion very similar to that of Plato. The men who are to be the spearheads for the new society must divest themselves of economic privilege and govern for the good of society. In the midst of an externally socialized society, they are to be the saints as well as the men of action who with their lives will demonstrate the reality of this ideal and will stimulate the great mass of men to a fuller appreciation of what the common good involves.

13. *Agriculture must for a long time be carried on by individual enterprise, although this may be tempered and sweetened by the development of coöperative institutions.*

The attempts to socialize agriculture through gigantic State farms failed in Russia and there is every prospect that they will fail wherever they are tried. Supervision is much more difficult on a large farm than in a large factory. This means that the most efficient productive unit is much smaller in agriculture than in industry. Since the ratio of wage-earners to entrepreneurs will, therefore, be much less in the country than in the city, it follows that the incentive of individual enterprise, namely, reaping what one sows, will be correspondingly greater. It is only because such incentives have broken down in modern industry that it may be possible to replace capitalism there by socialism without injury to production. As long as the old incentives continue strong in agriculture, men will prefer to operate their farms privately.

Even where large estates have previously prevailed as in Mexico, Hungary and Eastern Europe, the landless peasants have always sought salvation not by trying to nationalize the land and become State employees, but by attempting to break the latifundia up into small holdings in order to enable each peasant to obtain his "five acres and a cow." While the city proletariat has turned to Socialism, the agricultural proletariat has, on the contrary, turned to a wider distribution of private property. This follows from the fact that it is very easy to subdivide an estate so that each family may have its few acres upon which it can stand independently. A factory is, however, an organic unit like Solomon's child, which it is impossible to divide into individual parts. If the workers there are to attain freedom and independence, it must be through the socialization of industry and not from a reëstablishment of the ownership of each machine by the individual worker who directs it.

A realization of these fundamental differences should reconcile urban socialists to the fact that agriculture and rural life in general must for long years to come be conducted on the basis of private property and individual enterprise. But this individualism need not be as fiercely predatory and wastefully competitive as has been the case with individualistic capitalism in our industrial system. Denmark has here pointed the way. While the farmers carry on their actual productive work on the farm as individuals, they combine together to run dairies and slaughter-houses and to market coöperatively their butter, their bacon and their eggs. Credit is furnished by coöperative banks, and education and cultural life stimulated by the folk high schools. The result is a socialized society which understands the economic problems with which it deals and which has acquired the qualities of mind and spirit which are needed if men and women are to work together effectively.

The rural life of the future will, in all probability, be built along such lines as these rather than in making the countryside merely the replica of the city. Despite the differing forms which the organization of economic life will take in country and in city, if the members of each group are truly cultured, the inevitable conflicts of interest can be peacefully and even harmoniously resolved.

14. I have reserved for the last the most important question of all; namely, that which in the past decade has split the Socialistic movement of the world into the two camps of Communists and Social Democrats. *This is whether socialism can be obtained by the process of political democracy or whether the hold of the capitalist class is so strong that, even though socialism is preferable, it will be impossible to get it adopted by the State through peaceful means.* The control over industry and over at least 70 per cent of the surplus income above the minimum of comfort level is held at present by less than 2 per cent of the population. Harrington in his *Oceana* long ago pointed out that he who was the bread-giver was the law-maker and that if a man feeds a people they are his serfs. The control of surplus income gives to the capitalists tremendous power over the sources of information and education. The press is owned by them. The schools, the colleges and the churches are all too responsive to the prejudices and economic interests of those who hold control over the purse-strings and in their economic and social teaching they are predominantly agencies of propaganda for the present dominant class. This is not so much the result of a deliberate abandonment of their true function as institutions of truth-seeking as passive adaptations to the secular ideas of property and power which dominate middle-class society. It is thus extremely difficult to have proposals for social reconstruction considered on their merits. The very people who might be expected to profit from them approach the issues instead with a hardened and prejudiced mind-set which has been inculcated and fostered by the very institutions which are supposed to develop open-mindedness and human sympathy. They are the prey of artificial propaganda which is pumped out by agencies of misinformation.

If here and there individuals come honestly to the conclusion that changes in the social order should be made, then immediately the flood-gates of economic and social pressure are turned loose upon them. They are likely to be discharged from their jobs and frequently are black-listed. They are held up to social scorn and obloquy as malefactors and enemies of society. The result is that the discussion of experiments in industry and in politics does not take place in that rarified atmosphere of open-minded deliberation which breathes through the pages of John Stuart Mill, and which he all too often implicitly assumed as the medium in which democracy would work. Instead passion, prejudice, and the heavy hand of economic coercion are all marshaled against those who try to convince men that their interests should lead them to socialize industry.

Socialism might, therefore, be superior to Capitalism and yet still fail to prevail. The assumptoin that the truth always conquers is one of those fictions which lovers of democracy have repeated so often that they have been convinced of its validity, despite the fact that the experience of all history abundantly demonstrates it either to be false, or, if true, true frequently only in terms of an almost cosmic sweep of time. Those who suffer under economic injustice and the ardent lovers of a new society are not willing to wait until eternity changes its aspect. Resenting the tactics of the opposition, many of them will be tempted to pit physical force against the economic forces of the owners of Capitalism and to try to take their kingdom of heaven by storm. The Communists, of course, not only point out that a revolt is inevitable but urge it as desirable.

In the second place, the Communists predict that even though Socialism were to win at the polls, the capitalist and governing classes would refuse to turn over the machinery of government peacefully and would instead organize a Fascist movement to maintain their position by force. The higher ranks of the civil service, it is said, would sabotage any attempt at Socialism and the army and the navy would obey the capitalists rather than the elected Socialists. The middle classes would arm and the working classes would in self-defense be driven to fight for the rights which they had supposedly won at the polls. The Communists charge, therefore, that the present governing classes will respect the verdict of democracy only so long as it is favorable to them but that they will fight to overthrow the government when it seriously menaces their economic and social position.

Time alone can tell whether these prophecies of the Communists will be borne out. Lovers of democracy and of peace can only hope that the new social order may peacefully come into existence as the culmination of a process of education, discussion and balloting. Certainly every effort should be made and every possibility exhausted to effect this result. The peaceful introduction of the new society would be so much preferable to civil struggle that it is almost criminal lightly to abandon the political method in favor of a forcible revolution.

Communists, moreover, dismiss altogether too summarily two very weighty objections to the tactics and ultimate efficacy of their program. The first, which deals only with the question of whether they can succeed in capturing power, is the natural query as to how they can take power by force when they cannot do so by the ballot. If the capitalists are as strong as the Communists declare them to be and if the majority of the working class as apathetic and weak-spirited as they assume, is there any likelihood that a plebescite of force would be any more favorable to the cause of socialism than a plebescite of votes?

The Communists would undoubtedly reply to this that, while the majority of workers might be too apathetic to vote Socialism in, they would also not take up arms to prevent its installation. They, like Mussolini and the Fascists, believe in the fundamental assumption of Sorel that the great mass of mankind are essentially sheep who will not assert themselves and who can instead be driven by a militant and dominant minority as the latter desire. They declare that the majority cannot be depended upon to take intelligent control over their collective lives and that the choice is simply between their being controlled by the capitalists for the benefit of the latter or by the class-conscious minority of the working class for the benefit of the group as a whole. The revolution, they assert, will not be a struggle between the communists and their sympathizers as opposed to all the rest of society but merely between the former and the capitalists and their paid retainers. The great mass of the people, they believe, will be like the women in primitive societies who, as long as nothing abrupt intervened, continued as the wives and slaves of their masters but who suffered themselves to be borne away by victorious enemies of their tribe without any deep resistance.

But such an answer as this greatly understates the resistance which the capitalistic system would put up against its forcible abolition. The October revolution only succeeded in Russia because the landed gentry and bourgeois classes were both few and in the main incompetent. The Russian landlords did not understand the technique of scientific farming and wasted in the cities and in Western Europe the income from their estates, while Russian manufacturing was predominantly owned by foreign capital and run by hired managers. Thus both agriculture and industry were in the hands of the absentees. This absence of a strong bourgeois class to bolster up the decaying feudal system made it possible for the bolshevists originally to topple over the Kerensky régime. To consolidate their power against the various white insurrections cost Russia, however, probably close to a million lives and indeed resulted favorably to them only by what must now be seen to be a most extraordinary stroke of luck.

If this were the price in Russia for a narrowly won victory, how much greater would be the cost and how much less the chances of success in the countries of Western Europe and in the United States? The capitalistic classes here are numerous, while the professions, managerial employees, small traders, and small business men are quite firmly loyal to the economic system which has given them such privileges. These men are not supine; they are competent and energetic and if their position were seriously threatened by force they would fight with a savage remorselessness. Underneath the pleasant social manners of the upper middle class in Europe and America lies a readiness to use violence without stint or limit, to maintain themselves. This is seldom involved because it is not necessary and the good breeding of polite society is thereby permitted to continue. If the communists were, however, to take up or even to threaten to take up arms against this bourgeoisie, the whole machinery not only of government but of the powerful associations of employers would immediately be thrown against them. The inevitable result in Western Europe and America would, therefore, be the bloody defeat of the communist forces unless, as has been stated, the country were thoroughly demoralized by a disastrous foreign war. But even if the communists were to seize power, their work of government would inevitably be poisoned by the methods used in attaining it. Their opponents would naturally be driven to resort to that same method of violent revolution which the communists had embraced. The communists would, therefore, need constantly to be on their guard against an armed uprising led by those who had enjoyed greater economic and social privileges under the former régime. They would, moreover, suspect such revolts even when not planned and the inevitable result would be the permeation of society by a state system of espionage and the ruthless use of terror as a means of intimidation. Such an atmosphere of suspicion and suppression would go far to vitiate the very spirit of coöperative fellowship which the communists hope to engender by running the industries and government of a country for the benefit of the common man.

The disdain which the communists have for the intelligence and courage of the majority leads them, moreover, to keep power in the hands of their aggressive minority. Their venture seems to them the supreme value and they are naturally unwilling to entrust it to that amorphous mass of people who did nothing to bring it into being. Only those who have sacrificed themselves for the new society are adjudged worthy of directing it. They will govern and work for the benefit of the people but not allow the latter to participate in the ultimate decisions of policy. In short they will hold on to power for themselves.

Unfortunately power is as subtly corrupting as wealth. Men indeed now struggle primarily for wealth because it is so largely synonymous with power. Those who exercise great authority come almost inevitably to regard themselves as super-men who are above the law and become callous to the desires and emotions of those who are expected meekly to obey. Sycophancy inevitably grows up around the leaders since this seems to ambitious young men and women the speediest way to acquire influence. It becomes increasingly difficult, therefore, for the Sanhedrin at the top to sense the real wishes and opinions of those beneath and the ultimate decisions tend to diverge more and more from the realities of the situation.

The passage of time will, moreover, bring to the fore a new generation which was not schooled and disciplined in the hard struggle to give birth to the new society. Much can be done to create adequate substitutes for this by a highly socialized system of education, the organization of the youth into bodies for sacrificial service, by a rigid limitation of incomes and by the periodic purging of the party of those who are quite palpably career-seekers. But it will be impossible to detect all of those who will worm their way into positions of dominance for the mere sake of exercising power. The almost inevitable consequence would seem to be the ultimate creation of a hierarchy which, in its pride and callousness, would bear little resemblance to those self-sacrificing spirits who initiated it.

The history of hierarchial religious sects furnishes eloquent testimony to this tendency. The early bishops of Rome were men conspicuous for their piety, loving-kindness and simplicity of life, but the apostolic succession fell upon followers of so much coarser clay that by the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century the papacy was in the hands of men like Alexander the Sixth who, in their lives of haughty pride, cruelty and sexual abandon gave the lie to the noble principles of the founder of that religion whose chief representatives they claimed to be. Every order, moreover, which arose within that church for the purpose of reforming it came to nearly a similar end, and the pure spirit of the humble St. Francis was succeeded by the luxury-loving ostentation of his nominal followers.

Nor has this tendency been confined to the Catholic Church. It may also be observed in many oligarchical Protestant denominations. Thus the men who founded and fostered Methodism in this country, notably Whitefield and Asbury, were worthy exemplars of that rich faith in the divinity of the common man which Methodism proclaimed. But a close view of the present generation of Methodist bishops, district superintendents and presiding elders, discloses a hierarchy which, taken in the large, is not seriously libeled by Sinclair Lewis's *Elmer Gantry*.

The truth of the matter is that, wherever men are removed from the bracing necessity of submitting their acts and policies to the approval of the great mass in whose behalf they are supposed to be laboring, they tend to degenerate. Many hypocrites and demagogues manage to seduce the public for a time but there is a gradual tendency to eliminate them. The knowledge that they must secure popular support makes leaders more solicitous than they otherwise would be to further the real interests of those upon whose approval their continuance in office depends.

For these reasons, the democratic way of life is ultimately the best method of obtaining good government while, as John Stuart Mill long ago pointed out, it is also the most effective means of raising the level of civic intelligence.

Most Communists would probably admit the essential validity of these conclusions and would assert that such are indeed their ultimate aims. When the new system has been once firmly established, when the danger of foreign invasion has been removed, and when a new generation has come into being transformed by the social ideals which they expect to course through both education and industry, then they declare that the dictatorship of the Communist Party will be removed and other groups and ideas will be allowed an opportunity to command the support of the people. But this is too roseate a view. Just as no class as such has ever voluntarily relinquished economic power so has no class ever freely given up political power. The Communists can only be expected to cling to power and to delay as long as possible the coming of the true democracy.

If the democratic way is the goal toward which society should strive, it would also seem in the long run to be the most effective means of attaining it. Research, argument and discussion ultimately have an effect upon public opinion, even in a plutocratic society. Experiment and example are even more persuasive. Large groups of the middle and professional classes and even a few of the economic oligarchy can be won over to the new society if the situation is not wrenched by an attempt at a violent revolution. Still further experience both in the conduct of industry and of government can be gained which will lessen the difficulties of the transition by building up a group of socially-minded but capable administrators. Progress may seem to be slow but ultimately it may prove far more certain, than if the methods of the communists were used.

The forces working for a socialist society should, therefore, follow the democratic method for as long as it is humanly possible. If, despite all these efforts, violence is finally used, it should not originate with them but with their opponents. If the defenders of the old order take up arms to preserve their economic position and to prevent economic democracy from coming into being through the processes of political democracy, then they will quite certainly estrange a considerable body of opinion which believes that the minority should obey the decisions of the majority. The workmen attacked in this fashion would naturally resist, since the doctrine of complete non-resistance cannot be expected to gain any greater headway among their number than among any other class of society. But the possessing classes would weaken their position by their violent action and would enable the transition to be made with far less destruction than would be the case if the Socialists were themselves to take the aggressive. For in a society trained in democratic procedure, the aggressor in the case of civil war puts himself ultimately at a disadvantage. It is the group which fights only in self-defence and then to carry out what would otherwise be the popular decision of political democracy, which commands the ultimate advantage.

Finally, just to the extent that the educational work for the new society had in previous years been done with accuracy and with human appeal, would the violence of the resistance offered by the recipients of large incomes from rent and interest be lessened. Thus the writings and example of Tolstoi and the propagandist work of the Social Democratic party made many of the possessing and professional classes in Russia dubious of the legitimacy of their position and rendered them little disposed to maintain themselves by force of arms. Thus, even though the present dominant classes should by their violent and aggressive action prevent the transition from being made purely according to the pattern of political democracy, the previous use of democratic methods would enormously lessen the pain of the transition.

Since the democratic way is, therefore, more effective and more humane both as an end and as a means, it follows that the socialist movement should resist the temptation to resort to methods which may seem immediately to be more effective but which ultimately would be disastrous.

3. FROM THE RADICAL POINT OF VIEW

(*a*) *Syndicalism*

Although it is common in the United States for conservatives, police officials and even judges to call radicals of any description either "Socialists" or "Communists," it does not necessarily follow that either appellation is correct. Indeed one of the most scathing criticisms of socialism comes from the ranks of the syndicalists.

Syndicalism (*syndicat*) was orginally merely the French name for trade union. Gradually it began to be applied to those trade unionists who wanted to substitute radical industrial instead of political action. The Syndicalists join with the Socialists in their indictment of capitalism but differ as to the organization of the future society and as to the means of securing it. Syndicalism would use the trade union to achieve what the socialists want to get through political action. They believe that the state of necessity must be "the executive committee of the capitalist class." The very nature of governmental power is tyranny. Hence if its powers are extended as the Socialists propose, it merely means tightening the bonds about the worker. The Syndicalists still further condemn state Socialism because of its tendency toward bureaucracy. It would lack initiative and efficiency. In place of socialism the syndicalists propose to rest control not in the consumer but in the producer.

No doubt one reason why Syndicalism had its inception in France is that as the socialist party became successful and its leaders accepted office, they tended to become moderate in their views and to forget their promises to the working class. Moreover in proportion as they were successful they attracted younger leaders who did not really have the welfare of the workers so much at heart as a career for themselves. In reacting against this situation the workers began to feel that political action was holpeless. "The office corrupted the man."

The Syndicalists also claim that whereas socialism is a philosophy which was created by middle-class intellectuals, Syndicalism comes from the heart of the workers themselves.

To understand the movement we have to know something of trade union development in France. *Syndicats* or trade-unions were legalized in 1884 and were federated into a Confédération Générale du travail in 1895. In addition all the workers in any given locality began to unite into a Bourse du Travail. This organization would act as an employment agency for its members and otherwise undertake any action which was for the benefit of the workers of a particular district or city. In 1893 the Bourses were united in a Federation which in turn joined with the Confédération Générale du Travail in 1902. This means that every worker was represented twice in this central body, once as a member of a particular locality and once as a member of a particular trade. The syndicalists believe that National government is unnecessary and that some such organization of labor as we have just cited should take its place. It is true, however, that in recent years the development of large scale national industry has somewhat modified the Syndicalist's position, and at the Syndicalist Congress in Lyons in 1919 the majority voted in favor of industrialized nationalization of land and water transport, mines, water power, and credit organizations. They stipulated that national property was to belong both to the producers and to the consumers.

In 1922 about one-quarter of the French trade unions broke away from the Confédération Générale du Travail and created a new organization on an out and out Syndicalist platform.

Besides basing their philosophy largely on local trade union organization, the Syndicalists believe in a radical policy of direct action in the economic realm. Since the Syndicalists assume that economic power is basic they feel that the strike is their greatest weapon. Strikes are to be encouraged wherever possible. Even when a strike is lost they believe it has served as a means of education in discipline and in a further comprehension of the tyranny of the "master class." Class warfare is something to be encouraged. Besides the strike they practice the boycott and sabotage. Sabotage is slow or bad work, destruction of machinery, or almost any action which harms the productive mechanism. While some Syndicalists believe that a perpetual "guerrilla" warfare against capital is justified others believe that sabotage is harmful and destructive of the workers' morale.

The Syndicalists feel that in the end they will come to power through the General Strike. This does not necessarily imply unanimous action by all of labor but rather that enough will join in the strike from the various key industries so as to paralyze the productive process.

Following the General Strike if one occurs, the workers will take over the factories, the mines and the railways. Their unions will then be organized not as now for "resistance" but for production and distribution.

The syndicalists in France have had many clashes with the government. In 1907 and 1908, for instance, they protested at the ruthless force which the government had used in suppressing strikes using these words, "A government of assassins," "Clemenceau, the murderer."

The chief theorist of syndicalism was Georges Sorel, a philosopher and writer living in Paris. He accepted Marx but said that the latter did not sufficiently appreciate the labor movement and that the trade unions were to be the instruments of the revolution. In his volume *Reflexions sur la Violence* (1909) he maintained that democracy is based on a fiction of a "general will," actually capitalism dominates and it is of the utmost importance to continually make the workers break with it. He held that even if the General Strike never took place it was important as a "social myth" to encourage the workers in their hopes of future victory. Many "social myths" have proved valuable in the promotion of a movement he claimed, citing "the second coming of Christ," as an example. Since democracy was a delusion, violence was inevitable.

Syndicalism has had a powerful influence in France and in Italy. In England it helped to created Guild Socialism. In the United States a somewhat similar movement developed under the name of the I. W. W. or Industrial Workers of the World. This was founded in Chicago in 1905 by a union of several organizations chief among which was the Western Federation of Miners. A Catholic priest, Father Hagerty, drew up its first structural plan. All workers were to be accepted on an industrial basis. The distinction between craft and industrial unionism is that the craft union (the ordinary variety of American trade union) usually unites all those of a particular type of skill or those who are engaged in a particular industrial process. Industrial unionism on the other hand unites all those working together to produce a particular commodity in a single union. Industrial unionism would thus unite all those working to produce automobiles from floor sweepers to mechanics into a single organization.

The I. W. W. has divided all the workers of America into twenty-nine sections and craft unions are prohibited. The preamble to the Constitution reads, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. . . . Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system."

The I. W. W. led innumerable strikes in the United States and governmental authorities have often dealt harshly with their members. In 1907 the Western Federation of Miners withdrew from the organization and since that time their chief strength has been the nomadic workers and "hoboes." During and following the war "criminal syndicalist" acts have been passed in many states making it illegal to belong to the I. W. W.

Since the war the I. W. W. has seemed to wane in influence in the American labor movement but a militant minority is still active.

(*b*) *Guild Socialism*

Guild Socialism is critical of the doctrine of state socialism. It fears political control of industry with the possibility inherent in it of bureaucracy. Its proponents believe that the State as at present constituted is destined to disappear. In its place will spring up a federal authority representing society in each one of its main activities.

The movement started with the publication of a book by an atheist, Arthur J. Penty, in 1906 called *The Restoration of the Guild System* in which he stressed the advantages of organization along the lines of the medieval guilds of craft workers.

The idea has since been developed by others, notably by G. D. H. Cole. During the war it influenced the shop stewards' movement and stimulated workers throughout England to demand an increasing share of workers' control. In 1915 the National Guilds League was started. Their aim as they describe it is the "abolition of the Wage-System, and the establishment by the workers of Self-Government in industry, through a democratic system of National Guilds, working in conjunction with other democratic functional organizations in the community."

Cole maintains that really no one individual can represent a geographical aggregation of other individuals, hence representative government as we know it to-day is sham democracy. However, it is possible for one man to represent a functional group of those who have common work interests. Thus J—— can represent a group of lawyers if he is a lawyer, L—— can represent a group of doctors, if he is a doctor, and K—— can represent a group of shoeworkers, if he is one of them.

Some Guild Socialists maintain that there should be one national congress representing the entire sovereign state and another representing the producers. Others maintain that a functional body alone is sufficient to rule the country.

Immediately following the peace several guilds were established, notably The National Building Guild. This actually succeeded in erecting a number of buildings along guild lines but eventually became involved in financial difficulties. Some of the tailoring guilds have been more successful and still survive.

Guild Socialism has recently been losing some of its popularity and its supporters have been modifying their positions. For instance, G. D. H. Cole,[30] the best known supporter of guild socialism in England, has recently summarized his position in the following words:

> "That, in view of modern technical conditions of production, a drastic reorganization of the Trade Union movement is necessary. That the demand for 'Workers' Control' in industry needs to be restated in the light of modern industrial technique. That the Guild Socialist case for (a) the management of industry on functional lines, and (b) an effective voice for the workers in the conditions of their work, holds good. That functional management will for the present be best ensured by entrusting the administration of industry to commissions of experts, working under the final control of policy by the State, and in close touch with advisory bodies representing the workers in their various grades. That these advisory bodies should be armed with certain statutory powers of appeal against the decisions of the management. That the most effective sphere for workers' control will be found for the present in the workshop itself, and that the larger advisory bodies should be in close touch with the smaller bodies organised on a workshop basis.
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> "That, accordingly, in connection with all industries, whether privately or publicly managed, Works Councils should be set up, on a Trade Union basis, and given wide statutory powers of appeal to specially constituted Industrial Courts, these powers including a voice in engagements, promotions, and dismissals. That, for all publicly owned services, national and, where necessary, regional Workers' Councils should be established, with similar statutory powers. That industrial legislation designed to improve working conditions should be pressed forward, and that the Trade Unions and Works Councils should be so organised as to care largely for the enforcement of such legislation.
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> "Further that, in all suitable cases, arrangements for collective contract between the management and the body of workers employed in a workshop or on a job, with proper safeguards for the maintenance of standard rates and conditions, should be encouraged in all publicly controlled enterprises."

V. SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES

Socialism in the United States is primarily of German derivation. The pioneer work was done by German disciples of Karl Marx who came to the United States after 1848. It was also aided by radical American workers who wanted a political party; these forces joined in 1874 to form the Socialist Labor Party. In 1877 the New Yorker Volkszeitung, a socialist paper, was started. The movement was enormously stimulated by the work of Henry George, who in 1879 published *Progress and Poverty*. Soon after this an American, Daniel de Leon, joined the movement. He wanted to create in the working masses support for socialism, and so in 1895 he founded the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, one of whose objects was to displace craft by industrial unions. The orthodox trade union leaders used de Leon to portray the dangers of socialism, telling the laborers that its effects would be to destroy the labor unions. De Leon edited a paper called *The People* and ruled the Labor Alliance with a firm hand. When opposition within the ranks arose, the dissenters were expelled. Eventually a serious revolt against de Leon broke out in which the Volkszeitung joined. In 1899 the opposition founded a rival organization. Two years before, in 1897, Eugene V. Debs had joined with others in founding the Social Democracy of America. Since, however, many of this group were more interested in Utopian colonization schemes than in political action, Debs and Victor Berger bolted and founded the Social Democratic Party of America. In 1901 all except de Leon's wing of the Socialist Labor Party united to found the Socialist Party. This party was increasingly successful in every presidential campaign until 1928, the vote rising from 402,283 in 1904 to 915,412 in 1920. In the last campaign of his life (1924) Debs campaigned for Robert M. La Follette, and the total vote was 4,822,856. Following the death of Debs in 1928 and the nomination of a somewhat more liberal candidate, Norman Thomas, the vote fell to only slightly over a quarter of a million.

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[30] Cole, G. D. H., *The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy* (1929).

Later in the fall of 1929 as candidate for Mayor of New York City, Norman Thomas won the support of the Scripps-Howard newspaper, the *Telegram*, and received over one hundred and seventy-five thousand votes.

The Socialists have had considerable influence in America. Since 1910 the City of Milwaukee has been largely under Socialist administration and there has usually been one Socialist representative in Congress. The municipal governments of Butte, Montana; Berkeley, California; Schenectady, New York; Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Reading, Pennsylvania, have all had Socialist administrations. In New York the radio station WEVD has been founded in memory of Eugene V. Debs. Anyone who joins the Socialist Party to-day has to pledge that he will immediately apply for membership in a union of his trade or occupation.

It is worth noting that wherever the Democratic and Republican candidates have been seriously threatened by a Socialist candidate they usually have joined forces to defeat him. This happened in Milwaukee in 1912, in Schenectady against Mayor Lunn in 1913, and in New York City under the initiative of the National Security League in several congressional districts since 1918. It is probably a good sociological principle that whenever financial self-interest is really in danger business men tend to sink minor differences and unite against the major enemy.

Many students of society are doubtful whether Socialism is sufficiently adapted to American conditions ever to become dominant here,—at least under that name. Our traditions of individualism and independence are against it. Furthermore, America has a large farm population which believes firmly in private property and fears "foreign socialistic doctrines." It seems probable that a successful third party in America would have to be better adapted to our folkways and mores. Thus a farmer-labor or a progressive party would seem more nearly to fit American psychology, and the time may not be distant when such a party might exert considerable influence. In the meantime Socialism provides a safety valve for our social order: it prevents criticism and dissatisfaction from being bottled up and exploding.

Perhaps the chief benefit to society from socialistic activity in the past has been its searching exposure of evils existing in the current structure of society, and its strong humanitarian and social emphasis. Socialism is partly a reaction on the part of maladjusted areas of our social order; and if society were intelligent enough it ought to welcome criticism from every sincere and thoughtful Socialist.

Unfortunately for a scientific appraisal, we have not yet had a clear example of Socialism in action; it is difficult to predict the actual results of a fair trial. So far it has been a theoretical protest. Considering the unintelligence of the mass of mankind at present, it seems doubtful whether the translation of the theory into life at one stroke would be possible.

There is a *relativity* in what people consider socialistic. Not very many years ago a government parcel post system was regarded as socialistic; and advocacy of such a measure as woman suffrage was "dangerous radicalism threatening the foundation of our republic." One of the striking advantages of the efforts of Socialists in the United States is that sooner or later Americans recognize the validity of some of their proposals. Gradually these win support, the majority parties enact them into law, and they are considered "safe, sane, and American," among "the bulwarks of American liberty." This is in accordance with the well-known sociological principle that the "new" and "strange" in social conduct tends to be considered "dangerous." The popular mind has to become used to the idea of a new proposal before really pausing to examine it with any intelligence. In reality America is continually making experiments along socialistic lines. Owing to our comparative youth, to our desire to permit the rapid exploitation of our natural resources, and to our theories of individual initiative and the profit motive, we have done much less along this line than most European countries; but what we have done is impressive.

When the United States built the Panama Canal, for instance, the government furnished the food, housing, and recreational facilities for fifty thousand employees. During the War the government took over the railroads, the shipping, and controlled the telephone and telegraph lines. There is a good deal of difference of opinion as to the result, but every one recognizes that when it was necessary to do everything possible to win the War the only course was for the government to eliminate the wastes of private ownership and operation. The Postmaster Generals of the United States have for some time past been urging governmental ownership of telephone and telegraph lines. In his report for 1919, the Postmaster General says, for instance: "If such a policy (government ownership) were entered upon, where there are now two or three telegraph and telephone lines, and sometimes four, occupying the same highway and entailing immense waste, better and cheaper services could be given by one coördinated wire agency." [31]

The United States runs sixteen national parks with a high degree of efficiency, yet they cover over five million acres. It operates forty reservoirs of water aggregating three billion gallons—enough to cover the States of New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Delaware over a foot deep. It operates canals, tunnels, and other conduits, which if joined together could circle the United States, and not long ago completed the highest dam in the world. The United States Printing Department does a larger volume of business than any other in the world, the Division of Public Documents alone turning out over fifty million copies of documents a year.

The extension of public ownership of municipal water works, electric light plants, and gas works is well known. To-day all the major cities in the United States operate and own their water works.

It was only a few years ago that the income tax was considered socialistic legislation. To-day it is a part of our Constitution. No one can tell how far this process will eventually go, but it is only the ignorant who can say that government ownership is impossible.

[31] Report of U. S. Postmaster General, 1919, p. 22.

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BOOK IV

COMMUNISM

QUESTIONS ON COMMUNISM

1. What caused the Bolshevik Movement? What are the causes of any revolution? Are any of these causes at work in America?
2. What is the theory of Communism?
3. What are the main features of the economic plan which the Communists are following? What do you think are its chief weaknesses and its chief advantages? Do you think incentive to achievement will be destroyed?
4. Which do you think the greater leader, Lenin or Stalin? Why?
5. How much democracy and freedom is there in the Russian government?
6. To what extent does the Communist Party control the Russian government?
7. How do the Russian Trade Unions differ from those in America? Better, or worse, and why?
8. Should the Bolshevik government suppress the Communist International? Why?
9. How has the position of the family been changed in Russia since the Revolution?
10. Make a balance sheet of Bolshevism, or list the chief favorable and unfavorable features of Communism.
11. State briefly the chief acts of America and the Allies towards Soviet Russia. Which were wise and which unwise?
12. What should be an American policy towards Russia? Should we recognize her government? Why? Why not?

QUESTIONS FOR THOUGHT

(*To be answered or not, as desired*)

1. Compare and contrast Capitalism and Communism. What aspects of each do you favor and oppose? Why?
2. What is the evidence for and against a World War in the future to be followed by a World Revolution?
3. What lessons can America learn from the Communist Movement?

I. HISTORY AND CAUSES

1. REVOLUTIONS

SO FAR we have been discussing movements which have been largely idealistic concepts in the minds of men. For the most part they have not been really tried over a large area or a long period. We now come to a program which is actually in process of being tried and is in its second decade of power.

The actual establishment of the Communistic theory in the life of Russia necessitated a revolution. The history of mankind points to the continued recurrence of a phenomenon which we describe by the word, revolution. It is too early in the development of sociological thought to lay down the laws of the evolution of revolutions; we can, however, put forward certain tentative hypotheses. For the purposes of our thought we would define revolution as *a shift of the center of dominance in society.* Surveying these ever recurring social upheavals in human history one seems to discover an evolutionary sequence.

First: *Revolutions are a long time germinating.* This was certainly true of the French Revolution, where mismanagement of government was pronounced by 1700 and yet the actual revolution did not come for nearly a hundred years. It is even more apparent in Russia, where for centuries the despotism of the autocracy was notorious. Ivan the Terrible has come down in Russian history under that name, but it was not until Nicholas the II, centuries later, that the final explosion occurred.

Second: *The revolutionary culmination is usually preceded by danger signals.* These may take the form of strikes, assassinations, imprisonments, or general dissatisfaction and unrest. This can be seen very clearly by any one who has studied the historical antecedents of Communism.

Third: *To be successful the revolution must deal with real life problems of the masses.* Otherwise it is not at all likely to secure the support which will make it successful.

Fourth: *A revolution is usually preceded by the "transfer of the allegiance of the intellectuals."* Discontent spreads to editors, teachers and others who have influence in molding public opinion.

Fifth: *The outbreak of the revolution is near when a majority of all classes,[1] except the ruling clique, oppose the old system.* The ratio of those who are loyal to the ruling clique in contrast to those who are dissatisfied is a natural index to the possibility of overturn.

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[1] Or in some cases a majority of the conscious, thinking, politically-active workers.

Sixth: *An active basic theory develops which is at variance with that on which the existing order is founded.* Around it the forces of discontent can crystallize, and upon it leadership of the masses can be organized.

Seventh: *A powerful minority leadership develops which enlists the support of the masses to challenge the ruling group.*

Eighth: *The actual overthrow usually necessitates a national or international crisis which upsets the equilibrium of the ruling group.*

Ninth: *To be permanently successful revolutions must inspire idealistic devotion to a cause.* This is very clearly brought out in the Russian Revolution, for the enthusiastic Communist is passionately devoted to the cause which he believes to be right.

Tenth: *There is a tendency toward the ascendancy of radicals.* The conservatives are out of sympathy with change, the moderate reformers are incapable of taking the drastic action necessary to meet the wishes of the masses in a revolutionary epoch.

Eleventh: *Control of the political mechanism is usually followed by repression against the conservatives or other supporters of the status quo.* The conservatives are trying to destroy the Revolution and kill its leaders. To down the conservatives is a matter of life or death for the new order. This is seen in its extremes in the use of the guillotine during the French Revolution and in the Red Teror in Russia.

Twelfth: *There is a slow crystallization into a stable social order.* The populace always tires of violence. The radicals learn the necessity of law and order, and a new social system is evolved.

2. A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION [2]

In March, 1917, the epoch-making Russian revolution startled a world already becoming callous to war-made changes. In the following November, with little or no opposition, the Bolsheviks seized the power and attempted to put into immediate operation a complete Marxian and Communistic scheme of control. In order to understand the cause of a great social mutation or revolution, we must understand the degree of likeness between the ruling and non-ruling classes. We must then study the coercive pressure of the dominant group which stimulated or hindered the explosion. Let us consider, first, the factors in the Russian situation which made for unlikeness between the proletarian masses, whom we shall term the workers or peasants, and the educated aristocratic class.

[2] By Jerome Davis. Reprinted through the courtesy of the *Political Science Quarterly*. From Vol. XXXVII, No. 2 (June, 1922).

The Biologic Factor.—The population of the Russian empire in 1912 consisted of over 180,000,000 people. They were divided roughly into a class of workers and peasants comprising 93 per cent of the population, and an upper or ruling group of about 7 per cent. A great middle class such as is found in England or our own country was absent. Within the population there was a conglomeration of over one hundred races or nationalities speaking different languages or dialects. The empire comprised groups as far separated from each other as, for example, over five million Jews of German extraction, nine million Mongolians and several million Tartars. The significant fact to remember is that while there were these opposite racial types with their widely diverging racial traits, they occurred quite exclusively within the proletarian 93 per cent of the population, the upper 7 per cent being for the most part of pure Slavic stock. By a rigid exclusion, Jews were kept down from any important post either social or political. In Turkestan, where Mohammedans predominated, the ruling classes were Russian Slavs, although 93 per cent of the population could not even speak Russian. The ruling classes then were for the most part racially alike, whereas the peasants were a scattered mixture of varying racial stocks. As a whole, the latter could be expected to react more variously to given stimuli than would the upper racially similar group. This was true because in the historical evolution of the Russian empire the pure Russian Slavic group had been in the main dominant and hence tended to retain control in its own hands.

The Geographic Factor.—Until the World War the Russian empire consisted of the stupendous area of 8,600,000 square miles, or over twice that of all Europe. Siberia alone was over forty times as large as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Within this huge territory there is a wide divergence in temperature, from the hot tropical climmate of the deserts in Turkestan to the cold arctic regions of Archangel. Although there are sections which are rich in timber, mineral and oils, the absence of railroads and manufacturing has, for the most part, prevented their utilization. Russia embraces the greatest plain in the world. At no point in its wide sweep does it rise to an altitude of over 1,400 feet. It is watered by three great river-highways—the Volga, the Dnieper and the Western Dvina. The proletarian masses, provided by nature with this rich and fertile region, have tilled the soil for generations. In 1912, 86 per cent of the population was rural. The masses were compelled to be peasants by the nature of geographical forces. There was little opportunity for venturesome spirits to break the monotony. In industry conditions were hard. In 1900 the average monthly pay of an adult male worker was only about twenty roubles or ten dollars. The hours of labor were long, seldom averaging less than twelve a day, and the men were not permitted to organize. Moreover, even if they did go to the factory for the winter, they were likely to drift back to the fields in summer. As a result there was a likemindedness of the proletariat brought about by a common occupation, the product of similar geographic stimuli. The peasant with a factory experience may have received some new ideas, but he was essentially a peasant.

Furthermore, the great mass of the population live in a cold climate. In winter the rivers are frozen solid and the plain is covered over with snow. This causes a relaxation of energy; for many months tillage is impossible. It makes also for communal organization, for home industries. Generations of common work in a common climate have tended to establish certain well-defined cultural habits among the masses.

The aristocrats and the educated—the 7 per cent—are not bound to the soil. They can go south in the winter, or visit the Caucasus or the Crimea in the summer, or perhaps even make an excursion abroad. The soil which molds the task of the peasant is not a compelling power in shaping their interests.

The biologic and geographic factors already mentioned would be sufficient to make for large differences between the rulers and the ruled, but far outweighing these are the dissimilarities in culture. The social heritage of each is in large measure separate.

Religion.—So far as religion was concerned, the aristocracy, if they had any, were technically of the established Orthodox faith. Thousands of them, however, were frankly skeptics and even those who were not had a belief with an entirely different content from that of the peasants. To them the priest was an inferior who must obey their wishes. God had ordained them to a superior station in life. The Tsar believed firmly that he was divinely appointed to rule. The common people, on the other hand, held various faiths. Besides the millions of Jews, there were Mohammedans and Roman Catholics. Even the peasants who belonged to the Orthodox Church went away from its services with quite another feeling than that of the nobility. They were enchanted with the mysteries of the church, its magnificent interiors, inspiring music, burning candles, and priests in golden robes. They had to pay their tribute to the latter even if it meant starvation at home. Underneath their devout exteriors the priests often acted as agents of the Tsar's police and usually obeyed the dictates of the upper classes. They were men to be feared and obeyed. The dominant group saw to it that the church was subservient to its interests and this inevitably widened the breach between the two classes. As a matter of fact, the whole religious experience of the common people built up an attitude of mind quite foreign to that of the nobility. The former had a superstitious faith that God would provide. This is indicated by some of their proverbs. "God, who gave us teeth, will also give us the bread." God gave us the body; he will also give us health." Some among them recognized vaguely the cost to themselves of the building and maintenance of their own churches and would quote the following proverb, "The church is not built of logs, but of [human] ribs." Their religious feeling also resulted in superstitious practices. A friend of mine in Russia once noticed the people trying to stop the spread of fire by placing the ikon, or religious picture, between the conflagration and the next house. Most of these superstitions and proverbs were not even known by the educated and those that were, frequently provoked derision. Thus the masses had quite a different religious heritage from the aristocrats. It made for unlikeness between them.

Education.—In matters of education there was a far greater disparity between the two than in religion. In 1912 investigation showed that less than 4 per cent of the entire population were in school and of these the largest number were from the aristocratic class. According to the report of the investigating committee of the Third Duma, the educational influence which the schools exerted among the peasants was insignificant. Many children, soon after leaving, were found to be illiterate —the terms were for only four or five months in the winter, anyway. It is no wonder that at the time the war broke out, 50 per cent of the soldiers could not even sign their own names, and nearer 70 per cent could not read. The peasants even acquired a jargon of their own which was not always intelligible to their superiors. In contrast to this lack of education, the children of the nobility were sent to the very best schools or had private tutors. They were always taught some foreign language, and frequently two or three. Often French was as commonly spoken as Russian. Books from Germany, France, England, America and Russia were available to them. All this was a bond of social solidarity drawing together the upper classes, but separating them all the more from the common masses. Parallel to the dialect of the peasants, the language of the aristocracy was polished, another fact which tended, to some extent, to inhibit easy communication.

Not only was this difference present, but it was deliberately fostered by the ruling classes. Newspapers and magazines were carefully kept out of the reach of the peasants, and those that had the remotest chance of being read by them were carefully censored. One example of the ruthlessness with which this ignorance was jealously guarded is the following: The peasants in one village painfully saved up their money by various sacrifices and purchased a moving-picture machine with American films. They hoped to learn something in spite of their illiteracy. On the first night the pictures were shown, the Tsar's police broke into the meeting, confiscated the machine, and exiled the operator to Siberia.

Traditions, Folkways and Folksayings.—The result of no education for the masses was the building-up of whole congeries of traditions, folkways and proverbs which were handed on by word of mouth. These were the exclusive social heritage of the peasants, and, for anyone of the upper class to understand them, a lifetime of study was required. The peasant had no national heroes such as help to galvanize our Western societies. The nearest approach to them were revolutionists who opposed the government, such as Stenika Razin. The average peasant will say he sees no use in the acquisition of huge blocks of new territory, a tradition of empire-building, that he is no better off because of it, that, on the contrary, every war has had a disastrous effect on his own fortunes. To use Veblen's phrase, the cultural incidence of the peasant's way of life created a viewpoint always different from that of the nobility. For example, the sight of those who have been arrested awakens in the mind of the peasant only a feeling of sympathy and pity. He never calls such an unfortunate wicked, but *reschastny,* or unlucky.

The propertied classes, on the other hand, could look on quite unfeelingly while a peasant was being flogged. They had been taught that the State and the Tsar were supreme and were always right. The two things which were impressed on the Russian officer throughout his military training were first, loyalty to the Tsar, and second, loyalty to the nation. The clause "loyalty to the nation" seldom implied to the Russian officer loyalty to the people; the thought had never entered his mind. The propertied classes in their turn built up a set of ideals, customs, etiquette and social usage, a good share of which the peasant did not even know about, much less understand.

Recreation.—The gentry were also separated from the peasants by a wide divergence in their recreational life. The latter have the most simple folk pastimes. On Sundays and holidays the young men and girls go for festival walks to the accompaniment of their musical instrument, the *balilika.* Their main enjoyment seems to be playful conversation, music and the out-of-doors. The peasant falls heir to a wealth of folksongs. There are historical epics, and lyrics of love, warfare and death. There are nature songs welcoming back the sun after the winter, besides special ones for every festival. Some of these are in honor of those who have revolted against the government, as is the following:

On the waters of our little-mother Volga
The storm is lashing, and the waves rise high;
Alone a tiny boat is battling
Alone 'midst the fury of the gale;
But look! at the helm there stands a figure,
Scorning death in the waters dark and grim,
'Tis the hero of our little-mother Volga,
Our Stenika Razin.

The aristocracy in contrast to these simple pleasures had their card, dancing and theatre parties. Tolstoy tells us that it was considered good form for every young man to have had at least one intrigue with an older married woman; and drinking, gambling and dissipation were all but universal. Prince Kropotkin says that large sums were squandered in amusements abroad. Certain German sanitariums were built exclusively for the purpose of caring for Russians who had become ill in the cafés of Paris.

Occupation.—Another important factor making for unlikeness between the common mind and the aristocrat was the difference in occupation. Instinctive responses are reconditioned by the particular experiences the individual undergoes. Chief among these is his occupation, yet more of a contrast than existed between the classes in this respect can hardly be imagined. The peasant was compelled to till the soil, and his portion was continually dwindling in size. Since the liberation of the serfs in the sixties until the pre-war period, the amount of land held by the individual peasant had fallen nearly one-half. Whenever crops were at all below normal, large numbers were forced to live on what amounted to a starvation diet. Where the Mir existed, whatever land there was, was owned in common by the entire village. Each peasant received a narrow strip between two and ten yards wide, which included both good and bad land, and the parts were often widely separated. The nobility took little interest in stimulating production and supplying modern equipment, so that agricultural backwardness was the inevitable result. Wooden plows and harrows were in common use; ropes or fibre thongs were the chief material for the harness of carts or plows. Moreover, the peasant felt that he was being cheated out of what he produced on the land. For generations his ancestors had tilled the soil, and the landlord had reaped the benefit. Some day the greedy landlords will be dispossessed, was the constant thought of the peasant, who believed that not he who held the title but he who tilled the property was really entitled to own it. In the peasant courts, where law is administered on the basis of custom and folkways, labor is recognized as "having rights superior to property and even kinship." Sons-in-law, stepsons and adopted sons have all the inheritance rights of children born in the home, and the firstborn son is debarred if he does not take part in the common work.

The landowners and the nobility on their part were taught that it was beneath their dignity to do menial labor. It was their due to enjoy a life of leisure, or at least a position of comfort in the governmental employ. In the latter position a special costume was required to be worn and a system of medals, distinctions and honors added to the prestige enjoyed.

Home Conditions.—Perhaps most striking of all the influences tending to make for unlikeness were the home conditions. The Russian peasants crave society, and all live together in a village. The little wooden huts with thatched roofs usually contain but one room and a shed. The one room is kitchen, living-room and bedroom, besides being used for a calf-pen, pig-sty, lamb- or horse-stall in cold weather. In summer the children sleep outside, doors and windows are open, and the entire family spend the day in the fields. But in winter when all sleep in one room and the windows and doors are tightly closed, conditions are not enviable. The diet of the peasant is largely vegetarian. His bill of fare is made up chiefly of rye bread, potatoes, milk products, and the various vegetables in season. Nevertheless famines recur periodically and thousands starve as they did in 1891 and 1899. Disease in prevalent owing to the lack of sanitation and doctors. In America we have one physician to every eight hundred persons, but in the country districts in Russia there was only one for every 21,000. The Russian peasant usually had a large family, as is evidenced by the rapid increase of the population as a whole, in spite of the high death rate. A woman works at least as hard as her husband, if not harder. Ordinarily she milks the cow, feeds the poultry and live stock, cooks, washes, cares for the children, and in summer toils in the fields with the men.

Across the gulf of caste the educated classes lived in the best European style, surrounded by every comfort that money could buy. In case of illness they could summon capable professional help from the town. The magnificence and luxury of some of the homes can hardly be realized by those who have not seen the actual palaces on the banks of the Niva in Petrograd. The difference between the peasant and landlord was most tellingly felt in the famine years when the peasants and their children would die by the thousand, whereas the artistocracy were living on the fat of the land. Prince Kropotkin told me about one of the serfs on a nearby estate who during a famine period timidly came up to the landlord's door to beg a little bread for his children, only to be taken out and whipped for his impudence.

Peasants Absolutely Unlike the Aristocracy.—All of these factors made the 93 per cent of the population quite unlike the upper 7 per cent. We can almost say that they were separated from each other in their thinking more completely than the United States is separated today from Europe, for between America and Europe there is at least a constant stream of interchange of ideas, communications and speakers. Almost every year some international gathering occurs such as a peace conference, a labor gathering, or a disarmament conference. In Russia national meetings were carefully censored or prohibited altogether and there was no adequate means for the interchange of ideas between the peasants and the aristocrats.

Added to this was a caste system which excluded a man born a peasant from rising above his class except on occasions of rare good luck such as a particularly heroic deed on the battlefield, or the saving of the life of one of the nobility.

As a matter of fact, the aristocrats lived in a world so removed from that of the peasants that they did not even realize that they were separated.

The proprietary classes did not understand why a peasant should steal in a famine year. Some of them did not even realize that the peasant had feelings, that he really fell in love, or had sympathies, and an appreciation for art and beauty. How absolute was this line of demarcation is shown by the fact that Prince Kropotkin told me of a landlord's wife who was astounded to see a peasant girl break into tears on hearing that a certain soldier had been killed at the front. She could not believe it possible for the peasant classes to be really in love. Another noble saw nothing wrong with the fact that wounded soldiers had been left for hours by the railroad track, uncared for, although there had been room in the hospital car with the officers. It shocked him to think of soldiers riding in the same car with officers.

Circumstantial and Social Pressure.—We have now reviewed the facts which made for unlikeness in Russia. The 93 per cent were radically unlike the 7 per cent. Let us next consider the circumstantial pressure or its product, the social pressure, which, as we have indicated, is a second factor in every social change. This acts in two ways, as a binder and as a stimulus. Unlike groups as characteristically as unlike individual organisms react in unlike ways, and if in close contact tend to have conflict. Consequently the dominant group erects a binder of coercive pressure about the other. This frequently curbs instinctive desires and reactions and so itself acts as a stimulus to revolt. Such was the case in Russia.

In 1905 the world had the greatest warning of impending disaster that has occurred in recent history. Suddenly an entire nation of workers and peasants struck. Armed risings of peasants broke out spasmodically all over Russia. Not understanding the handwriting on the wall, the upper classes became alarmed and persuaded the Tsar to grant certain reforms. It was soon apparent, however, that neither he nor the nobility had the faintest conception of the longings of the masses, for at the first opportunity he violated his most sacred pledges to the people, suppressed newsapers, arrested hundreds and disbanded the legislative assembly.

For years Russia had had a slowly falling barometer of nihilist and anarchistic assassinations and plots. The nobility were too far removed from the common people to understand what was wrong. As in a chemical mixture capable of causing high explosion, the elements within the Russian empire had long been in the proper proportions to cause the most serious castastrophe in Russian history. In spite of this, the explosion was delayed for a time by the strong governmental pressure of a highly bureaucratic and centralized system backed by the ruthless use of force. The racial and religious divergencies among the masses, which we have indicated, acted as one deterrent. Peasants from one district were always used to quell disorder in another where the customs and habits of the people and perhaps even the language or dialect were quite different. At every point the peasants were hemmed in by government officials who restricted their every movement. The *Ispravnik,* or police commissioner, had general supervision over each district. His will was law. He could fine or imprison any one he chose. Under him was the *Uriadnik,* or constable, also having absolute power but subject to the disapproval of the *Ispravnik.* He could enter any house at any time of day or night to make inspection without a warrant. Besides these officials there was the *Zemsky Nachalnik* who had administration over all the rural institutions and was higher than the *Uriadnik.* He could depose the elected officials of the peasant commune or Mir and order any peasant flogged. He belonged to the nobility and naturally would not betray their interests. The only way to placate an angry official was through bribery. Taxes were extremely heavy, in some cases more than the total income from the land. Yet since the village commune was responsible collectively for the payment of the tax, and the peasant could not by law leave his village without its consent, he was hopelessly under bondage. The least delinquency might result in imprisonment and a heavy flogging. An elaborate system of espionage was used to make still more difficult any resistance on the part of the peasant. Yet the very pressure of this coercive force acted as a stimulus to revolt. By its action it generated the friction which would make for its own negation.

The Revolutionists.—When two unlike groups react against each other, it may happen that a third group is produced. In Russia some from among the educated classes had at least partially broken through the wall which separated them from the peasants. They were the ones who had the sympathy and imagination to see the differences between the upper classes and the masses and to realize that some change must come. But they were prophets without honor. As soon as the group voiced their feelings the Tsar's machine took action. They were either silenced, exiled or jailed. This experience intensified the unlikeness between them and the ruling class. At the same time, workers who had attempted to protest against the condition were also arrested by the hundred. In the Tsar's jails and in exile these two groups shared a like experience and became more or less likeminded. How partial this was, at best, can be seen from the experience of Dostievsky, the writer. He was born into a family belonging to the lowest ranks of the nobility, to the social group which furnished the minor public servants. He was arrested and exiled to Siberia for a remark made at a literary club about the necessity of liberating the serfs. In the Siberian prisons he was in constant association with peasants, yet he could not break down the obstacles which centuries had erected between the classes. He once tried to join a hunger strike of the prisoners, a protest against their inadequate diet, but the others were suspicious. They said, "Why should you join in the strike? You buy your own food." Dostievsky says it was one of the saddest experiences of his whole prison life. He realized that if he should remain in the prison for a century he would never bridge the gulf of class. Neverthless, a small but energetic protocracy of revolutionists was being created. There were thus three groups in Russia, the large peasant masses, a small militant revolutionary group, and the 7 per cent aristocracy. Of the three, the peasants and the revolutionary group were the nearest alike, but to some extent the moderate revolutionists did understand the aristocracy and shared their views. In so far as this was true, they acted as a mediating group between the other two.

Adopting Marxian Theory.—The more bitterly the revolutionists were persecuted, the more firmly convinced they became that there was nothing to be hoped for from the Tsar's government. It was natural that they should look about for better theories of government. Now Germany and France were alive with the Marxian dogmas and it was only to be expected that the overwhelming majority of the revolutionists should adopt such theories wholesale, for their humanitarian ideas and reactions had been suppressed by persecution. Many of them had fled abroad after years of suffering under the Tsar's system and, pursued by the Tsar's spies, naturally sought the "aid and comfort" of the radicals of other lands. This created common bonds of likeness between them and a common philosophy of life and government. Moreover the extreme bitterness of the struggle in Russia and the contrasts in wealth and poverty helped to create a desire to have all the control, even of factories and property, in the hands of the 93 per cent. One has only to read such biographies as *The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution,* or a revolutionary history such as *The Birth of the Russian Democracy* to see the influence of the Tsar's machine on the revolutionists. His very binder of jails, repression and exile, which was intended to suppress unlike reactions to the government and the régime of privilege, itself served as a stimulus and warped the minds of the revolters still further from the average or norm of their class. We can realize this very clearly if we take the lives of two prominent Bolsheviks. Lenin was born in the city of Simbirsk fifty years ago, where his father was director of the high school. When he was seventeen, his elder brother was hanged by the Tsar for taking part in a student revolutionary movement. When Lenin entered the university he was promptly excluded. Nevertheless, after four years of private study he did succeed in passing the examination for the bar, but was arrested in Petrograd soon afterwards for organizing a group of workers. After a long period in jail, he was exiled to Siberia in the latter nineties, where he wrote two books, *The Aim of the Social Democratic Party* and *The Growth of Capitalism in Russia.* As a result of their publication, Russia became too hot for him, and he fled abroad, joining the revolutionary group of Russians in Switzerland. It is obvious that such an experience, beginning with the death of his brother on the gallows, and ending with imprisonment and exile, would warp the mind and outlook of anyone. In 1903 at a conference of the Social Democratic Party, Lenin led a faction which pledged itself to "pure revolutionary action" without any compromise with the bourgeois parties. His faction secured the majority of the delegates and ever since has been nicknamed the majority, or *Bolshevik*.

Another of the prominent Bolshevik leaders, Leonid B. Krassin, Commissioner of Trade, was a native of Siberia. He entered the Petrograd Technological Institute, and was expelled three years later for participating in a student mutiny. In 1892 he was serving in the army but was arrested in connection with the case of a Social Democrat distributing propaganda among railway workers. Exile to Siberia was the penalty; there he gained considerable reputation by constructing a railroad. For this achievement he was permitted to return to the technical institute but was again expelled in 1898. He next supervised the construction of a central electric station at Baku, at the same time helping to establish printing presses for propaganda purposes. In 1901 he was a member of the central committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and was arrested in consequence, in 1905. He managed to escape to Switzerland and after some negotiation his friends secured permission for him to return to Petrograd to run the cable system. Once more his revolutionary activity became known and he was forced abroad. This time he went to Germany and secured appointment as a representative of a German firm which had high influence in the Tsar's court. His recognized ability was such that at the outbreak of the war the Russia government placed him in charge of certain of the German manufacturing plants. He retained this position until he joined the Bolshevik government.

In both these cases we have men who have had long records of exile and imprisonment. Had they been born in America with their initiative and ability, they might have held posts of honor in the commonwealth. Born in Russia and subject to the Tsar's coercive pressure, they adopted Marxian views and became revolutionary leaders. Their experience in the jails and in exile profoundly affected their theories. We have now and then seen something of the same sort happen in the United States. There are those who would say that it has been exemplified in Eugene Debs, long a Democratic party supporter, who was jailed for refusing to obey an injunction, and thereafter became the Socialist party's candidate for the presidency.

The Revolution.—In spite of the unlikeness of the masses and the activity of the revolutionists, the Tsar's binder of circumstantial pressure was too strong to permit an overthrow of the existing order. But in case of war the peasants could be conscripted and plunged into the maelstrom to become cannon fodder over issues about which they knew little and cared less. It was thus in the World War that Russia mobilized sixteen million men; they were snatched from their homes, perhaps not to return on furlough during three long years of war. Their wage was the mere pittance of twenty-five cents a month. They ate out of a common dishpan, seven soldiers dipping their wooden spoons into the same bowl for their noonday meal. There was little or no welfare work done for them; they died like flies. These great masses of soldiers were alike, but it took nearly three years of association together at the front and in the garrison cities for them to realize their power. The intimate association and contact of life in the trenches had created a conscious solidarity which had never before been felt. The Tsar himself had wrecked his own powerful binder of circumstantial pressure, which before had prevented the revolution, by placing in the hands of millions of likeminded soldiers machine guns and rifles. It needed only a few sparks from a hungry mob in Petrograd to set off the greatest explosion of the Twentieth Century. The Tsar was swept aside, a Temporary Government was appointed, and behind the scenes were ruling Councils of Soldiers, Workers and Peasant's Deputies.

The Temporary Government.—At once the upper classes began to understand something of the gulf that separated them from the masses. Said a general in Turkestan: "Before, I could shoot a man if he did not follow my order; today I must reason with him. I feel like a man who has been eating Russian food all his life and is suddenly forced to eat Chinese food with chop sticks. My stomach won't stand it." One Russian officer, realizing at last that he did not understand the people, said, "All my life I have had a little fence around my brain shutting me off from the common people." Even after the revolution it was impossible to break down these mental barriers, as is evidenced by the following typical illustration. Soon after the revolution an order was issued stating that hereafter officers need not be addressed as "Your highborn excellency." One colonel on being informed of this change by his adjutant exclaimed in great rage, "Do you mean to tell me that some insignificant dirt of a soldier will call me simply Mr. Colonel?" On being assured that it was the latest order, the colonel jumped up, smashed his chair into splinters on the floor and left the regiment never to return.

After the revolution the Temporary Government, made up of various coalition parties, was supposed to be in full control. In reality the soviets of soldiers, workers and peasants were the real power. Whereas the soviets were composed of the representatives of the masses and therefore like them, the Temporary Government included such of the intellectuals as Miliukov and Gutchkov. How far unlike the common people they were is now apparent to everyone. The Foreign Minister, Miliukov, stated to the world that the Russian people wanted to fight until they could add Constantinople to their empire. In reality the common peole did not care about fighting for one foot of foreign soil, and were even willing to sacrifice some that they had. So unpopular was his declaration that Miliukov was compelled to resign at once. The stern logic of events has forced many of the intellectuals to realize how widely separated they really were, and the Temporary Government was, from the common people. Baron

Rosen, for example, is to-day willing to admit: "There is an almost impassable gulf of mutual non-comprehension which divides the masses and the classes in Russia. The desire to fight and the yearning of the people for Constantinople are creations of the brain of an infinitesimally small—compared with the bulk of the nation—circle of intellectuals, who, by the control of the press and their influence on the government, are enabled to create the illusion of 'public opinion.'" Kerensky and those in the government still continued to talk war and complete agreement with Allied aims.

On the other hand, the Bolsheviks, who for the moment were far more like the common people in their thinking, readily won converts by the thousand with their popular slogan, "Peace, Land and Bread." The circumstantial pressure had been removed. Behind the scenes in every city and town in Russia ruled the councils of soldiers, workers and peasants. Whatever this group really wanted they got. To cite but one instance, in Turkestan the military governor, General Kuropatkin, a former Commander-in-Chief of all the Russian armies, was arrested and sent to Petrograd.

The Bolshevik Government.—In view of all this, it was only natural that the small and active protocracy of Bolsheviks, who did to some extent understand the thoughts and desires of the people, should seize control. As Sir George Buchanan, the English Ambassador, said, "They had won over the majority of the soldiers, the workingmen and the peasants," and were firmly in the saddle. That they had the masses behind them is now admitted by Kerensky when he says, "The Bolsheviks gained a majority in the Petrograd Soviet on the 7th of September. The same happened everywhere with lightning rapidity."

But while the Bolsheviks were far nearer the real desires of the masses in the slogan "Peace, Land and Bread," they were not nearer to them in theory. Their theory was a derivative from the Marxian and totally foreign to the masses, a fact of which the Bolsheviks were well aware. Says Lenin in a pamphlet for party members only, "The advance guard of the Proletariat of the Communistic Party manipulates the non-party mass of the workers, educates them, prepares them, train them in the school of Communism (first the workers, then the peasants) in order that they may some time take over into their own hands the conduct of all their affairs."

Lenin did not believe in waiting until the peasants and workers had become familiar with his ideas; he started immediately to apply the theories he had been preaching all his life. The banks were seized and nationalized. The factories were turned over to the workers, and the peasants were urged to expropriate the land. Lenin took immediate steps to stop the war, which was unpopular. It is only fair to say, however, that when Germany insisted on an outrageous and shameful peace treaty, he considered renewing the fight. Indeed, he made a definite offer to Raymond Robins to oppose ratification of the treaty, provided England and America would pledge Russia their support. No answer was ever received from the Allied governments to this offer and the peace was consummated. All power had been given to the soviets as soon as the Bolsheviks had taken the power. These councils were based on a combination of geographical representation in the villages and an industrial representation in the cities and towns. They were largely controlled by Communists. It was inevitable that they should themselves gradually apply the same methods that the Tsar had used in his machine of governmental pressure. Thus the Bolsheviks adopted censorship of the press and built up a very effective secret service organization along the lines of the Tsar's spy system. It was called the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Fighting Counter-Revolution, Speculation and Sabotage. In the course of two years' work, according to its own record, it suppressed three hundred and forty-four revolts and shot over eight thousand people.

The measures which the Bolsheviks enacted broke down the iron-clad compartments which had separated the ruling classes from the masses. In the first place, each racial group in the population was given the right to form a separate state. All of these were then federated into the Soviet Republic. The propertied classes were for a time disfranchisd and made propertyless, and the result was that they soon found themselves working side by side with peasants and workers. It was only a matter of months before the majority began to have a dim understanding of the feelings of the peasant classes. To-day scores of them testify that they never understood what it was to be a peasant and go hungry until they themselves had felt the pangs of hunger. Although the Bolshevik polices definitely antagonized a large number of the seven per cent and forced them into open counter-revolution or onto foreign soil, it did make many of the intellectuals mingle with the peasants and so grow more likeminded to them. This in itself acted as a strong force toward breaking down the barriers that had formerly existed between the two classes.

In those things which did not depend on the Marxian theory, such as education and child welfare, the Bolsheviks were able to act. According to the May, 1921, report of the Russian Unions, they alone had established over ten thousand new schools in Russia. This is in addition to the number started for the rest of the population by the Department of Education. Hundreds of children's homes have also been initiated. When it came to the matter of text books, pencils, ink and equipment generally, these depended somewhat on Bolshevik theories and here it is that we find scarcity and need.

As has always happened in any government in which socialists have attempted to apply their theories quickly and in large doses, production falls off and mere existence becomes most difficult for the common people.

In Russia, which had been bled white by a four year's war, conditions went from bad to worse as civil war and intervention continued. The peasants were tired of war and revolution. They cared not who was in power, provided they could have their land, till the soil, and secure the goods they needed in exchange for their crops. By a combination of causes, the civil war, intervention, the blockade, and false economic theories, food was made more and more scarce until the Bolsheviks could not furnish a sufficient amount for their own departments. The supply of clothes, medicines, soap, agricultural implements and railroad equipment dwindled. Lenin's mind, warped by the experience of a Tsar's environment, was going through a trial-and-error process in which he was learning, as were all his followers. It is the same story, true the world over. Let any socialist who has been fighting in opposition all his life suddenly be given power. If he holds his position long enough, he will be acting quite differently from his course at the start. There have been many instances of this in the United States, when a man such as Lunn has been elected to office on the Socialist platform and has ended by becoming a party Democrat.

Ever since the Bolsheviks took control, step by step they have been abandoning their earliest positions. First, Lenin advocated a uniform wage rate for all. Today he is paying the workers according to an output test. He began by urging the confiscation of all factories and their management by the workers. Today they are being run under the direction of experts appointed by a Supreme Council of National Economy, and Lenin is bargaining with the capitalists of Europe to come in and run his industries.

Lenin entered upon his power by nationalizing the land and compelling the peasants to yield all their products to the state. This was unpopular. Today there is practically private ownership in land, subject to redivision by the villages, and the peasants can sell their products after they have paid a tax to the government. Lenin has definitely used the incentive of private property to induce increased production. A cooperative brotherhood of individuals working without the spirit of monetary gain for the benefit of all, still remains a dream in Russia. In nearly all cases where the Communist management has been tried on large farms it has proved a failure.[3]

At the beginning, Lenin talked of doing away with money entirely and substituting work checks which would be good only to those who had actually done work, and which would be void after a certain period. Today he is introducing a silver-secured currency.

In the winter of 1922 almost everything in Russia was free to the people. Privileges were given merely on an order written by the proper authority. Street cars, electric light, train travel, bread and food of every description, all were given out by the government. To-day the system has broken down. The Bolsheviks are now charging 300 roubles per kilometer on the railroad and all those who are not state employees must feed themselves.

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[3] By 1930 some of these farms have proved successful.

Lenin began by confiscating bank accounts above a very meagre amount, and all valuables in safety deposit vaults. Today unlimited deposits are again permissible.

In all these respects we have logical reactions from the stimuli of an autocratic Tsar's régime. Once the authority of the circumstantial pressure of the Tsar's despotic system had broken down, it was almost inevitable that the extreme elements within the revolutionary party should secure control. The extent to which it is true that those in power have been the ones who were warped by a harsh experience under the Tsar can be seen by the Bolsheviks' own statements. There are only two of the eighteen People's Commissioners who have not served a jail sentence under the Tsar's régime for a political offense, and several of them have been sentenced as many as seven times. In the Moscow Soviet, which wields more influence than any other in Russia, in February, 1920, out of 1532 representatives, 23.9 per cent had been tried for political activity, 87 as many as three times each; 19.2 per cent had been imprisoned; 7 per cent had been deported; and 1 per cent had been sent with the criminal work crews to Siberia. These men were the products of Tsaristic aggression, and as they came to put their theories to the test, soon saw the need for modification. It was apparent that they could not long remain in power unless they could secure sufficient production to meet the needs of the people. Just as all human effort has been guided by trial and error, so the Bolsheviks were bound to try out their theories, then, learning by the results of the reaction, to change their methods.

Relations with the Allies.—Ever since the Allies awoke to find the dreaded products of the Tsar's régime, Lenin and Trotsky, in power, they have been trying to explain the phenomenon. Not understanding all the social forces that had produced this coup on the part of the Bolsheviks, Allied representatives attempted to account for it by the "German Agent" theory. As was to be expected of two groups so totally dissimilar to each other as Russia and the rest of Europe, war and blockade followed. What was this but a consequence of unlike groups reacting toward each other? This is clearly seen in the attitude of the Bolsheviks in their press, toward the so-called capitalistic countries, and in the attitude of our press toward the Bolshevik system. Each not only points out every discernible weakness but violently denounces the other in terms which are far more derogatory than accurate. Granted that the Bolshevik theories are impracticable, the statements of our press have been confused, misleading and often false. From November, 1917, on, the press of the world has been flooded with a mass of conflicting stories of fact and fiction about the theories held by the Bolsheviks and the conditions created by them. Society always centers its attention on the spectacular phenomena which every one recognizes as unusual, instead of attempting to understand what produced them. The Bolsheviks have been treated to a mass of denunciation and hatred, giving them more free advertising in a shorter time than has been enjoyed by any other group seizing power of which we have record. In reality the Bolsheviks are as much the victims of their social environment and the social factors at work in the Tsar's Empire as is a chemical compound the result of the elements of which it is composed. The fact that we have been shocked by some of the real or alleged crimes attributed to the Bolsheviks, does not change the underlying sociological causes which produced them. What scientist would dare assert that had he been one of a group whose liberties and initiative were impinged on, curbed and suppressed by the social heritage of a Tsar's tyranny, he himself might not now be in the Bolshevik ranks? Instead of centering our attention and denunciations on the Bolsheviks themselves, we should rather have tried to understand what produced them.

One sociological lesson which the Bolshevik revolution teaches is that wherever ninety or more per cent of the people are separated from the governing and ruling classes by walls of social custom, training, economic privilege and life experience, there is a probability of social explosion. In the United States we already see the faint beginnings of such a situation. In our great business processes, the iron and steel industry, for example, we have over one hundred thousand workers, cut off from their masters, the steel magnates. Such a keen student of labor as Whiting Williams, after first-hand study, concludes that the ignorance of both the worker and the employer about each other is astounding. "To each the other stands as the X in the equation of the factory organization." Fortunately there are those in America who have already sensed the danger. Another lesson for us in our relationship with Russia should be not less apparent. If we isolate her, blockade her and refuse to have anything to do with her people, there will be mutual and growing misunderstanding. On the other hand, if we encourage the exchange of goods, send in our technical experts, provide food relief and educational help, we shall break down suspicion and misinformation and help to make the American and Russian people more tolerant of each other and consequently a little more likeminded.

The Future.—It is impossible to predict the future course of the Russian Revolution because it rests on a number of variables. How far the Bolsheviks will progress will depend to some extent on how actively they push education, insure justice, and permit the play of individual initiative. Will they, for instance, allow the wills of individuals and minorities who differ from them to function constructively? Their attitude in a period of civil war and foreign intervention is hardly a fair test. America's own experience with free speech during the war was not in accord with our democratic tradition.

Certain definite things about the Russian revolution, however, are predictable. In the first place, the Bolsheviks cannot permanently remain in power if they build up a wall between themselves and the mass of the people. To some extent they have done this already. If the Communist Party becomes in its turn separated from the peasants and unresponsive to them, it can only remain in power by means of an adequate machine of governmental pressure. If, however, the Bolsheviks are willing to change their theories to meet the demands of the population and the needs of the situation, they may retain the government for a period of years. The bulk of the population has so long been forced to submit to the strong pressure of a Tsar's autocracy that they are far more docile than almost any other race in Europe. The stability and power of their government have already demonstrated that the Bolsheviks can easily build up and maintain a strong circumstantial pressure against revolution. If, in addition, the Bolsheviks can keep open the lines of intercommunication, interstimulation and response between the Communist Party and the masses of the people, regardless of whether they rule in a more or less autocratic and dictatorial fashion, they may have a chance to remain in power, for in that case the majority of the people would not be so far removed but that each could mutually understand the other. There will be a certain amount of likemindedness existing between the rulers and the ruled. If this be true, it may be that the future in Russia for a long time to come will be one of slow evolution rather than dangerous and damaging revolution.

3. HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY [4]

Before considering the structure of the party, it is essential to understand the main events in the party history. Socialistic ideas coming from foreign countries to Russia in the sixties first began to spread among the students. Since at that time there were few factories, the early Russian socialists who were called "Narodniki" or Populists, practically neglected the laboring men and thought they could usher in Socialism through the peasants. They soon discovered the abysmal ignorance of the peasants, who cared nothing for socialism and were interested solely in securing new land. Communism may be said to have been born in the scattered organizations which began to spring up among the working class in the early seventies.

In Odessa toward the end of 1872 a small group of fifteen metal workers formed what was probably the first crude beginnings of a soviet of workers. They began by merely reading aloud at their meetings from some socialistic book, but soon organized revolutionary libraries to help

[4] Reprinted from a chapter by Jerome Davis in *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade.*

spread ideas among a wider circle. In 1874 they had started a mutual aid fund and had ten separate circles. In 1875 they joined together in one organization under the name of the Southern-Russian Society of Workers. Of the nearly two hundred members only two were intellectuals. In December of the same year the society was broken up by the Tsar's police. The chairman was sentenced to ten years of hard labor while the others received shorter terms.

Soon after this, a North Russian Society was formed in St. Petersburg, but it and its leaders met the same fate.

In 1879 the intellectuals comprising the Party of the People decided to assassinate Alexander II and in 1881 succeeded in their purpose.

In the nineties the Social Democrats organized a "Society for Freeing the Working Class" in St. Petersburg. In 1895 Lenin wrote his pamphlet "What is it to be a friend of the People?" stating that the workers themselves must overthrow Tsarism through a Communistic revolution. He opposed the legal Marxists who declared that such a revolution could be achieved by legal means, declaring that it could only come through revolution. In 1895 Lenin was at the head of one of the regional committees of the St. Petersburg society. By 1893 there were substantial organizations in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, and Ekaterinoslav, besides a large Jewish society named Bunt." All of these came together in that year in their first conference to form the Russsian Social-Democratic Workers' Party. It can thus be seen that the short space of fifty years has seen the entire birth and development of the organization which now controls one-sixth of the earth's surface, and that the active work of the party has not lasted more than twenty-five years. The first number of the party paper, *The Spark,* was not issued until the end of 1900. The famous second conference of the party, which met first in Brussels in 1903 and then in London, resulted in the adoption of a resolution prepared by Lenin calling for uncomprising class warfare against the bourgeoisie and a union of the workers with the peasants. Since there had been a very serious debate over the entire matter, the winning faction of Lenin was nicknamed "majority" or "Bolshevik," a term which has remained ever since. Those who opposed these resolutions were nicknamed "Menshevik" or "minority," and at the third party conference, in 1905, they broke completely with the rest forming the so-called Menshevik Party.

By the time of the 1905 Revolution, the party was so strong that it had branches in most of the larger cities. Soviets or councils of workers were formed in over thirty of them. In St. Petersburg, the Soviet had 562 delegates from 281 factories and 16 trade unions. Trotsky was at this time vice-chairman of the Soviet and on the arrest of the chairman he was elected to fill the vacancy. In December the Tsar began his repressive measures and the party was forced into underground activity until the Revolution of 1917.

During the World War Lenin kept reiterating that this was an imperialistic conflict and as early as 1916 published a book entitled "Imperialism as the latest stage of Capitalism." He believed it was impossible for capitalism to function without wars and that each conflict gave an opportunity for a civil war and revolution.

The Bolshevik Party adopted an absolute declaration against the world conflict, considering it simply an economic struggle between capitalistic nations. As soon as possible after the revolution in Russia, Lenin returned from abroad, and early in the fall of 1917 the Bolsheviks had a majority in the Soviets of Petrograd and Moscow. The party seized power on the 7th of November 1917, the day before the convention of the second conference of the soviets. From this time on, the history of the party is well known. It has had several epoch making struggles, first with Germany in 1918, and then with the Allied nations. Following the collapse of foreign military intervention, there followed a blockade and sanitary cordon. This, in its turn, culminated in the famine of 1921-22.

Since then the Bolsheviks have been trying to rebuild the shattered industrial life of the country. In spite of these colossal difficulties it is apparent that the party has had a steady growth and now embraces a larger membership than ever before in its history. It must not be forgotten that at the present time there are in addition to regular party members almost three million others belonging to the *Komsomol,* or Communist Union of Youth.

II. LEADERSHIP

A study of one hundred and sixty-three outstanding Communist leaders made from the autobiographical sketches in the three volumes of the Russian Encyclopedia Granat leads to the following summary.[5]

The overwhelming bulk of these leaders were Russian of the male sex born for the most part in cities of over ten thousand or at least having access to educational facilities of high school rank or over. Sixty per cent were born of fathers who did not belong either to the workers or peasant classes. Over three-fourths of them began radical action by the time they were twenty-one. Over sixty per cent had taken work in the university and only twenty-two per cent had not finished high school or its equivalent. Apparently education is just as valuable for revolutionary leadership as for any other. On an average they were arrested 3.3 times each. No sooner were they freed from one prison sentence than they resumed revolutionary activity. Prisons acted as receptacles for confinement but stimulated radical rather than conservative attitudes. In the recorded

[5] See paper by Jerome Davis, "A Study of One Hundred and Sixty-three Outstanding Communist Leaders" in The Publication of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (May, 1930), pp. 42-55.

stimuli which were responsible for making them revolutionists, the influence of teachers, fellow students and workers were most important, with books and periodicals ranking second and the influence of the family third. It is the hypothesis of the writer as a result of reading all these biographies that one factor in this leadership was that nearly all acted on their revolutionary ideation at an early age. This action to the extent that it seemed successful to the individual involved itself created a drive for further action in the same direction.

In this volume due to limitation of space we can give but two biographical sketches of Russian leaders and they have been selected by the march of events.

It is impossible to leave out the master of the Russian Revolution, Lenin, or the present dictator, Stalin. It is interesting to speculate what their lives would have been like had they been born in America.

I. LENIN

Vladimir Ilich Ulianoff was born on the 23rd of April, 1871, in the city of Simbirsk. "Lenin" was the revolutionary pseudonym which he later took to avoid apprehension by the Tsar's police. His father, who came of peasant stock, was director of the Peoples' School. Lenin had two brothers, Alexander and Dimitri, and three sisters, Anne, Mary, and Olga. The father was a very devoted servant of the people and established in the neighborhood of 400 schools with twenty thousand pupils. When Lenin was seventeen years of age his brother was hanged for participation in a plot against the Czar, Alexander III. This made a profound impression on Lenin. Indications are that the family was not entirely satisfied with conditions under the Czar's régime. The mother was interested in young Vladimir. She tried to help Lenin in his studies and opposed his smoking for health reasons. Lenin was not much influenced by the health argument, but abandoned the practice on the argument that he could not afford to waste the money while so many others needed funds for education.

On the completion of the high school course Lenin was first in every subject including religion and was awarded the gold medal. Kerensky's father who was head of the high school said at the time of his graduation: "Ulianoff (Lenin) was the most talented. He was always earnest and accurate; in all his classes he was first, and at the end of his high school (gymnasium) course he was awarded the gold medal as the most broadminded, able, and most likely to succeed. Neither inside or outside the high school was there a single reported case where Ulianoff either in word or deed did anything to impair the high opinion of him held by his instructors."

When he was seventeen he entered the University. He was promptly excluded when he took part in a student organization. He applied a year later for permission to reënter but this was denied. The family asked if he could go abroad to study, but this also was denied. Thereupon Lenin studied law by himself and successfully passed the bar examination in 1892. In 1893 he went to St. Petersburg where with other Marxists he organized a workers' circle. These circles met with great success but the suspicions of the police were finally aroused. In 1895 the circles joined in "The Union for the Struggle for the Emancipation of Labor." The society distributed a great number of leaflets of which Lenin was the author of the greatest number. The police searched the society's rooms and arrested the leaders, among whom was Lenin. While in jail Lenin commenced the pamphlet on "The Growth of Capitalism in Russia." In 1897 he was sent to Siberia where he finished this work. He was freed from exile in 1900, but because of the activity of the police was forced to live abroad. He there began to edit a newspaper "The Spark," which was shipped illegally into Russia.

Within the editorial staff of the "The Spark" there was disagreement following the second congress of the party in 1903. At this time Lenin stood uncompromisingly against any union with Liberals. He believed that in trying to seize the power the party should be free from entanglements which might cause it to be less outspoken. Lenin's faction secured a majority in this congress and was therefore nicknamed "Bolshevik" or majority, while the minority was called Menshevik. On the editorial board of the Spark, however, the Mensheviks were in a majority and Lenin was excluded. He thereupon started a Bolshevik paper "Forward" in 1904, in which he continued the fight with the Mensheviks on the question of their relationship with the Liberals and over the agricultural question. Lenin believed there should be an appeal made to the peasants in Russia, and that they should be allowed to seize the land without compensation. At the third congress of the party Lenin discussed the question of armed uprising and of a temporary revolutionary government. In 1905, he returned to St. Petersburg where he worked with the soviet of workers deputies. He was finally forced to work from Finland, and at the time of the reaction he left the country. During this period he had worked out a theory for the eventual seizure of power in the next revolutionary crisis. He advocated that the Communists should first win the support of the peasantry and thus sweep away all vestiges of Tsarism and landlordism. After this had been accomplished it would be possible to turn to the semi-proletariat for support and overthrow the bourgeoisie even among the peasantry and thus establish Communism.

He lived for a time in Switzerland, and afterwards in Paris where he edited newspapers, "The Proletariat" and "Social Democracy." During this period he also finished his book on "Materialism and Imperialism." In 1912, he worked from Galicia and directed the faction of the party in the Duma, and also assisted in the publication of the legal Bolshevik paper "Truth."

At the beginning of the World War Lenin was arrested in Galicia but managed to secure his release to go to Switzerland. There he carried on an active campaign against the war, maintaining that it was an imperialistic conflict. He took part in the Zimmerwald conference in Switzerland in 1915, standing at the head of the Left group there. As soon as the revolution in Russia began Lenin returned through Germany. He reached Petrograd on the 16th of April, 1917. He was everywhere at the workers party conferences speaking strongly in favor of immediate and active steps for peace, confiscation of factories, and confiscation of the land by the peasants. He also soon urged a dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a council of worker and peasant deputies. In this he met bitter opposition on the part of the Social Revolutionaries. Little by little Lenin succeeded in winning the working masses to his side. After the July demonstration in Petrograd, the arrest of Lenin was ordered, and he was forced to hide in disguise in Finland, from which point he directed the campaign of the Bolsheviks. Lenin immediately began to draw up very careful plans for an armed uprising. There was a good deal of opposition even in his own party, Zinoviev and Kameneff counciling delay. Nevertheless, Lenin was able to win the majority of the Central Committee. On the Seventh of November he seized the power. The All Russian Congress of Soviets was called on the same day, and on a proposal from Lenin accepted the decree of peace, and the immediate transfer of the land to the working masses without compensation. Lenin was immediately chosen Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the first Revolutionary Government of the Workers and Peasants. The plans for a constitutional assembly were carried through, but when the majority of those elected opposed the Bolshevik party it was disbanded. Lenin found it more useful to stand on the platform of "All Power to the Soviets." For a time the communists tried the experiment, against Lenin's judgment of refusing to continue the war and at the same time refusing to sign a peace with Germany, but crushing defeat convinced all that Lenin was right and resulted in the Brest-Litovsk treaty, which Lenin called "A breathing spell." During this peace, plans were rushed through for the formation af a Red Army. On the 30th of August 1918, one of the Social Revolutionists, Kaplan, shot Lenin in Moscow. Lenin made a winning fight against death, although his life hung in the balance for days.

Under Lenin's direction Trotsky with the aid of other Communist chiefs organized the red armies which were to defeat the White Guards aided by Allied troops. On the 1st of March, 1919, Lenin called on the representatives of the various communists parties of the different countries to organize an international association of Communists, The Communist International.

After defeating the White armies of counter-revolution Lenin was the first to see the necessity of retreating on the economic front. At the tenth conference he proposed the New Economic Policy, urging that this was particularly necessary in order that there might be a union between the working classes and the peasants. He laid stress on the necessity for the electrification of Russia, the building up of coöperatives, and the improving of the state appartus.

The terrific strain which Lenin had undergone in these years took effect in 1922 with a paralysis of the organs of speech and half his body. He was able to recover from this stroke, however, and did not die until the 21st of January, 1924.

Following his death he was almost worshiped as the god of the Russian Revolution. His body was transferred to a special mausoleum in Moscow and is daily shown to thousands of tourists from all over Russia. The works of Lenin are regarded in somewhat the same light by devout Communists as the Bible among Christians, though this does not prevent all sides from trying to claim that Lenin was really endorsing their position.

2. YOSIF VISSARIONOVICH STALIN (DZHUGASHVILI)

There is perhaps no world figure so little known in the United States as Stalin, the present ruler of Russia. To-day he is the most powerful personality in Communism. His life story rivals the most dangerous and fascinating detective romance. Born in 1879, he has crowded into his life more fighting action than any other serving ruler in the world. As a political revolutionist under the Tsar's régime he was arrested six times, escaped five, and spent seven years in jail or exile. Few newspaper correspondents have ever seen him. The writer was privileged to interview him twice—in 1926 for over two hours, and in 1927, with an American Labor Delegation, for four hours—and has also delved at first hand into his past history, talking with his mother and with old revolutionary comrades who knew and worked with him for years. His mother is a woman of unusual power. She said that her husband had been a Georgian of peasant origin who worked in a shoe factory. The family name was Dzhugashvili. They had four children, but three died in infancy. Stalin, who was the youngest, was therefore in effect an only child. He was not physically strong. The family was not prosperous, the food was poor, and he was often sick. At seven he had small-pox, which left his face pitted. In spite of all this he was first in his studies, and his mother proudly declared that he was ahead of all the boys in everything. His mother was a devout Christian and had literally prayed her son into theological seminary, hoping he would serve her country as a priest.

Nothing interested the youth quite so much as ideas and reading. His father did not care for politics, but even as a youngster the son managed to join a secret political circle. When he was ten his father died. The family was left pennilness, but the mother, often sitting up until two or three at night, sewing, earned the necessary livelihood, and set aside every penny that could be saved for the religious education of the boy.

After finishing the local religious high school at fourteen, Stalin was sent to the theological seminary at the capital in Tiflis. At that time the institution was a hotbed of revolutionary doctrine, both nationalist and Marxist, and Stalin soon became the leader of the Marxist circle. In touch with the illegal Social Democratic organizations of the city, he distributed revolutionary literature and attended secret meetings of the railroad workers. In 1898 the authorities searched his room, found a copy of Marx, and promptly expelled him. It was a great blow to his mother, although she had feared it; for, although Stalin never talked politics at home, she had seen him hiding illegal journals. Still she did not dream that he was really against the Czar, and it was not until his arrest in Baku that comrades explained all to her. Finally, in 1905, after her son had repeatedly been arrested and her prayers had remained unanswered, she lost her faith in God, dimly realizing then that the priests were supporting the Czar and betraying the people.

Stalin told me that as a result of his expulsion from the seminary as a boy of nineteen he had firmly resolved to devote the rest of his life to the overthrow of the Czar's régime, and after examining all the different political parties had decided to join the Social Democrats.

The older revolutionists in Tiflis had been content with secret propaganda. Now came Stalin to champion the young, restless radicals who wanted to plunge into mass demonstrations and parades, as well as to distribute to the masses illegal leaflets on popular contemporary issues; and Stalin won over the majority. In 1900-1902 he engineered mass strikes in Tiflis, and on the first of May a great political demonstration. Immediately the party headquarters and his own apartment were raided. Stalin began to live under assumed names and to move every few days. He successively became known as David, Koba, Nisheradze, Cheshekoff, Ivanovitch; but the name which finally stuck was Stalin, or "Steel," not inappropriate in view of his present position.

Stalin next became a professional paid agitator for the party, and was transferred to Baku. He organized successful strikes in two of the oil plants, and a grand political demonstration in February, 1902. In March he was arrested and imprisoned until the end of the next year, when he was exiled to Eastern Siberia. Within a month he had escaped and returned to Tiflis.

While in jail in Baku, Stalin had learned of the fight between Lenin, representing the Bolsheviki (Majority), and the Mensheviki (Minority) of the party, and had become a strong supporter of Lenin and the policy of direct action. After his escape he organized the party all over the Caucasus in support of Lenin. He edited illegal Bolshevist papers, such as "The Proletariat Struggle" and "The Baku Workman," and wrote many pamphlets, such as "A Summary of the Party Split, Anarchism and Socialism," and so forth. In 1905 he attended the party conference in Finland, and in 1906 began to edit a weekly, *Time*. The same year he attended the Stockholm congress and another in London. On his return from London, he once more organized the workers of Baku.

It is rumored that in 1907, when the party funds were at a low ebb, he organized a successful street attack on those who were transporting money from the Tiflis branch of the State Bank. Whether or not this is malicious gossip, such a robbery did occur and the money disappeared. If the account of the part played by Stalin is true, Communists would justify it on the ground that the money was originally stolen from the people by the oppressive taxation of the Czar's oligarchy, and that in utilizing it to organize the revolution Stalin was acting in the genuine interests of the people.

His former associates say that there was no one quite so effective as Stalin in interesting the workers and making them see the injustice of their condition. Illegal meetings were organized in the evenings, to which the workers were invited, and Stalin would talk. He was particularly effective in arranging strikes. Many a time at a secret meeting one of the older workers would express doubts as to the advisability of such a dangerous course, but his argument would be swept aside by the clear, insistent plea of Stalin. Constructively, Stalin managed to conclude effective agreements with the oil magnates, improving working conditions, and this enormously increased his prestige with the workers.

In 1908 he was arrested a second time, being implicated in the work of the Baku committee, and after some time in the local prison was again exiled, this time to Irkutsk. His wife, whom he had married in 1905, did not survive the rigors of exile. One boy, the survivor of this union, is now studying at Moscow.

In 1909 Stalin against managed to escape and again returned to Baku. He plunged at once into the work of organizing every single oil plant in the city. He was so daring that he would talk with the workers regardless of who was in the room. It was, therefore, almost inevitable that inside of a year he faced prison and a six-year exile. But again in less than twelve months he had escaped and made his way in disguise to St. Petersburg. Barely six months later he was arrested while at work for the Central Committee of the party, but the Czar's police did not know him, and he was exiled for only three years, managing to escape in 1911.

Stalin at this time was either exceptionally clever or exceptionally lucky, for the Czar's police always accused him of relatively minor crimes: of being the organizer of some street parade, the editor of some illegal publication, the leader of a strike, and so forth. Consequently, while he was always in trouble, his sentences were relatively light. In April, 1912, he was again arrested and exiled. In September of the same year he escaped across the border into Cracow, in Austria, and was able to take part in the conference of the party with Lenin, when he was elected a member of the Central Committee.

Some Russian revolutionists of this period spent considerable time abroad studying in comparative security. Not so Stalin. He was always at the most dangerous front, giving himself unsparingly to the illegal work of his party. In 1913 he took part in the elective campaign for the fourth Duma (congress) and became leader of the Bolshevist faction. At that time he was also one of the editors of the illegal Bolshevist papers, "The Star" and "The Truth." In February, 1913, he was arrested for the sixth time and exiled under a heavy guard. This time he did not escape and was freed only by the February revolution.

In the Bolshevist Revolution Stalin was one of the committee of five who managed the uprising, working shoulder to shoulder with Lenin and strongly favoring the seizure of power, in opposition to Zinoviev and Kamenev, who cautioned delay. From 1917 to 1923 he was People's Commissar of Nationalities, the man who initiated the successful policy of giving cultural autonomy and local freedom to the nationalities within the Union. Besides this, from 1919 to 1920, he was People's Commissar for Workers and Peasants Inspection, and from 1920 to 1923, a member of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic.

The intervention in Russian affairs of England, France, Japan and the United States threw him into the civil war. He was sent from one front to another, serving against Udenitch, Denikin and the Poles, and, for his heroism he was decorated with the highest Soviet order of the Red Sign.

It is always the custom for the Red Army soldiers to greet a commander with a cheer. On the front near Petrograd one December, Stalin noted that the soldiers did not greet him with enthusiasm. Halting one whose tightly compressed lips indicated complete silence, Stalin asked, "Why?" The man pointed to his own feet, clad only in straw sandals. Stalin immediately took off his own fine leather boots, gave them to the soldier, and took in return the straw sandals, which he wore all winter, sharing the deprivation with his men.

One of his comrades, Sturo, told me his adventures during the direst days of the civil war, when it was a race between starvation and defeat at the Allies' hands. Stalin was food dictator. Said Sturo:

> "I was commissioned to secure food for Baku. At that time Baku had a population of 200,000, with 75,000 workers. Grain was collected at the mouth of the river Volga to be distributed all over Russia. I carried my own armed force. After months of desperate work we had 300,000 poods of wheat. Then I had to get boats to ship it to Baku. All was arranged and I was happy, when officers of Stalin appeared and confiscated it. In vain I showed my order from the Communists. Stalin's men said, 'It makes no difference what orders you have. If we do not get grain and go back to Stalin with empty hands we shall be shot.' These men had a larger fighting force, and I realized that it would either mean a terrible fight or else surrender. Baku was starving. I decided to appeal personally to Stalin.
>
> "At that time Stalin was virtually a dictator in the matter of securing grain. He almost never received anyone in his room except his lieutenants. He was like a lion in his cage, always pacing up and down. In spite of everything, I managed to get to him and plead for Baku. Stalin brushed the plea aside with the statement, 'What nonsense you are talking. If we lose Baku, it is nothing. We will take it again inside of a few months or a year at the most. If we lose Moscow, we lose everything. Then the revolution is ended.' The grain went to Stalin and Moscow."

Perhaps the most striking military achievement of Stalin was his defense of the town of Tsaritsin, on the lower Volga, against the attacks of the anti-Bolshevist forces. The city has since been rechristened Stalingrad in his honor.

For a time Stalin worked as secretary to Lenin, then later he became General Secretary of the Communist Party. Previously this position had never been considered of central strategic importance, being rather a routine job, consisting of such formal and technical duties as preparing circular letters for the party organizations and outlining programs passed by the Central Committee. Stalin now made it the direct nerve center of the party. It gave him the chance to send out political workers throughout Russia, and to learn from the inside the methods of political organization. His previous heroic work made every one recognize his authority. He had a prestige with loyal party men which a former Menshevik such as Trotsky could never have. Able men crowded to work under him, so that he was able to build up a powerful political machine. Those who opposed him and the Majority were sent to remote districts; his supporters were rewarded with still more important positions. It must be said also that he worked with amazing skill, and never opposed an important man except on an issue which commanded the warm support of the rest.

It was in this way that he broke with Trotsky when the latter was being damned by all Communist leaders, including Zinoviev and Kamenev. In spite of the break, Stalin favored retaining Trotsky on the powerful Political Bureau against the demands of Zinoviev and others for expulsion. Later, after Trotsky was thoroughly disgraced, Zinoviev tried to oppose Stalin, but Stalin was able to marshal the others against Zinoviev. All those hostile to Stalin finally combined in a solid bloc known as "The Opposition." Due to the fact that this opposition was divided on its program, Stalin was able to defeat them overwhelmingly, and in January, 1928, to exile them to remote parts of Russia. As a result, Zinoviev and Kamenev recanted, and asked to be taken back into the party.

Stalin to-day is a man of medium height, erect, well built, with a heavy black mustache, thick hair, dark penetrating eyes and a handsome face. His speech is characteristic of the man, blunt and direct; he does not attempt to hide his meaning. On the other hand, as with so many key politicians, he does not place himself in the spotlight, although in 1930 he has assumed public leadership as never before. Stalin, unlike Trotsky, never acted as if the revolution were the opportunity for him to parade his genius. He is not an inspired orator or a brilliant writer, but is a man of iron will, extraordinary energy and an utter lack of fear. There is little question that he is extraordinary skilful and adroit in party politics. As he himself admits, he is rough and harsh in dealing with those whom he beleves to be enemies of the revolution. But he rules, partly at least, because he keeps to the middle of the road of Communist tactics. He does not venture forth on a new revolutionary policy until it has been discussed and rediscussed in the party conclaves, and has become the will of the overwhelming majority.

It would be easy to magnify the rôle which Stalin is now playing. He is easily the most important man in Russia to-day, but the entire theory of Communist tactics is that the individual is nothing, the party is everything. Stalin rules because he has his ear close to the ground and knows what the rank and file of the party want. He has an extraordinary knack of keeping in touch with the changing moods of the common people, especially of the peasants. We have already mentioned the fact that long before he took the reins of power he inaugurated the policy of cultural autonomy for subject nationalities. This is going even further than the United States has done. In the Philippines we have ruled that the schools shall be carried on in English. Stalin insisted that, in contradiction to the policy of the Czar, every subject group could study in their own dialect or language and could have full power to print books and newspapers in their own tongue. In 1924 Stalin insited on democracy in the villages. He sensed the desire of the peasants for more economic liberty, and was instrumental in passing a law, against party opposition, giving the peasant greater freedom in hiring help. Again, he has consistently opposed going to the extremes urged by Trotsky against the wealthy and middle class peasant. Trotsky would have taxed or persecuted them out of existence. Stalin said: "Let us use them as far as we can to aid the revolution."

It seems clear that in Stalin the Communist Party has only been practicing "the survival of the fittest." Trotsky was perhaps more brilliant, but he was unreliable. He had a tendency "to fly off the handle." Moreover, Trotsky had been ill for a good share of the time since Lenin died, whereas Stalin has been physically always able to stay at the helm. This has inevitably affected their relative success.

Although Stalin has often been called a dictator, he is a dictator only of the American variety, a political boss who rules because he knows how to work with others. He could be displaced at a moment's notice by the Central Committee of the party. As one of its members told me, however, "Whom could we elect to his place? Of course he has his faults." Lenin said in his *Last Testament:*

> "Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand, Comrade Trotsky . . . is distinguished by his exceptional abilities—personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee—but also by his too far-

reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.

"These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might quite innocently, lead to a split. . . .

"Stalin is too rough, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who differs from Stalin—more patient, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to comrades."

Another Communist said to me: "But what would be the alternative if we asked Stalin to resign? To be sure, we could put Trotsky in, but that would mean unthinkable disaster."

Stalin is a genuine believer in Communist principles; in spite of all that has been said about his conservatism, he has merely tried to harmonize practice with realities. By 1930 he has come to be recognized as the key figure in present-day Communism and it is quite possible that history will rank him, next to Lenin, the outstanding leader in the Russian Revolution.

III. THEORETICAL PROGRAM

The theory behind a great modern social movement can often best be stated in the words of its own leaders. Too often thinkers immersed in opposing environments refract the theoretical bases on which it rests. The President of Dartmouth College not long ago declared that "truth has nothing to fear from error, if truth be untrammeled at all times and if error be denied the sanctity conferred upon it by persecution or concealment." He added that if Lenin or Trotsky were available, he would "be glad to have the students hear them and to have them form their judgment as to the dangers or merits of Bolshevism on the basis of direct evidence, rather than through the inconsistent and contradictory pronouncements of anti-Bolshevist propaganda." In this section we have tried to present Communistic theory directly to the student from its own leaders, Lenin and Stalin.[6]

I. THE STATE AS THE PRODUCT OF THE IRRECONCILABILITY OF CLASS ANTAGONISMS[7]

Marx's doctrines are now undergoing the same fate, which, more than once in the course of history, has befallen the doctrines of other revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes have invariably meted out to them relentless persecution, and received their teaching with the most savage hospitality, most furious hatred, and a ruthless campaign of lies and slanders. After their death, however, attempts are usually made to turn them into harmless saints, canonizing them, as it were, and investing their name with a certain halo by way of "consolation" to the oppressed classes, and with the object of duping them; while at the same time emasculating and vulgarizing the real essence of their revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge. At the present time the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the Labor movement are coöperating in this work of adulterating Marxism. They omit, obliterate, and distort the revolutionary side of its teaching, its revolutionary soul, and push to the foreground and extol what is, or seems, acceptable to the bourgeoisie. All the Socialist Chauvinists are now "Marxists"—save the mark! And more and more do German bourgeois professors, erstwhile specialists in the demolition of Marx, speak now of the "National-German" Marx, who, forsooth, has educated the splendidly organized working class for the present predatory war.

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[6] The student should realize that the presentation is of necessity brief and that for an exhaustive study he should turn to the complete writings of Lenin.

[7] From *The State and Revolution*, by V. I. Ulianov (N. Lenin) (Vanguard Press, New York, 1926), pp. 7-12, 17-21, 112-133.

* * *

The distortions of Marxism arise along two main lines.

On the one hand, the middle class (bourgeois) and particularly the lower middle-class (petty bourgeois) ideologists, compelled by the pressure of indisputable historical facts to recognize that the State exists where there are class antagonisms and class struggles, "correct" Marx in such a way as to make it appear that the State is an organ for the *reconciliation* of classes. According to Marx, the State can neither arise nor maintain itself if a reconciliation of classes is possible. But with the middle class and philistine professors and publicists the State becomes a mediator and conciliator of classes. According to Marx, the State is the organ of class *domination,* the organ of oppression of one class by another. Its aim is the creation of order, which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes. But in the opinion of the lower middle-class politicians, the establishment of order is equivalent to the reconciliation of classes, and not to the oppression of one class by another. To moderate their collisions does not mean, according to them, to deprive the oppressed class of certain definite means and methods in its struggle for throwing off the yoke of the oppressors, but to conciliate it.

For instance, when, in the Revolution of 1917, the question of the real meaning and rôle of the State arose, in all its importance, as a practical question demanding immediate action of a wide mass scale, all the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks rattled down, suddenly and without reservation, to the lower middle-class theory of the "conciliation of classes by the State." Innumerable resolutions and articles by publicists of both these parties were saturated through and through with this purely middle-class and philistine theory of conciliation. That the State is the organ of domination of a definite class which *cannot* be reconciled to its social antipodes—this the lower middle-class democracy is never able to understand.

On the other hand, the distortion of Marx by the Kautsky school is far more subtle. "Theoretically" there is no denying that the State is the organ of class domination, or that the class antagonisms are irreconciable. But what is forgotten or overlooked is this: If the State is the product of the irreconcilable character of class antagonisms, if it is a force standing above society and "separating itself gradually from it," then it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible without a violent revolution, and without the destruction of the machinery of State power, which has been created by the governing class and in which this "separation" is embodied. . . .

In capitalist society, under the conditions most favorable to its development, we have a more or less complete democracy in the form of a democratic republic. But this democracy is always bound by the narrow framework of capitalist exploitation, and consequently always remains more or less the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics, that is, freedom for the slave owners. The modern wage-slaves, in virtue of the conditions of capitalist exploitation, remain to such an extent crushed by want and poverty that they "cannot be bothered with democracy," have "no time for politics"; that, in the ordinary peaceful course of events, the majority of the population is debarred from participating in public political life.

The accuracy of this statement is perhaps most clearly proved by Germany, just because in this State constitutional legality has lasted and remained stable for a remarkably long time—for nearly half a century (1871–1914); and the Social-Democracy during this time has been able, far better than has been the case in other countries, to make use of "legality" in order to organize into a political party a larger proportion of the working class than has occurred anywhere else in the world.

What, then, is the highest proportion of politically conscious and active wage-slaves that has so far been observed in capitalist society? One million members of the Social-Democratic Party out of fifteen millions of wage-workers! Three millions industrially organized out of fifteen millions!

Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich—that is the democracy of capitalist society. If we look more closely into the mechanism of capitalist democracy, everywhere—in the so-called "petty" details of the suffrage, in the technique of the representative institutions, in the actual obstacles to the right of meeting (public buildings are not for the "poor"), in the purely capitalist organization of the daily press, etc., etc.—on all sides we shall see restrictions upon restrictions of democracy. These restrictions, exceptions, exclusions, obstacles for the poor, seem slight—especially in the eyes of one who has himself never known want, and has never lived in close contact with the oppressed classes in their hard life, and nine-tenths, if not ninety-one hundredths, of the bourgeois publicists and politicians are of this class! But in their sum these restrictions exclude and thrust out the poor from politics and from an active share in democracy. Marx splendidly grasped the *essence* of capitalist democracy, when, in his analysis of the experience of the Commune, he said that the oppressed are allowed, once every few years to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class are to represent and repress them in Parliament!

But from this capitalist democracy, inevitably narrow, stealthily thrusting aside the poor, and therefore, to its core, hypocritical and treacherous—progress does not march along a simple, smooth and direct path to "greater and greater democracy," as the liberal professors and the lower middle class opportunists would have us believe. No, progressive development—that is, toward Communism—marches through the dictatorship of the proletariat; and cannot be otherwise, for there is no one else who can *break the resistance* of the exploiting capitalists, and no other way of doing it.

And the dictatorship of the proletariat—that is, the organization of the advance-guard of the oppressed as the ruling class, for the purpose of crushing oppressors—cannot produce merely an expansion of democracy. *Together* with an immense expansion of democracy—for the first time becoming democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the rich folk—the dictatorship of the proletariat will produce a series of restrictions of liberty in the case of the oppressors, exploiters and capitalists. We must crush them in order to free humanity from wage-slavery; their resistance must be broken by force. It is clear that where there is suppression there must also be violence, and there cannot be liberty or democracy.

Engels expressed this splendidly in his letter to Bebel when he said, as the reader will remember, that "the proletariat needs the State, not in the interests of liberty, but for the purpose of crushing its opponents; and, when one will be able to speak of freedom, the State will have ceased to exist."

Democracy for the vast majority of the nation, and the suppression by force—that is, the exclusion from democracy—of the exploiters and oppressors of the nation; this is the modification of democracy which we shall see during the *transition* from capitalism to Communism.

Only in Communist society, when the resistance of the capitalists has finally been broken, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no longer any classes (that is, when there is no difference between the members of society in respect of their social means of production) *only then* "does the State disappear *and one can speak of freedom.*" Only then will be possible and will be realized a really full democracy, a democracy without any exceptions. And only then will democracy itself begin to wither away in virtue of the simple fact that, freed from capitalist slavery, from the innumerable horrors, savagery, absurdities and infamies of capitalist exploitation, people will gradually *become accustomed* to the observation of the elementary rules of social life, known for centuries, repeated for thousands of years in all sermons. They will become accustomed to their observance without force, without constraint, without subjection, without the *special apparatus* for compulsion which is called the State.

The expression "the State withers away" is very well chosen, for it indicates the gradual and elemental nature of the process. Only habit can, and undoubtedly will, have such an effect: for we see around us millions of times how readily people get accustomed to observe the necessary rules of life in common, if there is no exploitation, if there is nothing that causes indignation, that calls forth protest and revolt and has to be suppressed.

Thus, in capitalist society, we have a democracy that is curtailed, wretched, false; a democracy only for the rich, for the minority. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the period of transition to Communism, will, for the first time, produce a democracy for the people, for the majority, side by side with the necessary suppression of the minority constituted by the exploiters.

Communism alone is capable of giving a really complete democracy, and the fuller it is the more quickly will it become unnecessary and wither away of itself. In other words, under capitalism we have a State in the proper sense of the word: that is, a special instrument for the suppression of one class by another, and of the majority by the minority at that. Naturally, for the successful discharge of such a task as the systematic suppression by the minority of exploiters of the majority of exploited, the greatest ferocity and savagery of suppression is required, and seas of blood are needed, through which humanity has to direct its path, in a condition of slavery, serfdom and wage labor.

Again, during the *transition* from capitalism to Communism, suppression is *still* necessary; but in this case it is suppression of the minority of exploiters by the majority of exploited. A special instrument, a special machine for suppression—that is, the "State"—is necessary, but this is now a transitional State, no longer a State in the ordinary sense of the term. For the suppression of the minority of exploiters, by the majority of those who were *but yesterday* wage slaves, is a matter comparatively so easy, simple and natural that it will cost far less bloodshed than the suppression of the risings of the slaves, serfs or wage laborers, and will cost the human race far less. And it is compatible with the diffusion of democracy over such an overwhelming majority of the nation that the need for any *special machinery* for *suppression* will gradually cease to exist. The exploiters are unable, of course, to suppress the people without a most complex machine for performing this duty; but *the people* can suppress the exploiters even with a very simple "machine"—almost without any "machine" at all, without any special apparatus—by the simple *organization of the armed masses* (such as the Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies).

Finally, only under Communism will the State become quite unnecessary, for there will be *no one* to suppress—"no one" in the sense of a *class,* in the sense of a systematic struggle with a definite section of the population. We are not utopians, and we do not in the least deny the possibility and inevitability of excesses by *individual persons,* and equally the need to suppress such excesses. But, in the first place, for this no special machine, no special instrument of repression is needed. This will be done by the armed nation itself, as simply and as readily as any crowd of civilized people, even in modern society, parts a pair of combatants or does not allow a woman to be outraged. And, secondly, we know that the fundamental social cause of excesses which violate the rules of social life is the exploitation of the masses, their want and their poverty. With the removal of this chief cause, excesses will inevitably begin to "wither away." We do not know how quickly and in what stages, but we know that they will be withering away. With their withering away, the State will also wither away. Marx, without plunging into Utopia, defined more fully what can *now* be defined regarding this future epoch: namely, the difference between the higher and lower phases (degrees, stages) of Communist society.

The First Phase of Communist Society

. . . Marx takes up a *concrete* analysis of the conditions of life of a society in which there will be no capitalism, and says: "We have to deal here" (analyzing the program of the Party), "not with a Communist society which has *developed* on its own foundations, but with one which has just *issued* actually from capitalist society, and which, in consequence, in all respects—economic, moral and intellectual—still bears the stamp of the old society, from the womb of which it came." And it is this Communist society—a society which has just come into the world out of the womb of Capitalism, and which, in all respects, bears the stamp of the old society—that Marx terms the first, or lower, phase of Communist society.

The means of production are now no longer the private property of individuals. The means of production belong to the whole of society. Every member of society, performing a certain part of socially-necessary labor, receives a certificate from society that he has done such and such a quantity of work. According to this certificate, he receives from the public stores of articles of consumption a corresponding quantity of products. After the deduction of that proportion of labor which goes to the public fund, every worker, therefore, receives from society as much as he has given it.

The first phase of Communism still cannot produce justice and equality; differences and unjust differences, in wealth will still exist, but the *exploitation* of one man by many will have become impossible, because it will be impossible to seize as private property the *means of production,* the factories, machines, land, and so on. While tearing to tatters Lassalle's small bourgeois, confused phrase about "equality" and "justice" *in general,* Marx at the same time shows the *line of development* of Communist society, which is forced at first to destroy *only* the "injustice" that the means of production are in the hands of private individuals. *It is not capable* of destroying at once the further injustice which is constituted by the distribution of the articles of consumption according to "work performed" (and not according to need).

The vulgar economists, including the bourgeois professors, constantly reproach the Socialists with forgetting the inequality of mankind and with "dreaming" of destroying this inequality. Such a reproach, as we see, only proves the extreme ignorance of the bourgeois ideologists.

Marx not only, with the greatest care, takes into account the inevitable inequalities of men; he also takes cognizance of the fact that the mere conversion of the means of production into the common property of the whole of society—"Socialism" in the generally accepted sense of the word—*does not remove* the shortcomings of distribution and the inequality of "bourgeois justice," which continue to exist as long as the products are divided according to the quantity of "work performed."

> "But these defects (Marx continues) are unavoidable in the first phase of Communist society, in the form in which it comes forth, after the prolonged travail of birth, from capitalist society. Justice can never be in advance of its stage of economic development, and of the cultural development of society conditioned by the latter."

And so, in the first phase of Communist society (generally called Socialism) "bourgeois justice is *not* abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic transformation so far attained, that is, only in respect of the means of production. "Bourgeois law" recognizes them as the private property of separate individuals. Socialism converts them into common property, and to that extent, and only to that extent, does "bourgeois law" die out. But it continues to live as far as its other part is, concerned, in the capacity of regulator or adjuster dividing labor and allotting the products amongst the members of society.

"He who does not work neither shall he eat"—this Socialist principle is *already* realized. "For an equal quantity of labor an equal quantity of products"—this Socialist principle is also already realized. Nevertheless, this is not yet Communism, and this does not abolish "bourgeois law," which gives to unequal individuals, in return for an unequal (in reality) amount of work, an equal quantity of products.

This is a "defect," says Marx, but it is unavoidable during the first phase of Communism; for, if we are not to land in Utopia, we cannot imagine that, having overthrown Capitalism, people will at once learn to work for society *without any regulations by law;* indeed, the abolition of Capitalism does not *immediately* lay the economic foundations for such a change.

And there is no other standard yet than that of "bourgeois law." To this extent, therefore, a form of State is still necessary, which, whilst maintaining the public ownership of the means of production, preserves the equality of labor and equality in the distribution of the products. The State is withering away in so far as there are no longer any capitalists, any classes, and, consequently, any *class* whatever to suppress. But the State is not yet dead altogether, since there still remains the protection of "bourgeois law," which sanctifies actual inequality. For the complete extinction of the State complete Communism is necessary.

The Highest Phase of Communist Society

Marx continues:

> "In the highest phase of Communist society, after the disappearance of the enslavement of man caused by his subjection to the principle of division of labor; when, together with this, the opposition between brain and manual work will have disappeared; when labor will have ceased to be a mere means of supporting life and will itself become one of the first necessities of life; when, with the all-round development of the individual, the productive forces, too, will have grown to maturity, and all the forces of social wealth will be pouring an uninterrupted torrent—only then will it be possible wholly to pass beyond the narrow horizon of bourgeois laws, and only then will society be able to inscribe on its banner: 'From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs.' "

Only now can we appreciate the full justice of Engels's observation when he mercilessly ridiculed all the absurdity of combining the words "freedom" and "State." While the State exists there can be no freedom. When there is freedom there will be no State.

The economic basis for the complete withering away of the State is that high stage of development of Communism when the distinction between brain and manual work disappears; consequently, when one of the principal sources of modern *social* inequalities will have vanished—a source, moreover, which it is impossible to remove immediately by the mere conversion of the means of production into public property, by the mere expropriation of the capitalists.

This expropriation will make it possible gigantically to develop the forces of production. And seeing how incredibly, even now, capitalism *retards* this development, how much progress could be made even on the basis of modern technique at the level it has reached, we have a right to say, with the fullest confidence, that the expropriation of the capitalists will result inevitably in a gigantic development of the productive forces of human society. But how rapidly this development will go forward, how soon it will reach the point of breaking away from the division of labor, of the destruction of the antagonism between brain and manual work, of the transformation of work into a "first necessity of life"—this we do not and *cannot* know.

The State will be able to wither away completely when society has realized the formula: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs"; that is, when people have become accustomed to observe the fundamental principles of social life, and their labor is so productive, that they will voluntarily work *according to their abilities.* "The narrow horizon of bourgeois law," which compels one to calculate, with the pitilessness of a Shylock, whether one has not worked half-an-hour more than another, whether one is not getting less pay than another —this narrow horizon will then be left behind. There will then be no need for any exact calculation by society of the quantity of the products to be distributed to each of its members; each will take freely "according to his needs."

From the capitalist point of view, it is easy to declare such a social order "a pure Utopia," and to sneer at the Socialists for promising each the right to receive from society, without any control of the labor of the individual citizens, any quantity of truffles, motor cars, pianos, and so forth. Even now, most bourgeois "savants" deliver themselves of such sneers, but thereby they only display at once their ignorance and their material interest in defending Capitalism. Ignorance—for it has never entered the head of any Socialist "to promise" that the highest phase of Communism will actually arrive, while the *anticipation* of the great Socialists that it *will* arrive, assumes *neither the present* productive powers of labor, *nor the present* unthinking "man in the street" capable of spoiling, without reflection, the stores of social wealth and of demanding the impossible. As long as the "highest" phase of Communism has not arrived, the Socialists demand the *strictest* control, *by society and by the State,* of the quantity of labor and the quantity of consumption; only this control must *start* with the expropriation of the capitalists, with the control of the workers over the capitalists, and must be carried out, not by a government of bureaucrats, but by a government of the *armed workers.*

The interested defense of Capitalism by the capitalist ideologists consists just in that they *substitute* their disputes and discussions about the far future for the essential, imperative questions *of the day;* the expropriation of the capitalists, the conversion of *all* citizens into workers and employees of *one* huge "syndicate"—the whole State—and the complete subordination of the whole of the work of this syndicate to a really democratic State—to the *State consisting of the Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.* In reality, when a learned professor, and in his train, some writers, and in his wake, politicians talk of unreasonable Utopias, of the demagogic promises of the Bolsheviks, of the impossibility of "bringing in" Socialism, it is the highest stage or phase of Communism which they have in mind, and which no one has promised, nor ever even thought of trying to "bring in," because, in any case, it is altogether impossible to "bring it in."

But the scientific difference between Socialism and Communism is clear. That which is generally called Socialism is termed by Marx the first or lower phase of Communist society. In so far as the means of production become public property, the word Communism is also applicable here, providing that we do not forget that it is not full Communism. The great importance of Marx's explanation is this: that there, too he consistently applies materialist dialectics, the theory of evolution, looking upon Communism as something which evolves *out of* Capitalism. . . .

2. THE NEW PRINCIPLES THAT LENIN ADDED TO MARXISM [8]

. . . There are a number of questions concerning which Lenin contributed something new in developing further the doctrines of Marx:

First, the question of monopolistic Capitalism,—of imperialism as the new phase of Capitalism. Marx and Engels lived in the pre-monopolistic period of Capitalism, in the period of the smooth evolution of Capitalism and its "peaceful" expansion throughout the whole world. This old phase of Capitalism came to a close towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, when Marx and Engels had already passed away. Clearly Marx and Engels could only guess at the new conditions of the development of Capitalism which arose out of the new phase of Capitalism which succeeded the older phase. In the imperialistic monopolistic phase of development the smooth evolution of Capitalism gave way to sporadic catastrophic development; the unevenness of development and the contradictions of Capitalism emerged with particular force; the struggle for markets and spheres for the investment of capital conducted amidst conditions of extreme unevenness of development made periodical imperialist wars for a periodical redistribution of the world and of spheres of influence inevitable. The service Lenin rendered, and, consequently, his new contribution, consisted in that he made a fundamental Marxian analysis of imperialism as the final phase of Capitalism, he exposed its ulcers and the conditions of its inevitable doom. On the basis of this analysis arose Lenin's well-known postulate that the conditions of imperialism made possible the victory of Socialism in separate capitalist countries.

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[8] By Stalin, Secretary of the Communist Party.

Second, the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The fundamental idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the political domination of the proletariat and as a method of overthrowing the reign of capital by violence was created by Marx and Engels. Lenin's new contribution in this field consists in that (*a*) utilizing the experience of the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution he discovered the Soviet form of government as the State form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; (*b*) he deciphered the formula of dictatorship of the proletariat from the point of view of the problem of the proletariat and its allies and defined the dictatorship of the proletariat as a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, who is the leader, and the exploited masses of the non-proletarian classes (the peasantry, etc.) who are led; (*c*) he stressed with particular emphasis the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a higher type of democracy in class society, the form of proletarian democracy, expressing the interests of the majority (the exploited) as against capitalist democracy which expresses the interests of the minority (the exploiters).

Third: the question of the forms and methods of the successful building up of Socialism in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the period of transition from Capitalism to Socialism in a country encircled by capitalist States. Marx and Engels regarded the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a more or less prolonged period replete with revolutionary conflicts and civil war in the course of which the proletariat in power would take the economic, political, cultural and organizational measures necessary for the purpose of establishing a new Socialist society, a society without classes and without a State, in place of the old capitalist society. Lenin wholly and entirely based himself on these fundamental postulates of Marx and Engels. Lenin's new contribution in this field was (*a*) he established the possibility of constructing a complete Socialist Society in a land of the dictatorship of the proletariat encircled by imperialist States provided the country is not crushed by the military intervention of the surrounding capitalist States; (*b*) he outlined the concrete path of economic policy ("the New Economic Policy") by which the proletariat being in command of the economic key positions (industry, land, transport, the banks, etc.), links up Socialized industry with agriculture ("linking up industry with peasant agriculture") and thus leads the whole of national economy toward Socialism; (*c*) he outlined the concrete channels by which the bulk of the peasantry is gradually brought into the line of Socialist construction through the medium of the cooperative societies, which, in the hands of the proletarian dictatorship, represent a powerful instrument for the transformation of petty-peasant economy and for the reëducation of the masses of the peasantry in the spirit of Socialism.

Fourth: the question of the hegemony of the proletariat in revolution, in all popular revolutions—in the revolution against czarism as well as in the revolution against capitalism. Marx and Engels presented the main outlines of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat. Lenin's new contribution in this field consists in that he further developed and expanded these outlines into a complete system of the hegemony of the proletariat, into a symmetrical system of proletarian leadership of the masses of the toilers in town and country not only in the fight for the overthrow of Czarism and Capitalism, but also in the work of building up Socialism under the Dictatorship of the proletariat. It is well known that, thanks to Lenin and his Party, the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat was skilfully applied in Russia. This, in passing, explains the fact that the Revolution in Russia brought the proletariat to power. In previous revolutions it usually happened that the workers did all the fighting at the barricades, shed their blood and overthrew the old order, but power passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie, which later oppressed and exploited the workers. That was the case in England and in France. That was the case in Germany; in Russia, however, things took a different turn. In Russia, the workers did not merely represent the shock troops of the Revolution. While serving as the shock troops of the Revolution, the Russian proletariat at the same time strove for the hegemony, for the political leadership of all the exploited masses of town and country, rallying them around itself, detaching them from the bourgeoisie and politically isolating the bourgeoisie. Being the leader of the exploited masses, the Russian proletariat all the time waged a fight to seize power in its own hands and utilize it in its own interests against the bourgeoisie and against capitalism. This explains why every powerful outbreak of the Revolution in Russia, as in October, 1905, and in February, 1917, gave rise to Councils of Workers' Deputies as the embryo of the new apparatus of power,—the function of which would be to crush the bourgeoisie—as against the bourgeois parliament, the old apparatus of power —the function of which was to crush the proletariat. On two occasions the bourgeoisie in Russia tried to restore the bourgeois parliament and put an end to the Soviets: in August, 1917, at the time of the "Preliminary Parliament" prior to the capture of power by the Bolsheviks, and in January, 1918, at the time of the "Constituent Assembly" after power had been seized by the proletariat. On both occasions these efforts failed. Why? Because the bourgeoisie was already politically isolated. The vast masses of the toilers regarded the proletariat as the sole leader of the revolution and the Soviets had been already tried and tested by the masses as their own workers' government. For the proletariat to have substituted these Soviets by a bourgeois parliament would be tantamount to committing suicide. It is not surprising, therefore, that bourgeois parliamentarism did not take root in Russia. That is why the Revolution in Russia led to the establishment of the rule of the proletariat. These were the results of the application of the Leninist system of the hegemony of the proletariat in Revolution.

Fifth: the national and colonial question. In analyzing the events in Ireland, India, China and the Central European countries like Poland and Hungary, in their time, Marx and Engels developed the basic, initial ideas of the national and colonial question. In his works Lenin based himself on these ideas. Lenin's new contribution in this field consists in (*a*) that he gathered these ideas into one symmetrical system of views on national and colonial revolutions in the epoch of imperialism; (*b*) that he connected the national and colonial question with the question of overthrowing imperialism, and (*c*) that he declared the national and colonial question to be a component part of the general question of international proletarian revolution.

Finally: the question of the Party of the proletariat. Marx and Engels gave the main outlines of the idea of the Party as being the vanguard of the proletariat without which (the Party) the proletariat could not achieve its emancipation, i.e., could not capture power or reconstruct capitalist society. Lenin's new contribution to this theory consists in that he developed these outlines further and applied them to the new conditions of the struggle of the proletariat in the period of imperialism and showed (*a*) that the Party is a higher form of a class organization of the proletariat as compared with the other forms of proletarian organization (labor unions, cooperative societies, State organization) and, moreover, its function was to generalize and direct the work of these organizations; (*b*) that the dictatorship of the proletariat may be realized only through the Party as its directing force; (*c*) that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be complete only if it is led by a single Party, the Communist Party, which does not and must not share leadership with any other parties; and (*d*) that without iron discipline in the Party the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat to crush the exploiters and to transform class society into Socialist society cannot be fulfilled.

This, in the main, is the new contribution which Lenin made in his works; he developed and made more concrete the doctrines of Marx in a manner applicable to the new conditions of the struggle of the proletariat in the period of imperialism.

That is why we say that Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

From this it is clear that Leninism cannot be separated from Marxism, still less can it be contrasted to Marxism.

The question submitted by the delegation goes on to ask:

"Would it be correct to say that Lenin believed in 'constructive revolution' whereas Marx was more inclined to await the culmination of the development of economic forces?"

I think it would be absolutely incorrect to say that. I think that every popular revolution, if it is really a popular revolution, is a constructive revolution; for it breaks up the old system and creates a new. Of course, there is nothing constructive in such revolutions (if we can call them that) as take place, let us say, in Albania in the form of toy "rebellions" of one tribe against another. But Marxists never regarded such toy "rebellions" as revolutions. Apparently, it is not such "rebellions" that we are discussing, but mass popular revolutions, the rising of oppressed classes against oppressing classes. Such a revolution cannot but be contructive. Marx and Lenin stood for such a revolution and only for such a revolution. It must be added, of course, that such a revolution cannot arise under all conditions, but can unfold itself only under certain favorable economic and political conditions.

3. THE THEORY OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION [9]

The Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution is based on three fundamental theses:

First Thesis. The domination of finance capital, whose chief business is the emission of stocks and bonds, in the advanced capitalist countries; the export of capital to the sources of raw materials, which is one of the bases of Imperialism; the omnipotence of a financial oligarchy, a consequence of the domination of finance capital. All this reveals the parasitic character of monopolist Capitalism, makes the yoke of the capitalist syndicates and trusts much more intolerable, increases the indignation of the working class against Capitalism, and drives the masses to the proletarian revolution in which they see their only means of escape. (Vide Lenin's *Imperialism*).

As a result, an intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the capitalist countries, an increase in the causes of conflict on the internal proletarian front, in the "mother countries."

Second Thesis. The growing export of capital into the colonies and subject countries; the extension of "spheres of influence" and colonization to the extent of seizing upon all the territory of the earth; the transformation of capitalism into a *world system* of financial bondage, and of colonial oppression of the vast majority of mankind by a few "advanced" countries. All this has made the isolated national economic systems links in a single chain called the world-economy and have divided the population of the world into two camps: on the one hand, the "advanced" capitalist countries which exploit and oppress vast colonies as well as countries nominally more or less independent; on the other, the immense majority in the colonial and subject countries, driven to struggle to free themselves from the capitalist yoke. (*Vide* Lenin's *Imperialism*).

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[9] Reprinted from *Theory and Practice of Leninism*, by I. Stalin. London: Communist Party of Great Britain, 1926.

In consequence, a worsening of the revolutionary crisis in the colonial countries, a strengthening of the spirit of revolt against Imperialism on the external front, the colonial front.

Third Thesis. The monopoly of "spheres of influence" and of colonies, the unequal development of the different capitalist countries which leads to a bitter struggle between the countries which have already partitioned the territories of the globe, and those countries which want to receive their "share," Imperialist wars, the one method of restoring "equilibrium." All this brings about the creation of a third front, the inter-capitalist battle line, which weakens Imperialism and facilitates the union of the proletarian and colonial front against Imperialism.

Hence the inevitability of wars under Imperialism, the inevitability of the coalition of the proletarian revolution in Europe with the colonial revolution in the East, the formation of a single world front of the revolution over against the world front of Imperialism.

From all these deductions Lenin makes the general deduction that "Imperialism is the eve of the Socialist revolution." (Vide *Imperialism.*)

Consequently, the way of looking at the proletarian revolution, its character, main lines and extent, is no longer the same as before.

Formerly one usually analyzed the premises of the proletarian revolution from the point of view of the economic situation of this or that isolated country. This method is not inadequate. Today one has to begin from the point of view of the economic situation of all, or a majority of, countries, from the point of view of the state of world-economy. In fact, the countries and isolated national economies are no longer independent economic units, but are links of a single chain called the world-economy, and the old "civilising" Capitalism has grown into Imperialism, which is a world-system of financial bondage and of colonial oppression of the majority of the population of the globe by a few "advanced" countries.

Formerly it was the custom to talk of the existence or absence of the objective conditions of the proletarian revolution in isolated countries, or, to be more exact, in this or that advanced country. This point of view is now inadequate. It is necessary to take into account the existence of the objective conditions of the revolution through the whole system of Imperialist world-economy, which forms a single whole. The existence within this system of some countries which are not sufficiently developed from the industrial point of view cannot be an insurmountable obstacle to the Revolution *from the moment when,* or more correctly since, the system as a whole is already ripe for the Revolution.

Formerly again, one spoke of the proletarian revolution in this or that advanced country as having an independent growth, similar to that of the rôle of capital. Today this point of view is inadequate. It is necessary to speak of proletarian world-revolution, for the different national fronts of capital have become links in a single chain, the world-front of Imperialism to which must be opposed the single front of the revolutionary movement of all countries.

Formerly one used to see in the proletarian revolution the consequence of the exclusively internal development of a given country. At the present time this point of view is inadequate. It is necessary to regard the proletarian revolution before all as a result of the development of the contradictions within the world-system of Imperialism, as the result of the breaking of the chain of the Imperialist world-front, in this or that country.

Where will the revolution begin; where, in what country can the front of capital first be pierced?

Where industry is most perfected, where the proletariat forms the majority, where civilization is most advanced, where democracy is most developed—so one used to answer.

No, replies the Leninist theory of the revolution. The front of capital will not necessarily be pierced where industry is most developed, it will be broken where the chain of Imperialism is weakest, for the proletarian revolution is the result of the rupture of the chain of the Imperialist front at its weakest point. So then it is possible that the country which begins the revolution, which makes a breach in the capitalist front, may be less developed from the capitalist point of view than others which remain, nevertheless, within the framework of capitalism.

In 1917 the chain of the Imperialist world-front happened to be weaker in Russia than in the other countries. It was there that it was broken and gave an outlet to the proletarian revolution. Why? Because in Russia there unfolded a great popular revolution led by the revolutionary proletariat which had for itself so important an ally as the peasantry, oppressed and exploited by the landed proprietors. Because the revolution had Tsarism for its opponent, the most hideous representative of Imperialism, deprived of all moral authority and hated by the whole people. The chain proved to be weakest in Russia, although that country was less developed from the capitalist point of view than, for example, France, Germany, England or America.

Where is the chain going to broken next? Precisely where it is weakest. It is not impossible, for example, that it may be in India. Why?

Because there is a young and combative revolutionary proletariat which has for ally the movement for national liberation, which is unquestionably very powerful. Because in that country the revolution has for its enemy a foreign Imperialism, deprived of all moral authority and hated by the oppressed and exploited masses of India.

It is just as possible that the chain will be broken in Germany. Why? Because the factors which are at work in India are begining to influence Germany just as much. Of course, the tremendous difference in level of development between India and Germany cannot but set its distinctive mark on the progress and outcome of the revolution in Germany.

That is why Lenin said that "The capitalist countries of Western Europe will accomplish their evolution toward Socialism, not by the methodical maturing of Socialism in these countries, but by means of the exploitation of certain States by others, through the exploitation of the first State that is defeated in the Imperialist war, combined with the exploitation of the whole of the East. . . . The East, on the other hand, definitely entered into the revolutionary movement in consequence of this first Imperialist war; it has been drawn into the whirlpool of the world revolutionary movement." (See *Better Less, But Better.*)

To put it briefly, the chain of the Imperialist front should be broken, as a rule, where the links are most fragile and not in any case necessarily where capitalism is most developed, where there is a considerable percentage of proletarians and relatively few peasants, and so on.

That is why statistical data of the proportion of the proletariat in the population of an isolated country, lose, in the solution of the question of the proletarian revolution, the exceptional importance willingly attached to them by the statisticians of the Second International, who have not understood Imperialism and are as afraid of revolution as of the plague.

The men of the Second International asserted (and kept on asserting) that between the democratic bourgeois revolution and the proletarian revolution there is a chasm, or, at any rate, a Chinese wall dividing one from the other for a protracted period in the course of which the bourgeoisie having come to power, develop capitalism while the proletariat accumulates forces and prepares for the "decisive struggle" against capitalism. This interval is usually measured by tens of years, if not more. The theory is obviously void of scientific foundations under Imperialism; it is and can be only a means of concealing the counter-revolutionary intentions of the bourgeoisie. It is clear that in the epoch when Imperialism, which carries within it the germ of collisions and wars, is sovereign, on the eve of the Socialist revolution, when the old "flourishing" capitalism is now only a "dying" Capitalism, when the revolutionary movement is growing in every country in the world, when Imperialism is allied with all reactionary forces, including autocracy and serfdom, making the bloc of all revolutionary forces from the proletarian movement of the West to the national-liberation movements of the East so much more necessary, at the moment when the suppression of the survival of the feudal régime becomes impossible without a revolutionary struggle against Imperialism—it is clear, I say, that the bourgeois-democratic revolution, in a country more or less developed, should tend toward, and grow into, the proletarian revolution. The history of the revolution in Russia has peremptorily proved the correctness of this proposition. So Lenin was right when in 1905, on the eve of the first Russian Revolution, he represented (in his brochure *Two Tactics*) the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the Socialist revolution as two links of the same chain, as two natural stages of the Russian revolution:

"The proletariat ought to push the democratic revolution to completion, rallying behind itself the peasant mass so as to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and paralyse the unstable bourgeoisie. It should carry through the Socialist revolution by rallying to it the semi-proletarian elements so as to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie and paralyze the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. Such are the tasks which the partisans of the new 'Iskra' represent in such a narrow form in their arguments and resolutions on the extent of the revolution."

I will not speak here of Lenin's later works, where the idea of the growth of the bourgeois revolution into the proletarian revolution is put more clearly and forms one of the corner stones of the theory of the revolution.

Certain Communists believe that Lenin came to this idea only in 1916, and that before that he thought that the revolution in Russia would remain within the bourgeois framework and that power consequently would pass to the bourgeoisie and not to the proletariat. This opinion has, it is said, penetrated into our Communist press. But it is completely wrong.

To prove it, I could refer to Lenin's well-known speech at the Third Party Congress (1905) in which Lenin described the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, that is to say the victory of the democratic revolution, not as an "organization for order," but as an "organization for war." (Vol. VI of Lenin's works).

Further, I could recall the articles on *The Provisional Government* (1905) in which Lenin, depicting the development of the revolution in Russia, declares:

"The Party ought so to act that the Russian Revolution may be a movement not of a few months, but of a number of years, and that it may lead not merely to slight concessions on the part of the authorities, but to the complete overthrow of these authorities."

Developing the picture of this revolution which he connects with that of Europe, Lenin goes on to say:

> "And if we succeed, the revolutionary conflagration will encompass Europe; the European worker, unable to tolerate the bourgeois reaction any longer, will rise in his turn and show us how things should be done; and then the revolutionary impulse in Europe will react upon Russia and in a period of a few revolutionary years will make an epoch of several revolutionary decades."

I could equally well cite an article published in November, 1915, in which Lenin writes:

> "The proletariat fights and will fight for the conquest of power, the Republic, the confiscation of the land, the participation of the non-proletarian popular masses in the liberation of the bourgeois Russia from the yoke of this feudal-militarist Imperialism which is called Tsardom. And it will immediately profit from that liberation from the yoke of Tsarism, of the power of the landed proprietors, not to come to the aid of the well-to-do peasants in their struggle against the agricultural workers, but to bring about the socialist revolution in union with the European proletariat." (*Against the Stream*)

Finally, I could recall a well-known passage from *The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade,* where Lenin referring to his picture of the Russian Revolution in *Two Tactics,* arrives at the following conclusion:

> "The development of the revolution has confirmed the correctness of our reasoning. First the proletariat marched with all the peasantry against the monarchy, the landed proprietor, the medievalist regime (and to that extent the revolution was still bourgeois, democratic-bourgeois). Then, with the poor peasants, the semi-proletarians, all the exploited, it marched against capitalism and its rural representatives—the rich, the 'village vultures,' the speculators; and so the revolution became Socialist. To attempt to raise an artificial barrier between the first and second revolutions, which are made separate only by the degree of preparation of the proletariat, the degree of its union with the poor peasants, is to distort Marxism, to debase it, to put Liberalism in its place."

This seems sufficient.

But, we are asked, if it is so, why did Lenin oppose the idea of the "permanent revolution"?

Because he wanted to make full use of the *revolutionary* capacities and energy of the peasantry for the complete liquidation of Tsarism and the transition of the proletarian revolution, while the partisans of the "permanent revolution" did not understand the important role of the peasantry in the Russian Revolution, under-estimated its revolutionary energy and so hindered its emancipation from tutelage to the bourgeoisie, its rallying round the proletariat.

Because Lenin wanted to *crown* the revolution with the coming of the proletariat to power, while the partisans of the "permanent revolution" wanted to begin by the establishment of the power of the proletariat, not realising that, by that itself, they were closing their eyes to such a "detail" as the existence of survivals of serfdom, were neglecting so important a force as the peasantry, and were hindering the latter from rallying to the proletariat.

Thus Lenin opposed the partisans of the "permanent revolution," not because they asserted the continuity of the revolution, a thesis he himself never ceased to support, but because they under-estimated the role of the peasantry which is the greatest reserve of power for the proletariat.

The idea of the "permanent revolution" is not new. It was expounded for the first time by Marx in 1850, in the *Address to the League of Communists.* It was there that our Russian "permanentalists" went to look for it, but the modification which they made it undergo was enough to make it unfit for practical use. The skilful hand of Lenin was needed to make good this error, to separate the idea of the "permanent revolution" from its dross, and make it a corner-stone of the theory of the revolution. This is what Marx says of the "permanent revolution" in his *Address,* after having enumerated the revolutionary democratic demands which the Communists ought to put forward:

"When the petty bourgeois democrats wish, by satisfying most of the demands enumerated above, to end the revolution, as quickly as possible, our interests and our tasks consist in making the revolution permanent as long as all the more or less possessing classes are not removed from power, and while the proletariat has not conquered the power of the States, while the associations of proletarians in the principal countries of the world are not developed enough to put an end to competition between the proletarians of those countries and while the chief forces of production, at least, are not concentrated in the hands of the proletarians."

That is to say:

First, Marx in spite of what our Russian "permanentalists" say, did not propose to *begin* the revolution in the Germany of 1850 directly by the establishment of proletarian power.

Second, Marx proposed only to *crown* the revolution with the proletarian political power, by overthrowing successively every fraction of the bourgeoisie in order, after the coming of the proletariat to power, to light the torch of revolution in every country. Now this is *perfectly consistent* with all that Lenin taught, with all that he did in the course of our revolution, following his theory of the proletarian revolution under Imperialism.

So, then, our Russian "permanentalists" have not only under-estimated the rôle of the peasantry in the Russian Revolution, but have modified Marx's idea of the "permanent revolution" and deprived it of all its practical value.

That is why Lenin ridiculed their theory, calling it "original" and "charming" and accused them of not wishing "to reflect on the reasons for which life, over a period of dozens of years, has passed beside this charming theory." (Lenin's article of 1915, ten years before the theory of the "permanent revolution" first saw the light.)

That is why he thought this theory was semi-Menshevism, and said that it "borrowed from the Bolsheviks the call to the decisive revolutionary struggle, and the conquest of power by the proletariat, and from the Mensheviks the denial of the rôle of the peasantry." (*Vide* the article "The Two Lines of Revolution," in *Against the Stream.*)

This then is how Lenin conceived the growth of the democratic bourgeois revolution into the proletarian revolution, the using of the bourgeois revolution for the "immediate transition to the proletarian revolution."

Let us continue. Formerly, the victory of the revolution in a single country was considered impossible, for, so it was said, to defeat the bourgeoisie by the combined action of the proletarians of all, or at least a majority of, the advanced countries was necessary. This point of view no longer tallies with facts. It is now necessary to begin with the possibility of victory over the bourgeoisie in a single country because the unequal, irregular development of the capitalist countries under Imperialism, the aggravation of the catastrophic internal contradictions of Imperialism, leading inevitably to wars, the strengthening of the revolutionary movement in every country, leads not only to the possibility, but to the necessity of the victory of the proletariat in isolated countries. The history of the Russian Revolution is a striking proof of that. Of the old theory only this has to be retained, that certain indispensable conditions are required for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and without them the proletariat cannot even dream of seizing power.

This is what Lenin says of these conditions:

> "The fundamental law of revolution, confirmed by every revolution, and particularly by the three Russian revolutions of the 20th century, is as follows. It is not sufficient for the revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes; for the revolution it is necessary that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule as of old. Only when the masses do not want the old regime, and when the rulers are *unable to govern them as of old,* only then can the revolution succeed. This truth may be expressed in other words. *Revolution is impossible without an all-national crisis,* affecting both the exploited and the exploiter. It follows that for the revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the conscious, thinking, politically-active workers) should fully understand the necessity for a revolution, and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; second, that the ruling class be in a state of governmental crisis which attracts even the most backward masses into politics. It is a sign of every real revolution, this rapid ten-fold, or even hundred-fold

increase in the number of representatives of the toiling and oppressed masses, heretofore apathetic, who are able to carry on a political fight which weakens the government and facilitates its overthrow by the revolutionaries." (*Left Wing Communism*, ch. 9)

But to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and establish that of the proletariat in a single country is still not to assure the complete victory of Socialism. The chief task, the organization of Socialist production, is still to be accomplished. Can we succeed, and secure the definite victory of Socialism in one country, without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? Most certainly not. The efforts of a single country are enough to overthrow the bourgeoisie; this is what the history of our revolution proves. But for the definitive triumph of Socialism, the organization of Socialist production, the efforts of one country alone are not enough, particularly of an essentially rural country like Russia; the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are needed. So the victorious revolution in one country has for its essential task to develop and support the revolution in others. So it ought not to be considered as of independent value, but as an auxiliary, a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries.

Lenin has curtly expressed this thought in saying that the task of the victorious revolution consists in doing the "utmost in one country for the development, support, awakening of the revolution *in other countries*." (*Vide The Proletarian Revolution.*)

Such in general are the characteristic features of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution.

4. WHAT IS THE CHIEF INCENTIVE TO PRODUCTION IN RUSSIA?[10]

. . . First of all, the fact that the factories and workshops in the U. S. S. R.[11] belong to the whole people and not to capitalists, that the factories and workshops are managed not by the appointees of capitalists, but by representatives of the working class; the consciousness that the workers work, not for the capitalist, but for their own State, for their own class, represents an enormous driving force in the development and perfection of our industry. It must be observed that the overwhelming majority of the factory and works managers in Russia are workingmen, appointed by the Supreme Economic Council in agreement with the trade unions and that not a single factory manager can remain at his post contrary to the will of the workers or the particular trade union.

It must be observed also that in every factory and workshop there is a factory council, elected by the workers, which controls the activities of the management of the particular enterprise. Finally, it must be observed that in every industrial enterprise regular production conferences of workers are held in which all the workers employed in the given enterprise take part and at which the work of the manager of the enterprise is discussed and criticized; the plan of work in the factory administration is discussed, errors and defects are noted and rectified through the trade unions, through the Party and through the organs of the Soviet administration. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, that all these circumstances radically alter the position of the workers as well as the state of affairs in the various enterprises. While, under Capitalism the workers regard their factory as a prison, under the Soviet system the workers no longer regard the factory as a prison, but as something near and dear to them and in the development and improvement of which they are vitally interested. It is hardly necessary to prove that this new attitude of the workers towards the enterprise in which they are employed, this understanding of the close ties that link the workers with the enterprise, represents a powerful driving force for the whole of our industry. This circumstance explains the fact that the number of worker-inventors in the field of technique of production, and worker-organizers of industry increases from day to day.

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[10] By Stalin, Secretary of the Communist Party.

[11] Letters standing for the official name of the government, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Secondly, the revenues from industry in Russia are employed not for the enrichment of individuals, but for the further expansion of industry, for the improvement of the material and cultural conditions of the working class, for reducing the price of industrial commodities necessary both for the workers and for the peasants, which again is the improvement of the material conditions of the toiling masses. A capitalist cannot employ his revenues for improving the welfare of the working class. He lives for profit; otherwise he would not be a capitalist. He obtains profit in order to invest it as surplus capital in less developed countries suffering from shortage of capital in order again to obtain fresh and increased profit. That is how capital flows from the United States to China, to Indonesia, to South America and Europe and from France to the French colonies and from England to the British colonies.

In the U. S. S. R. things are altogether different; for we neither conduct nor recognize colonial policy. In Russia, the revenues from industry remain in the country and are employed for the further expansion of industry, for improving the conditions of the workers, for enlarging the capacity of the home market, including also the peasant market, by reducing the price of industrial commodities. Ten per cent of the profits from industry in our country goes to a fund for improving the social conditions of the workers. A sum equal to 13 per cent of the wages paid is contributed to a sick insurance fund for the insurance of workers. (This represents 800 million roubles per annum.) A certain part of the revenues (I cannot just now say exactly how much) is employed for cultural requirements, vocational training and vacations for the workers. A fairly considerable part of these revenues (again I cannot now say exactly how much) is employed for the annual increase in the money wages of the workers. The rest of the revenues from industry are employed for the further expansion of industry, for the repair of old workshops, for the construction of new workshops and finally for the reduction of prices of industrial commodities. The enormous significance of these circumstances for our industry consists in (*a*) that they facilitate the linking up of agriculture with industry and the smoothing out of the antagonism between town and country; (*b*) that they facilitate the increase of the capacity of the home market—urban and rural—and by that create a constantly expanding base for the further development of industry.

Finally, the nationalization of industry facilitates the conduct of industry as a whole according to plan.

Will these stimuli and motive forces of our industry be permanent factors? Can they be permanently operative factors? Yes, undoubtedly they are permanently operative stimuli and motive forces, and the more our industry develops, the more the strength and significance of these factors will grow.

IV. CONSEQUENCES

The consequences of any revolutionary movement are bound to be controversial, for not until decades have passed can history record with impartiality. Only now are we able to describe events in the French Revolution with some degree of fairness. However, we cannot wait for the verdict of history because as we have noted in Book I, our nation is in constant reaction to every great historical movement even while it is developing and may be profoundly affected long before the historian can make his appraisal certain.

I. THE NATURE OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT [12]

Structure of the State

The soviet system was not created, as many have supposed, by Lenin and the Communist Party. These councils came into existence during the Revolution of 1905 against the Czar. They were virtually strike committees, organized in factories and in the army. Although suppressed after 1905, they revived immediately on the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917. "All power to the Soviets" early became the rallying cry of the Communist Party.

[12] By Jerome Davis. From *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade,* pp. 115-140.

The soviet system makes no attempt to hide its class character. Its official title is "The Workers' and Peasants' Government." Bukharin, in his *A. B. C. of Communism,* states clearly the theory on which the soviet structure is built. Economic classes with opposing interest cannot be reconciled any more than wolves and sheep. "Sheep must protect themselves against the wolves. It is absurd to suppose that you can secure a common sheep-wolves' will. There must be either a wolves' will or a sheeps' will. In the same way, there cannot be a common capitalistic-labor will. It must be either one or the other." The soviet system is a very ingenious device for placing control in the hands of the masses of the workers and peasants, while at the same time enabling the Communist Party to lead them in running the government. The indirect method by which the higher soviets are elected favors a well-organized party.

As a result of the Revolution, the Russian Empire lost about 5 per cent. of her former area. At the close of 1922, when the Japanese withdrew from Vladivostok, the Far-Eastern Republic occupying the eastern part of Siberia decided to affiliate with the Russian Soviet Federation, which as a result still stretches to the Pacific, and embraces one-sixth of the earth's surface. The census taken in December, 1926, showed that the total population was 146,400,000, of which 18 per cent. is urban and 82 per cent. rural. It was made up roughly of 23,000,000 households, 387,000 villages, and 743 towns and cities.

The first constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic was adopted on July 10, 1918. This was superseded by a revised form on May 11, 1925. On December 30, 1922, at the First Federated Congress of Soviets, with 3,077 delegates, an agreement was reached to form a Soviet Union Federation. This eventually included the six allied socialist soviet republics: Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Transcaucasian, Uzbek, and Turkoman. Each is guaranteed the right to withdraw from the union at any time.

The Transcaucasian Federation is, in turn, a union of three republics: Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. As a part of the Russian Federation there are eleven autonomous republics and twelve autonomous territories. The republics have their own people's commissars, and their independent rights are greater than the territories. The territories may or may not have their own people's commissars according to their needs, but they have a central executive committee elected by their own congress of soviets. The laws enacted in a territory must have the approval of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to be valid. Within Russia there are two separate systems of political subdivision. One is the gubernia, uyezd, and volost; the other, okrug, rayon and selo. In both cases they correspond to our state, county and township, although these districts (except for the selo, or village) are much larger than in America. Some of the uyezds are larger than many of our states and the volost usually contains many villages.

Eventually it is planned to divide Russia on the basis of her economic needs and have the political divisions coincide, using the second terminology entirely.

Representation in the Soviet Union is occupational rather than territorial. The soviets, being councils of workers and peasants, represent the various occupational strata within the nation. In the agricultural districts, since all are peasants, there is virtually geographical representation plus occupational.

The organization within the Russian Republic is clearly shown on the adjoining diagram (A). Each village of over three hundred inhabitants elects its local council or soviet on the basis of one deputy to one hundred inhabitants. The deputies in turn select an executive committee which runs the local government. Villages with a population under three hundred usually unite for electoral purposes. The delegates from the various village soviets are sent once a year to the township, or volost, congresses on the basis of one delegate to three hundred inhabitants. Delegates from the volost are sent to the county, or uyezd, congress on the basis of one deputy to one thousand inhabitants, to the province, or gubernia, congress on the basis of one delegate to ten thousand inhabitants. To this latter congress are also sent representatives from the cities on the basis of one deputy per two thousand electors. All of these congresses meet once a year, unless called in special session. Each elects a permanent central executive committee which holds office until the next congress.

Each city has its city soviet, elected from the various workers, both of hand and brain, within the municipality. The gubernia soviets send delegates to the annual congress of their respective republics as well as to the All-Union Congress of Soviets. It was formerly thought that the city, in addition to the gubernia soviet, sent delegates to the national congresses. This is a mistake. The delegates are all chosen from the gubernia congress, although the number to be elected are determined on the basis of one delegate per 125,000 county inhabitants, and one delegate per 25,000 electors in the cities.

In the All-Union Congress of Soviets, all the various republics within the union are represented. Last year there were about fifteen hundred delegates. The Congress is the supreme authority, having both legislative and administrative functions. When the Congress is not in session, this authority devolves upon the Union Central Executive Committee, which consists of the Council of the Union and a Council of Nationalities. The Council of the Union is elected by the Congress with representatives in proportion to the population of the six constituent republics. At present it is composed of 450 members. Since the Russian Federation comprises 74 per cent. of the population, in practice it controls the Council of the Union. The Council of Nationalities has five representatives from each of the constituent and allied republics and one representative from each

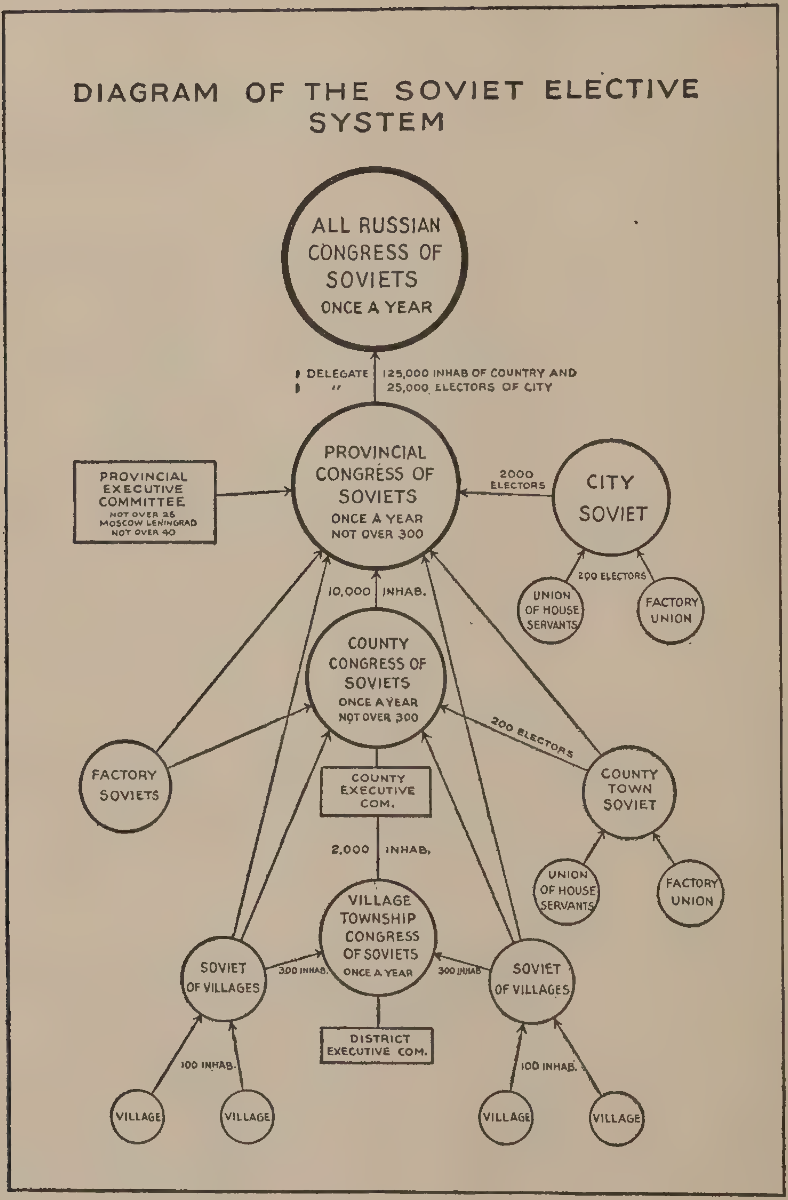
DIAGRAM OF THE SOVIET ELECTIVE SYSTEM
ALL RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ONCE A YEAR
1 DELEGATE 125,000 INHAB OF COUNTRY AND
1 " 25,000 ELECTORS OF CITY
PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE NOT OVER 25 MOSCOW LENINGRAD NOT OVER 40
PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ONCE A YEAR NOT OVER 300
2000 ELECTORS
CITY SOVIET
200 ELECTORS
UNION OF HOUSE SERVANTS
FACTORY UNION
10,000 INHAB.
COUNTY CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ONCE A YEAR NOT OVER 300
200 ELECTORS
FACTORY SOVIETS
COUNTY EXECUTIVE COM.
COUNTY TOWN SOVIET
UNION OF HOUSE SERVANTS
FACTORY UNION
2.000 INHAB.
VILLAGE TOWNSHIP CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ONCE A YEAR
SOVIET OF VILLAGES
300 INHAB.
300 INHAB
SOVIET OF VILLAGES
DISTRICT EXECUTIVE COM.
100 INHAB.
100 INHAB.
VILLAGE
VILLAGE
VILLAGE
VILLAGE

DIAGRAM A.

autonomous territory—131 members in all. The national representatives are not elected, but appointed by the governments of the respective republics, although, in theory, the appointment must be approved by the Union Congress.

A law affecting the entire Union must be approved by the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. If there is a difference between them they appoint a joint committee similar to the method used by the United States Congress in disagreements between the Senate and the House. In cases where this committe is unable to reach an agreement, the matter can be settled by the Central Executive Committee, or by the All-Union Congress of Soviets. The Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities each separately elects a smaller body of nine called a Presidium. These two groups, together with nine members elected by the Central Executive Committee as a whole, makes up the Presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee, which handles all executive matters when the Central Executive Committee is not in session. Normally the Central Executive Committee meets but three times a year. It is popularly called "Tseek," from the initials of the words C. I. K. As the chief legislative body in Russia it passes the budgets, receives the reports of the various commissars, and discusses and acts on international questions. It also "has the right to suspend or repeal decrees, resolutions and orders of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and also of Congresses of Soviets and Central Executive Committees of Constituent Republics and other organs of authority in the territory of the Union." It also elects a Council of People's Commissars, which corresponds to the cabinet in the United States, but has greater power. This Council can pass emergency legislation and issue orders which have as much legal standing as an act of Congress in our country, except that they can be modified or changed by the Central Executive Committee. In actual practice it is usual for all decisions of the Council of People's Commissars, except in minor matters and in cases of emergency, to be approved by the Central Executive Committee. Four of the People's Commissars deal with matters which fall exclusively within the jurisidiction of the Union as a whole. The allied republics have no corresponding commissars. Naturally, however, each of these commissars has his representatives in the various republics. These departments are: Foreign Affairs, Army and Navy, Transportation, Post and Telegraph.

Another group of commissars to be found both in the Union and in the various republics are (1) Labor, (2) Finance, (3) Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, (4) Home and Foreign Trade, (5) The Supreme Economic Council. In addition, each republic has the following commissars: (1) Internal Affairs, (2) Health, (3) Justice, (4) Education, (5) Agriculture, (6) Social Welfare.

A very important committee of the Council of People's Commissars is known as the Council of Labor and Defense. The chairman of the Council of People's Commissars is also the chairman of the Council of Labor and Defense. Other members are the People's Commissar for War, Supreme Economic Council, Labor, Ways and Communication, Agriculture, Home and Foreign Trade, Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. The All-Russian Council of Trade Unions also appoints its representatives, while the Central Statistical Department is represented at the sessions in an advisory capacity, as is also the People's Commissar of Finance, whenever a financial matter is under consideration. The purpose of the Council of Labor and Defense is to regulate the general economic life of the nation. Its decisions are binding on all central and local organizations, but are subject to revision by the Central Executive Committee. However, the Council has no machinery for carrying out its decisions except through the People's Commissars.

Occupational Representation

As we have noted, representation in the Soviet Union is occupational rather than territorial. The Communists believe the right to vote should rest, not on the ownership of property, but rather on the function which the individual performs in society. The test is whether the individual is serving society in a useful way, and is not using others for personal gain. Everyone therefore has a right to vote who is above 18 years of age, except the mentally deficient, criminals, those who employ labor for gain, those who live on rent or interest (speculation), and those who because of their occupation are supposed to be defenders of the old Czar's order and the counter-revolution. These are chiefly the clergy, who were supported by the Czar, and former Czar's police. It is not even necessary to be a Russian citizen in order to vote. Any foreigner can vote if he is working in a Russian institution, and does not fall into one of the excluded groups. The present percentage of those who are disfranchised is rather slight—between 5 and 6 per cent. of those of voting age.

There is an economic gain in restricting the number of voters since those who are excluded must pay higher taxes. Another advantage of disfranchisement is that it destroys to some extent their prestige and influence, and prevents their election to political office. There is no question but that in some cases, however, the result is unfair. Investigation made in Vladimir Gubernia in 1927 showed that on an average 5 per cent. of the city population was disfranchised, but less than 1 per cent. of the village population.

Within the Russian Soviet Republic there is a village population of just over 83,000,000. Of these 41,604,000 are of voting age. The number excluded from the elections has been: 1922, 1.4 per cent.; 1923, 14 per cent.; 1924–25, 1.3 per cent.; 1925–26, 1 per cent. They were excluded for the following reasons:

	1924–25 %	1925–26 %
Those who hired labor for private gain	37.6	46.4
Employees and agents of the former Czar's police	30.1	20.9
Professional religious workers and monks	20.5	23.4
Criminals and others excluded by court action	9.4	5.7
Miscellaneous	2.4	3.6

The Russians maintain that those who work together can much more intelligently elect a representative than those who merely live together. A teacher should know best the right teacher to select, a toolmaker should know the best toolmaker in his union, whereas each might be quite ignorant of the best man in the ward division of a city. Everyone in the city who works and does not exploit another is entitled to belong to some union organization. Even cab drivers can belong to the Transport Workers, and so elect their own representative. In the villages, since nearly everyone belongs to the peasant class, there is, as has been noted, both geographical and occupational representation.

Elections

By law, elections are held annually. Usually an electoral committee is appointed. Sometimes the chairman is sent from the next higher state organ. Thus, the chairman of the uyezd or county committee might be sent by the gubernia or provincial electoral committee. The size of this committee varies according to the place. For example, in Rostoff on the Don, it was composed of nine people, and represented (1) the trade unions, (2) the Communist youth, (3) the women workers, and (4) the Presidium of the city soviet; the remainder being from various trade unions. This committee drew up the lists of those to be excluded. These were published two or three weeks before the elections, in fifty-five different districts of the city.

In Tiflis, in place of one city election committee, there were four precinct committees composed of five members each. It can thus be seen that there is a good deal of latitude in regard to the actual conduct of elections. It must be remembered that the law in Russia is not hard and fixed. The revolution is only ten years old. If a soviet does not wish to abide by the letter of the law, it feels free to change it, provided it observes the spirit. However, every year sees an advance in observing the general legal requirements and recommendations from the central government.

Elections are not held on a fixed day, as in the United States. In fact, the entire process of electioneering consumes in the neighborhood of a month or more. Fifteen days are used by the old elected officers in telling their constituents about their records, while another fifteen days are used in voting. An election will take place in one factory on Monday, in another on Tuesday and so on. While the law permits the freeing of workers for elections, in practice the election is often held after working hours. It is not compulsory to have all the employees in a factory meet jointly. For example, a tobacco factory in Rostoff, employing four thousand workers, had two different elections for two different parts of the plant. Another factory, no larger, had five separate elections for five different parts of the plant. When a factory election is divided, each section elects only a proportional number.

In 1926, in the Rostoff tobacco factory, the entire election was invalidated because one meeting elected the ticket for all the factory instead of its proportion. In the county 35 per cent. of the eligible voters must appear in order to have a valid election, and in the cities 50 per cent. If, however, one election has been declared invalid because there were not a sufficient number of voters, the second is legal in any case. In Rostoff, there was not a single recorded case when as many as 50 per cent. of the eligible voters stayed away, and on the average 67 per cent. voted. In Tiflis, in 1927, 69 per cent. of the possible electors voted.

The number of people participating in the elections in Russia is shown in the following table prepared by A. Yenukidse, Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission and Secretary of the Central Executive Committee.

Soviet Elections

	1926		1927	
	Urban	*Rural*	*Urban*	*Rural*
R. S. F. S. R.	48.5	47.3	55.4	47.4
Ukraine	62.7	54	57.9	52.5
Georgia	55.7	...	65.7	...
White Russia	...	46.5	...	46.6
Uzbekistan	...	45.7	...	66.2
Turkmenistan	...	36.8	...	38.7

On the average he claims 47.4 per cent. of the village electorate and 59.3 per cent. of the urban electorate voted in 1927 in Soviet Russia proper. In 1927, 63.3 per cent. of trade union members voted, and 76.7 per cent. of the Red Army.

In the city soviet there is usually one elected representative for every one or two hundred electors, depending on the size of the city. Where there are not enough workers in a factory to elect a single representative, several factories are joined together. It makes no difference whether they are making the same kind of product or not. The housewives, who do not work together in any one place, naturally vote by districts. In the factory elections and in other organizations, the Communist Party very frequently prepares a list of candidates. Oftentimes the trade union "active" also prepares a list. Where a list of candidates is prepared, it is often put on the wall a week in advance of the general election. When the election occurs, a representative of the Election Committee calls the meeting to order, and a list of candidates is read. The voting can be by the entire list at once, or by individual names. In nearly all cases that I have investigated it has been done by individual names. Sometimes an election lasts three or four hours. Each candidate's name is read, and then those who care to speak for or against him are heard. Voting is usually by upraised hand, although I was told by several city soviets that where a number of the electorate demanded secret ballots they were used. In Rostoff on the Don the chairman of the Election Committee told me that there were one or two instances of the secret ballot being used in 1921 and 1922. This was among a group of workers. He claimed that if as many as ten or fifteen people out of a group wished a secret vote they usually could have it. According to his view, however, there is not the same necessity for a secret ballot in Russia as in capitalistic countries —there is no pressure from any capitalistic interest having an economic stake in the result.

City and Gubernia Soviets

One of the most interesting things in the political mechanism of Russia is that of the provincial and city soviets. I made rather careful studies, so far as time would permit, of the city soviets in Moscow, Leningrad, Tiflis, Baku, and Rostoff. Let us consider as a concrete example the city soviet of Rostoff on the Don. In the Rostoff district the political mechanism ascends from the village to the rayon, okrug, krae, and finally to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. The city of Rostoff is subordinate to the okrug soviet. The population of the city of Rostoff is 233,491, while that of the province (okrug), which includes the city, is 1,122,000. In other words, there are about 900,000 people in the villages which embrace the provincial district. The provincial congress meets once a year, with about 800 delegates; of these the city sends 266, or roughly 33 per cent. The provincial congress elects an executive committee of fifty members which meets twice a month. Forty per cent. of its membership comes from the city. The executive committee in turn elects a presidium of fifteen members which meets once a week. About two-thirds of its membership come from the city. The chairman of the city soviet is also chairman of the provincial soviet. Thus, in spite of the fact that the city has a smaller representation in the congress, it controls the work of the soviet. The city sends to the provincial congress one deputy for every thousand voters, while the country districts send one deputy for every five thousand inhabitants. The chairman of the election committee told me that one voter in the country districts equals approximately 1.6 inhabitants. If this is true, the city proportionately gets about three times the representation of the country.

The city soviet is made up of 1,019 representatives, who meet once a month. Of this number, 874 are men, 172 are women, 640 are members of the Party, 40 are members of the Komsomols, 339 are non-Party. Two-thirds are workers and one-quarter office employees. The city soviet usually elects a presidium only, dispensing with an additional executive council. The presidium in Rostoff met once a week, and was composed of 31 members and candidates (candidates having a voice but no voting power). Of these, 21 were members of the Party. The work of this city soviet is divided into twelve sections: (1) Communal, having charge of institutions affecting the general life of the city, such as street cars, baths, electric lights, telephones, etc.; (2) Housing accommodations; (3) Financial Budget; (4) Industry; (5) Trade and Coöperatives; (6) Administrative Law, having charge of courts, police, etc.; (7) Health, having charge of the protection of the health of the workers, hospitals; (8) Labor and Social Welfare, having charge of social insurance, old-age homes, etc.; (9) Education; (10) Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, controlling the different departments of the government, checking their activity, trying to increase their efficiency, exposing corruption where it exists, and, in general, acting as an audit on all the acitvities of governmental institutions; (11) Military, having special relationship to the Red Army; (12) Transport.

Every single member of the soviet is obligated to choose one section in which he cares to work. The result is that everyone has some definite work to do, and feels himself responsible for the welfare of certain institutions, whether they be hospitals, schools, factories or coöperatives. As a matter of fact, in Rostoff, the division between the membership of the various sections was almost equally divided, with the exception of the Culture Section, which had only 47 members. The rest varied from 88 in the Health Section to 115 in the Financial Budget. Each section elects a Bureau of a small number of delegates and a chairman, who give all their available time to the work of the section. The remaining members merely attend general meetings. While the frequency of these meetings varies, there were none which met less than once a month, and several met on an average of twice a month. In all the sections there were settled during this period a total of about five hundred questions. The heads of the various sections are usually members of the presidium of the city soviet. Anyone in the city who is interested in the work of a section is also permitted to attend its sessions, thus enabling all those who are really interested in governmental life to take part. In Rostoff the number of voluntary workers in the various sections exceeded fifteen thousand. In Moscow over fifty thousand participated. It can thus be seen that while the city soviet is quite different from American governmental institutions of the same character, it does secure more coöperative participation by the average citizen than does our American municipal government. In saying this, I do not refer to the opportunities for participation in elections on the part of those hostile to the Communists.

In spite of the privilege of choosing the particular section in which they are interested, a surprising number of members of the soviet are indifferent to the work. In Rostoff, for example, from March to the end of December, 1926, a period of ten months during which twelve meetings of the city soviet were held, 12 members of the soviet did not attend any session, 26 only one session, 36 two sessions, 65 three sessions, 67 four sessions, and 89 five sessions. In other words, 295 members of the soviet, or 31 per cent., attended half or less of the meetings of the soviet. Every six months, the members of the soviet have to report back to their constituents. Beginning in 1928 reports are made to the voters every three months, and the delegates can then be recalled. In Rostoff only twenty-four were excluded from membership in the soviet by the voters who elected them during the past half-year. In Tiflis during 1927 fifteen were excluded for being too "passive," as non-interest in the governmental work is termed. In Baku since the last elections in May, 1926, out of a membership of 1,500 in the city soviet, forty were recalled by their electorates. Considering the fact that representation is largely made up of workers who have had little or no education or experience in administrative affairs, perhaps this is not strange. For example, taking the entire membership of the city soviet of Rostoff, only 5.4 per cent. had finished the university, 15.7 had finished the middle school, although 71.9 per cent. had finished the lowest school. Six and seven-tenths per cent. are listed as being "somewhat illiterate."

During the period from March to December, 1926, there were forty-six meetings of the Rostoff Presidium. Thirty-two per cent. of all the questions considered concerned communal and housing problems, 14 per cent. finance, 10 per cent. culture and social welfare questions, and 8.5 per cent. trade and industry.

The budget for the city of Rostoff for 1926-27 shows a total expenditure of about $5,850,000, the greatest amount going to communal economic institutions. It is interesting to note that education consumed over 5.2 per cent. of the entire budget.

The plan of a typical provincial soviet is shown on the accompanying diagram (B). It can there be seen that the various departments are closely related to the national government. For example, the G. P. U., or secret police, works under the Provincial Executive Committee, but its head is either appointed or confirmed by Moscow. Each Central Executive Committee elects a presidium of seven, usually composed of its most important officers. In Moscow and Leningrad there are more.

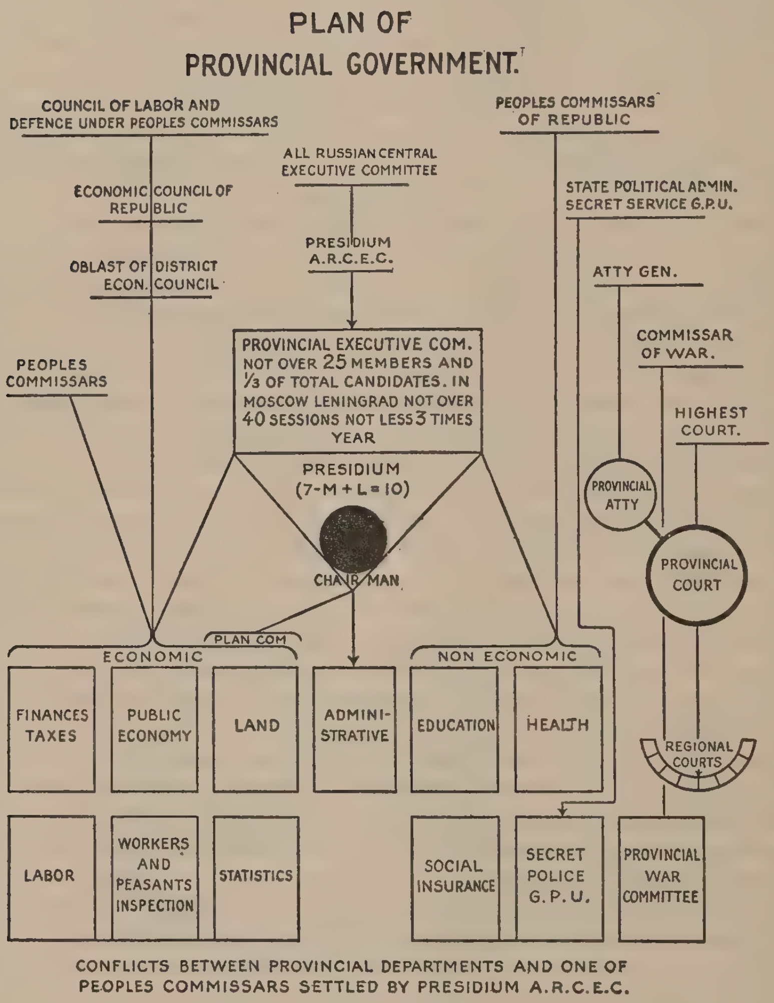
PLAN OF
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.
COUNCIL OF LABOR AND DEFENCE UNDER PEOPLES COMMISSARS
PEOPLES COMMISSARS OF REPUBLIC
ALL RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
ECONOMIC COUNCIL OF REPUBLIC
STATE POLITICAL ADMIN. SECRET SERVICE G.P.U.
PRESIDIUM A.R.C.E.C.
OBLAST OF DISTRICT ECON. COUNCIL
ATTY GEN.
COMMISSAR OF WAR.
PEOPLES COMMISSARS
PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COM. NOT OVER 25 MEMBERS AND 1/3 OF TOTAL CANDIDATES. IN MOSCOW LENINGRAD NOT OVER 40 SESSIONS NOT LESS 3 TIMES YEAR
HIGHEST COURT.
PRESIDIUM (7-M + L = 10)
PROVINCIAL ATTY
PROVINCIAL COURT
CHAIRMAN
PLAN COM
ECONOMIC
NON ECONOMIC
FINANCES TAXES
PUBLIC ECONOMY
LAND
ADMINISTRATIVE
EDUCATION
HEALTH
REGIONAL COURTS
LABOR
WORKERS AND PEASANTS INSPECTION
STATISTICS
SOCIAL INSURANCE
SECRET POLICE G.P.U.
PROVINCIAL WAR COMMITTEE
CONFLICTS BETWEEN PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENTS AND ONE OF PEOPLES COMMISSARS SETTLED BY PRESIDIUM A.R.C.E.C.

DIAGRAM B.

Village and County Soviets

Where there is one city which dominates the province, there is often little difference in personnel between the executive committee of the city and the provincial soviet; nevertheless the provincial soviet is in reality the directing center of all the soviets of the district. It has to supervise the special problems of the city, public utilities, industries, and higher education, in so far as they have significance for the entire province. When we pass to the next lower soviet, the county or rayon, we have the coördinating link between the policies of the gubernia and the village. The county soviet might thus be called the coördinator of soviet policy. It has different departments to carry out its functions. For instance, there is a department of finance which is responsible for the collection of all taxes to the gubernia. Again, the county might propose telephone connections between all the village soviets. The county has an agricultural department which sends out agricultural experts to teach the peasants. These experts usually have an agricultural museum, keep bulls and stallions, and provide farm literature something like a county farm agent in the United States. Their purpose it to help the peasant increase his efficiency. Each county also has a school department which endeavors to carry out the educational policy of the provincial soviet. When a local school is weak the county tries to strengthen it. Teachers are also appointed for all the local schools. If there are homeless children in the district the county must assume responsibility. Similarly, the county soviet has a health department which supervises the hospitals and doctors of the districts. It must also inspect day nurseries. A cultural department looks after the establishment of reading rooms and clubs in the villages. When a village is weak in its cultural activity this work is promoted by the county. The county soviet thus becomes the agent for helping to translate policies from above into the life of the village.

Perhaps, however, the most important soviet as far as the average peasant is concerned is that of the village. It is run along lines similar to the town meeting in the United States. The villages are united in a township of villages, or volost, and the township soviet has various sections on which different peasants must work. For instance, in Maslov Kut in southern Russia, there are sections on education, collection of taxes, land, roads and bridges, cultural work, and poor peasants.

Taxes are naturally of primary concern to the peasant. To collect the taxes a comittee is appointed. In the village of Maslov Kut there are twenty people on this committee, none of whom is paid for the work. They assess each individual in the village according to the requirements of the law. Since everyone knows everyone else it is relatively easy to levy the taxes equitably. Nevertheless the secretary of the soviet has to sit regularly at night to listen to the objections of those who think they have been unfairly dealt with. All things considered, service on the tax committee is not popular and there is usually an annual rotation of office.

The matter of land distribution is wholly determined by the local soviets. Its allocation and distribution is a serious and controversial problem which demands a great deal of attention. In the matter of schools, the local soviets must get money for the teacher, who is sent down from the next higher soviet. The building which is used for educational purposes must also be provided and equipped by the local soviet. The soviet also has power to excuse men from serving in the army for economic or social reasons. The cultural work of the village soviet is considerable. There are literary, agricultural and dramatic circles, besides lectures on how to improve agricultural methods, et cetera. Another important task of the local soviet is that of helping poor peasants. This work is entrusted to a "poor peasant committee." It may give them a special plot of land, or provide free seeds for them. If a widow is too old to cultivate the land heself, she may apply to the poor peasant committee for help. The committee may also request that grain be ground for the poorer peasants.

The village soviets do not meet very regularly, and according to a government report for June 30, 1927, out of 3,247 village soviets, in a half year there were only 11,247 meetings, or on an average of 3.4 meetings for each village soviet. The village soviet is supposed to have sectional meetings covering various local problems such as education, taxation and so on. But according to information from the same source, out of 9,535 sections of village soviets in various districts of Russia, for the first half of 1927 there were only 4,551 meetings, or an average of .4 of 1 per cent. meeting for each section. In spite of the fact that meetings of the soviet do not come very often, there is an average attendance of but 55 per cent.

The difference in function between the village soviet and that of the county is that the village is dealing directly with the individual peasant whereas the county soviet is dealing through the medium of all the village soviets sending orders down from above. Take the matter of taxes. The taxes are collected by the village soviet and then must be turned over to the county soviet. If the taxes of a village fall below the norm expected, the county soviet would want to know the reason why. The difference in function is picturesquely illustrated by the fact that the county soviet can boast a typewriter and the village needs none.

Organization of the G. P. U.

The G. P. U. (State Political Department) acts as the secret service department, working against counter-revolution and economic espionage. In the early days of the revolution, in order to combat counter-revolution, speculation, and sabotage, an Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) was formed under the all-Russian Central Executive Committee. This Checka however was abolished in 1922 and in its stead was created the United State Political Department, popularly known as the G. P. U. Under the new Constitution of the U. S. S. R., adopted in 1923, the G. P. U. is attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the Union and the chairman of the G. P. U. is a member of the Council, having an advisory vote. Supervision of the legality of the acts of the G. P. U. is carried out by the procuror of the U. S. S. R. on the basis of special resolutions adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Union. In practice of the G. P. U. is probably very closely allied to the Central Committee of the Party. Stalin describes its function as "the punitive organ of the soviet power, resembling the Comité du Salut Publique of the French Revolution. It represents something like a military-political tribunal, constituted to protect the revolution against the assaults of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and its agents." The purposes for which it was organized can best be understood by considering the following six divisions of its official activity:

(1) Foreign Section, which covers the work of running down counter-revolution and economic conspiracy abroad. (2) Economic Section, dealing with economic sabotage and economic espionage. (3) Transport Section, which serves to protect the railways and steamship lines. (4) Military Section, which deals with attempts at counter-revolution within the Red Army. (5) The Secret Section, which deals with any hostile political organization within the Union. (6) Operative Section, which works out a general policy to be followed in all the sections of the G. P. U.

The G. P. U. has a separate armed force of its own and has the right to try certain cases itself. Many believe that it has imprisoned men needlessly for political offenses and that it was not necessary to inflict capital punishment on such a large scale during the civil war. It must be remembered, however, that reliable English testimony points to the fact that even more were murdered by White officers in Finland than by Red. Terror is equally wrong whether White or Red. When one realizes that claimants to the Russian throne are still making inflammatory speeches in Europe, and that the author was told by a church dignitary within one week after his arrival in Russia in 1927 that there must be some time another revolution, it can readily be understood why such a secret service organization still exists. It is also true that many of the Russian people have, as a whole, not yet learned to be honest, having been educated in a system of corruption and bribery under the Czar. The G. P. U. acts as a very effective check against such activities. As will be seen later, it is much more strict with dishonest party members than with out-and-out opponents. . . .

All activities of the G. P. U. are under the control of the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. The G. P. U. has the right to arrest anyone, but within forty-eight hours it must notify the special attorney general (procuror) of the Supreme Court. It has to keep him notified at every point of what is done. It must try the case within one month or secure permission for further extension of time.

According to Menjinski, its head, the G. P. U. can try a case in two ways. One is by an administrative process, where it is entirely in the hands of the officials of the G. P. U. itself, except that the special attorney general must always be present when final consideration of the case is being made. Under an administrative process the G. P. U. has the right only of imprisonment for three years. The accused can always appeal to the Central Executive Committee against the decision of the G. P. U.

The second process is that of the Tribunal Court of the G. P. U. Here the case must be considered by the Collegium, or leading executive officials of the G. P. U. and the death penalty can be imposed in some cases. In either case the procurer must be present when the case comes up for decision. He is there to protect the prisoner and see that the G. P. U. does not imprison him unjustly. In some cases the decision of the G. P. U. is overruled by the procuror and the All-Union Central Executive Committee of the government. The prisoner, his friends or relatives, have the right to appeal to the Persidium of the Central Executive Committee on behalf of the case. A mere telephone message to this body constitutes an appeal. The prisoner also has the right to appeal a second time for clemency to the Central Executive Committee. There is a special committee of Amnesty which handles these cases.

The G. P. U. claims it does not arrest an individual until it has the evidence against him pretty well established. The old intellectual classes do not feel that this is true in their case. If a trial is carried on outside the regular courts by the G. P. U., the accused has no right to be represented by a lawyer of his own choice nor can he call his own witnesses. His only protection is that of the procuror. If the Central Executive Committee has already reviewed the case prior to his arrest or after his arrest, there is scant hope for clemency. In the case of the twenty-two who were shot in 1927, the head of the G. P. U. told us that none of them appealed against the decision of the G. P. U.

A local agency of the G. P. U. has no right to decide a case finally, it must be decided by the central authority. In the Ukraine and in the Trans-Caucasus the G. P. U. has somewhat more power, but in these districts there is a representative from Moscow on the ground. In the Trans-Caucasus and in the Ukraine they have their own Codex of laws which the G. P. U. must observe, but which are almost identical with those in Russia proper.

From 1922-27, 1,500 were executed by the G. P. U., or an average of 300 per year. The head of the G. P. U. feels that this is a very small number considering the many thousands of counter-revolutionists who are even to-day working against the Soviet power throughout the world.

The head of the G. P. U. assured us: "Not a single Socialist has been executed, not even the social revolutionist who tried to kill Lenin. Mensheviks who fought against the Bolsheviks were never executed. However, Monarchists and White Guards elements who were caught doing espionage and counter-revolutionary work were shot." His statement seems a bit inaccurate since Dora Kaplan who tried to kill Lenin in 1918 was executed, and there have been others since.

The G. P. U. is very frankly an agency of class justice. Not so many cases have apparently been found where injustice has been done to the workers and peasants. Knowing the mistakes of the United States Department of Justice during and after the World War one can readily understand how injustice can occur in Russia. As a matter of fact, after the war, in the United States the government issued warrants to arrest 6,500 aliens, an overwhelming proportion of whom were entirely innocent. Such an eminent authority as former Secretary of State Hughes has said that this action "savored of the worst practices of tyranny." When one considers that Russia has been passing through a world war, civil war, intervention by leading capitalist nations, that even as late as 1927 diplomatic relations with England were severed after violation of the diplomatic rights of the official representative of Russia, on the part of Great Britain, one can understand something of the nervous tension of Russian officialdom. Further, during 1927 the Russian minister to Poland was shot in Warsaw, and as late as September another employee of the Russian government was attacked in the same city. There have been repeated attempted assassinations within Russia, plots to blow up the Kremlin and the G. P. U. headquarters, and bombs have actually been thrown into Communist meetings killing members of the Party. Under such conditions a war psychosis is inevitable. In the Tiflis prison we talked with stenographers who had worked with the Near East Relief, and had been arrested on suspicion of aiding foreigners. One of the Menshevik prisoners told us that they did not dare speak to us openly, because on a previous occasion when one of the prisoners had spoken to the Commandant of the prison about conditions he had been beaten by a representative of the G. P. U. afterwards. In the prison at Tiflis the G. P. U. first asked us not to talk with any prisoners on political matters, and finally, on our refusal to enter the prison under these conditions, permitted us to talk with the prisoners. The Commandant, however, refused to leave the room, when we were talking with the prisoners, except in one instance. All this is quite understandable in view of the war psychosis, but it probably indicates that mistakes are made by the G. P. U., and cruel injustice done. It is, however, fair to say that the ordinary peasants and workers do not seem to be terrorized. On the contrary, they felt quite free to criticize the government and the Party, and did so repeatedly to members of our delegation. Whereas the former aristocratic classes and those who sympathize with the White Guard Armies feel that they are living in a prison house, it is also true that those who are really doing work which the government feels to be useful and who are not criticizing the government or plotting against it, are unmolested. It must not be forgotten, however, that the majority within the party uses the G. P. U. against the minority and hence to some extent suppresses freedom even within the party.

Freedom of Movement

There is freedom of movement within Russia, although each individual must register and show his passport or other documents whenever he remains longer than a day in any locality. It is also true that political opponents of the government are now from time to time exiled to Siberia or Turkestan.

Control of the Press and Publications

There is a monopoly of party legality for one party only, that of the Communist. Freedom of criticism is permitted by individuals within existing organizations such as the soviets, trade unions and the party, but no organized criticism, except through these channels, is tolerated. Even within the party there is a rigid discipline. In theory an individual is free to criticize within the party ranks until a decision has been reached by the central committee of the party. After that he must not criticize but spend all his energies in carrying out the decision. In practice, as in all countries, it is safer to be on the side of the majority. To criticize a prominent representative of the party may mean that one will be placed in the position of having advocated a policy which is later decided to be wrong by the majority. This might then be used against the individual.

The Glavlit (the Chief Department of Literature and Publications), a branch of the People's Commissariat of Education, censors all books, pamphlets, periodicals and papers not controlled by the party or the government. The following organizations and institutions are free from censorship as far as the Glavlit is concerned: (1) The Communist International; (2) the Central Committee of the Party; (3) the Government Publishing Department; (4) Department for Political Education; (5) Central Executive Committee of the Government; (6) Academy of Science.

The Russian law lists the following kinds of writing which should be prohibited: (1) agitation against the Soviet Power; (2) articles relating to military secrets; (3) the circulation of false rumors; (4) nationalistic and religious fanaticism; (5) pornographia (extreme bitterness toward opponents, obscenity, unwise treatment of sex questions).

It is obvious that there can be considerable difference of opinion as to the precise meaning of the term "religious fanaticism" or indeed almost any of the items listed.

The assistant head of the Department stated that while they try to keep government secrets out of the papers, they are not always successful. There is no censorship for newspapers (practically all are controlled by the party) but after publication a copy has to be sent to the Department to see that nothing illegal has been printed. In spite of this, the assistant chairman of the Department said they had to keep warning the official government paper as well as the official Communist paper because they were giving away military secrets. For example, he claimed that from the *Pravda* it would be possible to get a very clear idea of the distribution of the military factories. All party publications other than newspapers have to be censored in advance. There are in Russia roughly 1,200 periodicals, most of which are censored.

In 1926 the Department examined 25,765 books and 68,982 individual numbers of newspapers and circulars. When something is found which seems illegal, both the author and the publisher are notified. The matter is not deleted at once. The author is simply requested to work over his material. If he refuses to do this, publication is stopped. No statistics are available of the number of actual prohibitions. In the central department of the censorship there are 86 people, 35 handling the technical apparatus, and 51 having to read books and periodicals. In addition to the staff of the central department they have one representative in each gubernia, so that there is a total of about four hundred people throughout the Union. In Russia the exact number of censors is as follows: 32 in gubernias, 25 in okrugs, 7 in oblasts, 10 in autonomous republics, 3 in krai, and 219 in uyezds, making a total of 296. In the Ukraine there are only 15 censors for 41 okrugs.

In spite of the very effective censorship, publication of newspapers, periodicals, and books has grown astonishingly since the revolution. In 1913 there were 1,020 newspapers with a total circulation of 2,000,000. Now there are 700 newspapers with a total circulation of 8,000,000, nearly all under the editorship of Communists. Under the Czar there was a much larger area and a population of perhaps 180,000,000 people. Now with the loss of Poland, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland, there is only a population of 146,000,000. Thus under the Czar there was one paper for every 90 persons, whereas now there is approximately one paper for every 18 persons. Under the Czar in 1912 in the present territory of the Union only 28,600 books were issued, whereas during the past year 38,565 books have been published.

Letters, telegrams and printed matter from abroad are censored whenever necessary in the post-office. As a matter of fact, most letters are not opened. All wires of foreign newspaper correspondents are read and if there seems to be some inaccuracy the censor usually telephones to the correspondent involved, asking him if he would be willing to change his message. Very few cables are held up except in this way.

The Right of Assemblage

Public meetings (except party, trade union and governmental) cannot be held without permission; even then speakers who stimulate opposition against the government may be arrested. It is almost impossible in the cities to get public buildings for meetings on subjects which are out of harmony with the policy of the government or the party. Actually, however, most workers and peasants can meet and voice grievances through their soviet or trade union.

The churches are open and have full freedom of holding religious services. Organized religious instruction for children under eighteen is prohibited. It is true that many priests have been arrested in the past, but according to the testimony of American religious workers, most of those arrested were actually doing something hostile to the Soviet government. The church is prohibited from making obligatory assessments on members, but this does not prevent voluntary contributions. This tends to weaken any central organization unless it trains its constituency to contribute voluntarily. The school is separated from the church. The law reads:

> "Teaching of religious doctrines is not permitted in any state or public as well as private educational institution where general subjects are taught. Students can teach and learn religion privately. Teaching of religious doctrines to persons not of age and to minors in state or private educational institutions and in schools is punished by forced labor of not more than a year."

Anyone who belongs to the ranks of the clergy is forbidden to fill any position in the schools. This legislation as well as the confiscation of church treasures in the famine of 1921 was rigidly enforced, and where it was disobeyed the government took severe measures, even going so far as to execute certain religious leaders who spoke openly against the government. In general organized religious instruction for children under 18 years of age is prohibited, although the Mohammedans and some of the sectarians have secured the privilege of organizing Sunday Schools for children from 14 years of age and up.

In regard to the pacifists, the Soviet government exempts them from active military service, provided they substitute hospital or other service. In practice, however, the court tries to determine whether the individual was a pacifist prior to the revolution, that is, whether he or his parents belonged to a sect opposing war. In the absence of such mitigating circumstances the conscientious objector is likely to be imprisoned now. This action is taken because the courts found that many individuals who had been quite willing to serve in the White Army were now unwilling to serve in the Red Army and claimed exemption on the ground of religious conviction. Actually, however, the ruling causes injustice to those who have become sincere pacifists since the revolution.

There can be little question that the church in Russia to-day is one of the freest platforms for the expression of opinion which exists in the country. Most of the priests are not educated sufficiently to take full advantage of this opportunity.

Right of Association

Any group of individuals can associate together in any organization so long as it does not oppose the principles of the Soviet government, but they must secure permits to exist. Usually, coöperatives, trade unions, mutual aid societies, welfare organizations, clubs and athletic circles are given the utmost encouragement by the government. In cases where the government becomes suspicious that certain organizations are being used as centers for counter-revolutionary activity, steps are taken to arrest the leaders or stop their work. This has been done in the case of the Boy Scout organization. Since the Bolshevik government maintains an organization very similar in scope to that of the Boy Scouts, those who joined the Scout organization may have been opposed to the government. In general, there is freedom for the workers and peasants who organize for non-political action. But it is not so easy for the members of the former intellectual classes to have their own organizations. . . .

2. THE COMMUNIST PARTY[13]

Structure of the Party

The structure of the party is highly centralized. Starting with the nucleus (cell) in the village, factory, or organization wherever there are three or more members, it leads by an ascending stairway of party organizations to the directive center or Political Bureau.

Lenin tried to form a strong union of all the parts and executive agencies of the party in one center, but along with this to have a democratic structure. The party staff has to be so constructed that in all its branches from the lowest to the highest it will be elective. As in the case of the government elective mechanism there is a pyramidal structure. The cells from several villages elect and send their delegates to the county congress which in turn elects its delegates to the gubernia (provincial) congress. The various gubernia and okrug congresses from all over the country send their delegates to the All-Russian Congress.

The All-Russian Congress is the highest authority in the party. It usually meets once a year with representatives from provincial or okrug organizations. There were 673 voting delegates and 642 candidates who had the right of the floor at the Fourteenth Party Congress. Extraordinary congresses may be called at the initiative of the central committee, or on the demand of one-third of the membership. The congress elects a central committee which is now composed of 71 members and 50 candidates (it is constantly enlarging). This meets every two months and corresponds to the party caucus of our American Congress. The congress also elects a Central Control Commission which, following the Fifteenth Party Congress, was increased to 195 members, all of whom must be of at least ten years' party standing. This body, which meets every three months, in turn elects a presidium of 21 members and 9 candidates who have authority when the full Commission is not in session. The Control Commission is the supreme disciplinary body and has the right to send its representatives to any party meeting throughout Russia. Except for the Congress, it is the court of final resort on questions of expulsion of members. Every provincial party has its Control Commission, but their decisions, can be appealed to the Central Control Commission. The Party Congress also elects a Central Revision Commission of seven. It audits the finances and checks the speed and accuracy of the work in the party organs. The diagram of the party on the next page will help to make this structure clear.

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[13] By Jerome Davis. From *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade*, pp. 145-164. Some changes have been made to bring the material down to November, 1930.

The Central Committee, the Presidium of the Control Commission, and the Revision Commission jointly comprise what is called a "Plenum." This group elects the general secretary of the party, a Political Bureau of 9 members and 8 candidates, an organization bureau of 11 members and 5 candidates, and a secretariat of 6 members and 2 candidates. All the members of the secretariat are at present also members of the organization bureau and with Stalin, general secretary of the party, form a sort of interlocking directorate. The Plenum also elects the delegates of the party to the Third International as well as the editors of the party papers.

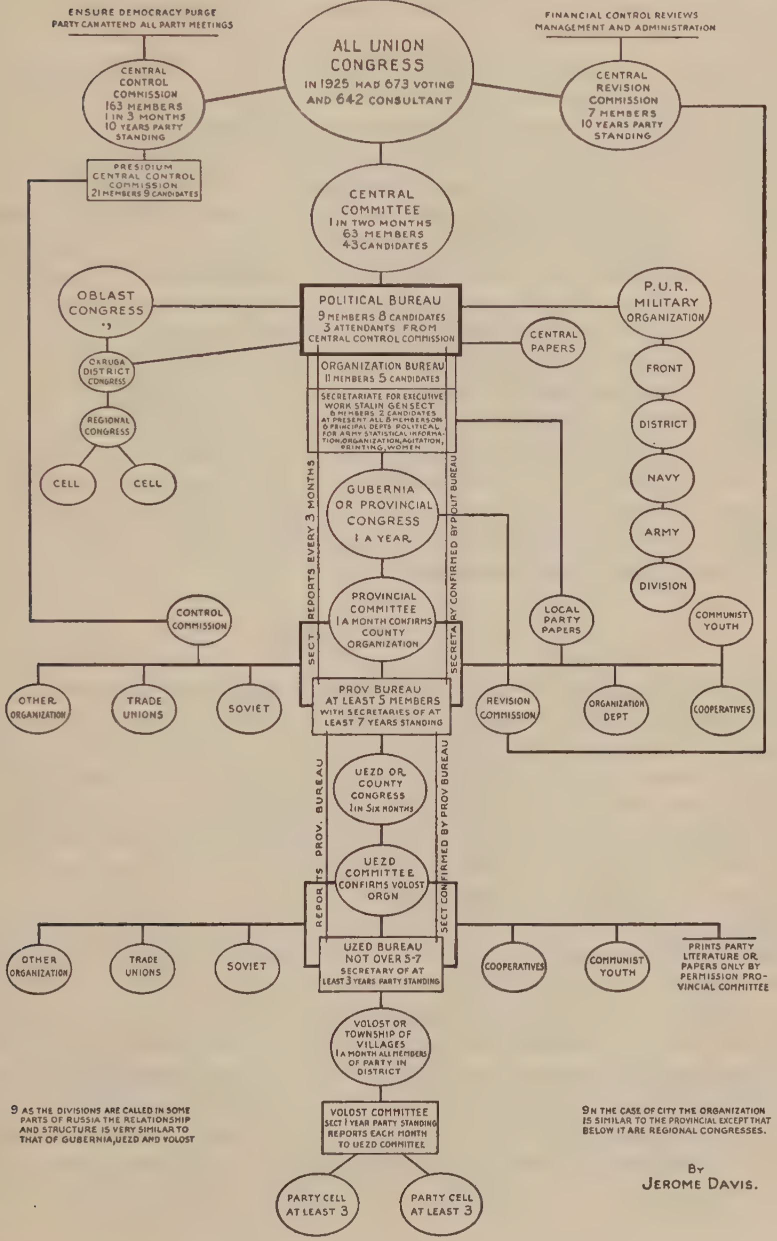
The Political Bureau has great power because it meets every week and is the highest authority between the bi-monthly sessions of the Central Committee. During this interval it can make any decision, which must be obeyed by party members. Similarly the action of the Central Committee is supreme until the Congress meets. Trotsky advocated that the Central Committee should not initiate but only follow the program laid down by the Congress. This view, however, has been repudiated by the party.

The Political Bureau and the Central Committee are powerful also because they plan the program of the Party Congresses. They officially report to the Congress and these reports are the starting points of the party debates. Where there are sharp differences within the Central Committee, both a majority and a minority report may be presented.

All these meetings are secret and none but elected delegates are privileged to attend. On the other hand, stenographic reports of the congresses are usually printed and sold publicly.

The secretary of the party is in a peculiarly strategic position since

STRUCTURE
COMMUNIST PARTY


ENSURE DEMOCRACY PURGE PARTY CAN ATTEND ALL PARTY MEETINGS
CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION 163 MEMBERS 1 IN 3 MONTHS 10 YEARS PARTY STANDING
PRESIDIUM CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION 21 MEMBERS 9 CANDIDATES
ALL UNION CONGRESS IN 1925 HAD 673 VOTING AND 642 CONSULTANT
FINANCIAL CONTROL REVIEWS MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION
CENTRAL REVISION COMMISSION 7 MEMBERS 10 YEARS PARTY STANDING
CENTRAL COMMITTEE 1 IN TWO MONTHS 63 MEMBERS 43 CANDIDATES
OBLAST CONGRESS *9
POLITICAL BUREAU 9 MEMBERS 8 CANDIDATES 3 ATTENDANTS FROM CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION
P.U.R. MILITARY ORGANIZATION
CENTRAL PAPERS
OKRUGA DISTRICT CONGRESS
ORGANIZATION BUREAU 11 MEMBERS 5 CANDIDATES
SECRETARIATE FOR EXECUTIVE WORK STALIN GENSECT 6 MEMBERS 2 CANDIDATES AT PRESENT ALL 8 MEMBERS ORG 6 PRINCIPAL DEPTS POLITICAL FOR ARMY STATISTICAL INFORMATION, ORGANIZATION, AGITATION, PRINTING, WOMEN
FRONT
REGIONAL CONGRESS
DISTRICT
CELL
CELL
NAVY
REPORTS EVERY 3 MONTHS
GUBERNIA OR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS 1 A YEAR
SECRETARY CONFIRMED BY POLIT BUREAU
ARMY
DIVISION
PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE 1 A MONTH CONFIRMS COUNTY ORGANIZATION
CONTROL COMMISSION
LOCAL PARTY PAPERS
COMMUNIST YOUTH
SECT
OTHER ORGANIZATION
TRADE UNIONS
SOVIET
PROV BUREAU AT LEAST 5 MEMBERS WITH SECRETARIES OF AT LEAST 7 YEARS STANDING
REVISION COMMISSION
ORGANIZATION DEPT
COOPERATIVES
REPORTS PROV. BUREAU
UEZD OR COUNTY CONGRESS 1 IN SIX MONTHS
SECT CONFIRMED BY PROV BUREAU
UEZD COMMITTEE CONFIRMS VOLOST ORGN
OTHER ORGANIZATION
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UZED BUREAU NOT OVER 5-7 SECRETARY OF AT LEAST 3 YEARS PARTY STANDING
COOPERATIVES
COMMUNIST YOUTH
PRINTS PARTY LITERATURE OR PAPERS ONLY BY PERMISSION PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE
VOLOST OR TOWNSHIP OF VILLAGES 1 A MONTH ALL MEMBERS OF PARTY IN DISTRICT
VOLOST COMMITTEE SECT 1 YEAR PARTY STANDING REPORTS EACH MONTH TO UEZD COMMITTEE
PARTY CELL AT LEAST 3
PARTY CELL AT LEAST 3

9 AS THE DIVISIONS ARE CALLED IN SOME PARTS OF RUSSIA THE RELATIONSHIP AND STRUCTURE IS VERY SIMILAR TO THAT OF GUBERNIA, UEZD AND VOLOST

9 IN THE CASE OF CITY THE ORGANIZATION IS SIMILAR TO THE PROVINCIAL EXCEPT THAT BELOW IT ARE REGIONAL CONGRESSES.

BY
JEROME DAVIS.

quite generally the paid party workers throughout the country look to him as their chief. He is in constant touch with the party organizations throughout the country and can reward his supporters and penalize his enemies. The Secretariat and Organization Bureau are virtually working under his direction.

Beside the Congresses there are party conferences which meet in the interim between congresses. These can discuss party problems but do not elect a new Central Committee or Control Committee.

While all this make for centralization, it also makes it easy to refer most questions to the rank and file for decision. Before and after every congress there is a thorough debate leading down into every cell in Russia. In fact, the purpose of each of these cells as given in the party constitution is to help spread among the masses the fundamental party ideas and decisions; to secure and train new members to work with the local committee in organizational and agitational activity, and finally to share with the party organization in the economic and political life of the country. The secretary of the cell must have been a member of the party for at least one year and have the sanction of the regional committee. Consequently new proposals and decisions can be sounded out in thousands of these cells all over the country. The reactions of the ordinary party members are then reported back to the center. The result is a mechanism which the Bolsheviks proudly call "democratic centralism." It unites mass feeling with a highly centralized leadership.

The Party Apparatus

One of the most interesting and important offices in Moscow is that of the Central Committee of the Party. This building houses all the secretaries and divisions of the executive work, not only of the party, but also of the Communist Youth Organization. It is guarded day and night. No one may enter without permission, which is secured from a special bureau in the rear of the building. Except in the case of well-known Communists verification is made by telephone to the person to be interviewed before the "propusk," or entry order, is issued.

Comparatively little is known in the United States of the activities of this organization which in effect directs the work of the huge party apparatus. As we have noted, under the Central Committee there is a Political Bureau which has under it an Organization Bureau and a Secretariat. The Political Bureau discusses only the most vital questions of party policy, the Organization Bureau handles the next most important political and organizational questions, while the Secretariat takes others of less moment. These last two are the executive organs of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. The Secretariat alone employs a technical staff of about 120 workers.

The Organization Bureau has 125 paid workers. It manages and instructs the local party organizations. To it come for advice and help members of the national and provincial party organizations. In each province a special group is selected to report back to the organization bureau on how the party is functioning. When necessary, workers are sent down from above to investigate. The provincial party committee also has an organization department which is in close touch with the national bureau. The general policy regarding the proportion of workers to be accepted into the party while adopted by the Party Congress, is put into practical effect with the assistance of the organization bureau. In general the present policy is to get as many new members as possible provided they are of good quality and high standards are maintained. In the early days in certain villages where there were not enough party members in the volost (township) some were sent in from outside. This is now rarely necessary.

The Agitation and Propaganda Department has a staff of about sixty in the Central Committee and the *Communist Revolution* is its official organ. Nearly every provincial Agitation and Propaganda Department has a similar publication. In large measure this department does not write articles. *Agitation* is defined as meaning a few ideas for the many, whereas *propaganda* is many ideas for the few. It directs the masses in campaigns along the lines decided by the party. It is also charged with the systematic political education of party members. Courses in party politics are compulsory for all, but nearly all members are so eager for party instruction that actually the work is carried on voluntarily. The discussion method is largely followed. Every party organization down as far as the township has its local "political grammar school." Where there is no adequate local school, "moving" schools are sent in by the provincial committee. The lowest party course is called the "School of the First Stair," the second, the "School of the Second Stair," and the third, the "Marxian-Lenin Circle."

Other important and separate departments of the party are those devoted to women, statistics, information, history, press, and finance.

The finances of the party come from the taxes on the members, which range from one-half of 1 per cent. to 3 per cent., depending on their salary, with special assessments in addition, besides a tax of approximately 40 per cent. on incomes over $112.50. No fixed proportion of this is kept by any one group in the party organization; it depends on the need. Usually about 10 per cent. of the dues are kept for use by the cells, 25 per cent. for the county committees, 15 per cent. for the gubernia or provincial committees, while 15 per cent. reaches the Central Committee. If we were to make a rough estimate and assume the average pay of a party member is $600 a year and the average tax 2 per cent., this makes a total tax considering the present membership of nearly $14,000,000 annually.

There are 24,000 paid party workers through out Russia. With this machine it is possible to go far in guiding the political life of the nation; especially when one considers that in addition there is legality for the Communist Party alone.

Membership

On May 1, 1927, the party had 1,210,954 members and candidates. Of this number 379,586 were candidates, and the total number of women was 145,486, or just over 10 per cent.[14]

Following the death of Lenin on January 21, 1924, the party increased its membership from 440,000 to 741,000 in 1924, or a growth of 63.6 per cent. By 1925 there was a further increase of 39.7 per cent., and in 1926 of 12.3 per cent. The percentage of increase for 1926 is somewhat greater in the villages and in the various national republics than it is for the Soviet Union as a whole.

Of necessity the party of 1930 or later is not, therefore, the party of even 1922. That year only 28.3 per cent. of the membership had entered the party later than 1919. In 1926, however, over 85 per cent. had entered since 1924. This means that they had not suffered for the party and their convictions under the Czar's régime. According to the occupational representation of the party in 1917, 60.2 per cent. were workers, 32.2 per cent. office workers and the like, and 7.6 peasants.

The percentage of workers had dropped to 31 per cent. by 1921, but owing to strong measures taken by the party since that time, it has now increased to 62.2 per cent., while the number of peasants has increased to 19.9 per cent.

The straight Russian part of the party is in complete command of the situation, since over 71 per cent. are straight Russian. Of the rest, 6.3 per cent. are Ukrainian, 5.3 per cent. Caucasian, while the Jews, who in many parts of Europe are considered to have commanding influence, only number 4.9 per cent.

On January 1, 1927, there were 33,177 Communist cells. Of these, just over 24,300 were in Russia, 4,400 in the Ukraine, 1,100 in White Russia, 2,300 in the Caucasian Republics, 660 in Uzbekistan, and 308 in Turkmenistan. Of the total, 53.4 per cent. were in the villages, 18.4 per cent. in the factories, 17.5 per cent. in government and other offices, 1.9 per cent. in the military organizations, and the rest scattered in various minor organizations. In 1926, of the delegates to various Communist Party congresses 99,000 were workers, 34,000 office employees, while 321,500 were peasants.

The Communists are extremely careful as to who may join them. They are in reality much more rigorous in their demands than are most religious sects. The constitution says that "everyone who accepts the program of the party, works in one of its organizations, obeys the rules of the party and pays the membership dues" is a member. It is not quite so easy as it sounds, however, to gain this privilege. Candidates are divided into three categories: (a) workers (who belong to a special perferred class), and those in the Red Army who come from the peasant or laboring class; (b) peasants who do not employ hired labor; (c) all others. In order to be accepted into the party, workers have to secure the recommendation of two party members of one year's standing and serve as candidates at least six months; those in the Red Army have to secure letters of recommendation from two party members of two years' standing and serve as candidates for at least six months. Those in the second category have to secure three letters of recommendation from party members of two years' standing and serve as candidates at least one year. All those in the last category have to secure five letters from party members of five years' standing. Exclusion from the party is accomplished by a vote of the particular organization to which the individual belongs, but must be confirmed by the provincial Control Commission. At irregular intervals "cleansings" are carried out. On these occasions in many cases each member of the party has to appear before all the individuals in the organization in which he works, both party and non-party, and publicly state why he should not be excluded. In these periodic house cleanings thousands are often excluded.

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[14] On April 1, 1930, the membership was 1,852,000. This included 641,563 candidates.

There are also heavy voluntary duties imposed on all members and candidates. Each member must be an active worker. No mere outward adherence to a program will do. Indeed, many a laboring man has confided to me his unwillingness to join the party because he really could not spend the time required in voluntary activity.

There is another drawback: it means perpetual hardship or near-poverty. As a rule no member has a salary of more than $112.50 a month unless it be as compensation for published articles.[15] He must live in a proletarian way. Expensive clothes and bourgeois parties are taboo. At a moment's notice he must stand ready to be sent anywhere, to do anything. In case he fails in his duty, punishment is swift, certain, and drastic.

An examination of the records of expulsion of members and candidates from the party approved by the local Control Commissions showed that out of 470 expulsions in a year in 10 large districts in Russia, 173 individuals were excluded because of drink, or 34 per cent. The other chief reason for expulsion was the wrong use of money.

A considerable number also leave the party voluntarily. In 1923, for instance, those who were excluded for not attending party meetings, nonpayment of dues, or for not fulfilling other party requirements, including also instances of those who left on account of family obligations, sickness, old age, or economic conditions, were 4.3 per cent. of all the members and candidates of the party. In 1924 the number was 1 per cent., in 1925 slightly over 1 per cent., and in 1926 it had risen to 1.97 per cent. Sixty-six per cent. of all those who left were mechanically excluded for not paying party dues, or for non-attendance at meetings, while 34 per cent. left because of personal reasons. In the first quarter of 1927, 4,984 voluntarily left the party, while there were in addition 3,520 who were expelled. For two years, 1926-28, some 93,000 members and candidates were called to account before the Control Commission of the party, although nowhere near as many were expelled.

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[15] There are some exceptions. For instance, technical experts may receive as high as $500 a month.

How It Controls the Government

On January 1, 1926, there were 7,315 worker's cells, of which 4,809 were in government factories, institutions and coöperative organizations, 1,860 in transportation, 163 in private factories and 483 in miscellaneous centers, while the villages had nearly twice as many, or 15,819. It is the business of these cells to direct the activity of the organizations in which they work is so far as they are able. Stalin has given a clear picture of how this control operates:

> "To all responsible positions in the Government the Communist Party tries to nominate its candidates, and in 95 out of 100 cases those candidates are elected. Naturally, these candidates will follow out the theories of Communism in which they believe, and the directions of the Party. Therefore a direct Communist leadership results.
>
> "The Communist Party after placing these members in responsible positions watches and sees how well they carry on their work in the interests of the working class, and where Party members have gone off the right track the Communist Party tries to discredit them and remove them from their positions. When this occurs there are other Communists who can carry on their work more in accordance with the interests of the working class.
>
> "When economic plans are being drawn up and questions of foreign policy or of other problems arise the Party tries to indicate certain policies to the bodies which deal with these problems. Policies are outlined, for instance, in industry, for the Supreme Council of National Economy, and through the members of the Party who are members of trade unions and coöperative bodies the policies are carried out. In agricultural and cultural development the Party also indicates certain policies and general outlines which it thinks should be followed. The Party as such does not attempt to participate in every decision which may be made along these lines. That would be physically impossible. The policies are carried through by the Communist members in the various organs. The Party also tries to check up to discover how these policies have worked out. Some of them may have been erroneous and then the Party tries to correct its own mistakes.
>
> "Here in Russia the Party openly admits that it does guide and give general direction to the government."

Actually since the Communists are the only party, there is no question but that their decision in favor of a new law will usually mean that it is adopted. The party congresses thus become more important than the Soviet congresses.

It is true that those of the younger generation who are politically minded tend to enter the Communist Party. Hence the membership includes possibly the ablest political leaders now in Russia. This is another reason why the higher positions in Russia are largely in the hands of Communists. How real this control is can be seen from the following figures:

In the Soviet organizations, the lower in the scale, the fewer Communists there are. Thus in the village Soviet 90.6 per cent. of the members are non-party. Of the chairmen of the village Soviets 79.9 per cent. are non-party. In the volost conferences, 76.5 per cent. of the members are non-party. In the executive committee of the volost only 47.2 per cent. are non-party. Of the chairmen of the volost committees only 12.3 per cent. are non-party.

In the All-Russian Central Executive Committee 222 belong to the party and 78 are non-party. In the management of the government trusts, on the first of July, 1925, in the metal industry, 70.7 per cent. were party members; in the textiles 74.4 per cent., in minerals 73.9 per cent., and in lumber 68.8 per cent. In the central apparatus of the Supreme Council of National Economy on the same date there were the following members of the party: Five out of six of the presidium, two general administrators, three out of seven assistants, and six out of fourteen heads of departments; but in the staff only 17 per cent. belonged to the party. On September 1, 1925, 49 per cent. of the executives on the railroad were Communists.

In the central apparatus of the Centrosoyus (Central Union Coöperative Society) on September 1, 1925, 34.9 per cent. were members of the party, while in the State Bank, on the first of July, 1925, there were only 9.3 per cent. In the People's Commissariat for Education, of 88,862 teachers only 2.5 per cent. were party members; 7.5 per cent. of the kindergarten workers, 10.2 per cent. of the staff in the children's homes, 7.1 per cent. of the staff of trade and technical institutions, and 23.9 per cent. of the librarians. In the local organizations of education, out of 1.063 responsible workers from 74 regions, 526 gubernias, 463 uyezds, 52.9 were party workers. This may be due to the fact that for the most part these workers are made up of those who have recently graduated from the universities. All in all it can be seen that the Communist Party has one of the most effective political organizations to be found in any country.

The Youth Organizations

The Communists have succeeded in effectively organizing the youth of Russia. The Komsomols, or All-Union Lenin Communistic Society of

Youth, unites all those from 16 to 23 years of age, who believe in Communist principles and subscribe to the rules of the organization. It started first as a Socialist Young People's Union in 1917 in Leningrad. The first conference took place in 1918. At that time there were only 22,000 members. Since then it has had an amazing growth which, including both candidates and members, runs as follows:

1919	96,000
1920	48,000
1921	400,000
1922	260,000
1923	303,000
1924	500,700
1925	1,140,706
1926	2,051,950
July 1, 1927	2,156,483
April 1, 1930	2,603,771

Of the last total, 70,409 were candidates. Virtually all young workers and peasants do not have to serve a probationary period as candidates, but the intellectual classes must serve as candidates for one and a half years. On July 1, 1927, the Komsomol membership was scattered in 67,943 different cells throughout Russia. Thirty-four per cent. of the members were factory workers, 8 per cent. hired hands working on the land, 47 per cent. peasants, 1.4 per cent. were workers in home industries and the rest miscellaneous. Since the Communist Party accepts some members who are under 23 years of age, approximately 7 or 8 per cent. of the Komsomols are also members or candidates of the party. A large proportion of the members of the Communist Youth Organization when they reach 23 are denied permission to join the party. The general secretary estimated that only 27 per cent. of those who apply are allowed to enter. The Komsomol organization is largely an educative organ to train the youth in Communistic ideas. Every member is expected to know the writings of Lenin, and to follow the principles and direction of the Communist Party. He must also be familiar with the entire history of socialism, including the writings of Marx and Engels, the program and history of the Communist Party and the Communist International. The constitution of the organization says that no one is a revolutionist who cannot do the hardest physical labor. "Every Komsomol must remember to execute the teaching of Lenin, that every act, no matter how small, if it only goes to help the laboring masses, is part of the great struggle for Communism."

The structural organization of the Komsomols is practically the same as that of the party. The National Congress is held once a year, and in 1927 had about 1,700 delegates. The Central Committee elected by this Congress is composed of 67 members, and meets every two or three months. It in turn elects a Bureau of 17, which meets weekly. The work of the Central Committee is divided into the following sections: First, Organization, which is divided into sub-sections of Statistics, Distribution, and Instructors; second, Agitation and Propaganda; third, Schools; fourth, Economics; fifth, Central Bureau of Young Pioneers; sixth, Printing. All together there are 64 paid workers in the Central Committee, and throughout Russia over 2,000. The number of volunteer workers, according to the official reports, is very much greater, running up into hundreds of thousands for the entire Union. The Department of Schools is concerned primarily with getting the youth to support and improve the local educational institutions. The Department of Economics aims to assist in protecting the young workers throughout Russia. The Central Organization prints one national paper, *Truth*, and nine journals. It also has one paper for the Pioneers. In addition to this, almost every local city branch of importance has its own publication.

About six years ago, the Komsomols organized a Pioneer Division composed of members from 10 to 16 years of age, which on December 7, 1927, had roughly 1,700,000 members. Shortly after the start of this movement the young Octoberists was formed composed of those below that age. It now has a membership of about 300,000.

The Opposition

There has always been opposition within the Communist ranks. In 1917, while Kerensky was in power, Zinoviev and Kamenev vigorously opposed taking the government by force. Later Spirodanova, a Left Socialist Revolutionist, broke with the Bolsheviks and participated in the plot to kill the German Ambassador rather than be a party to the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

In 1921, following agrarian revolts, there developed two opposition groups within the party. One group, called "the workers' opposition," proposed that the nationalized industrial structure should be under an All-Russian Congress of Producers, virtually a central organ to administer the economic life of the republic. This syndicalist proposal was opposed by the majority on the ground that it would then control the Soviet apparatus and be more powerful than the party. Another group, headed by Trotsky, wished to turn the trade unions into State instruments or tools of the State power. Both proposals were defeated, but the Tenth Party Congress did go on record in a compromise resolution in favor of an increase of internal democracy, while opposing factions within the party. It declared: "Without any exceptions all groups joined on the basis of this or that platform were to be dissolved and the strictest measures were to be taken to prevent any manifestations by such minorities. The violation of this rule will bring immediate expulsion." The constitution of the party itself provides for complete freedom of discussion until a question has been decided by the party, but thereafter it demands endorsement and loyal support. In 1921 Shlyapnikov, a member of the Central Committee, undertook at a government meeting to criticize openly a decision of the party. Lenin proposed his expulsion from the Central Committee but could not secure a two-thirds majority.

In the fall of 1923 Trotsky presented a letter signed by forty-six comrades urging greater democracy within the party. The statement has never been published. Enough is known to show they believed that the Central Committee of the party must be a mere executive organ for carrying out the will of the national conference. Part of this opposition was no doubt aimed at Stalin's leadership. A demand for change of the party executive could most easily be masked under the flag of democracy. The death of Lenin early in 1924 and the illness of Trotsky silenced the opposition for a time.

One result of Trotsky's campaign, however, was that the party leaders led by Zinoviev and Kamenev became violent in their opposition to Trotsky and even shouted for his removal from every responsible position. He was forced to resign as War Commissar and Zinoviev vainly tried to secure his removal from the Central Committee. Very soon, however, Zinoviev and Kamenev themselves broke with the majority and in the Party Congress of 1925 were completely defeated. Thus Stalin emerged as the strongest man in the party and the real power in the country. Zinoviev and Kamenev, who had but recently called for the "blood of Trotsky," were now forced to accept his leadership and rallied to his defense. This resulted in the formation of a solid block of all who at any time opposed Stalin. It was like "a staff without an army." They had leaders aplenty, but no following.

What probably disturbed Trotsky and the opposition most deeply was the refusal of the majority to permit the publication of Lenin's last message to the party, frequently called his "Testament." It contained these significant words as we have already noted:

> "Comrade Stalin, having become general secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand, Comrade Trotsky . . . is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities—personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee—but also by his too far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.
>
> "These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might, quite innocently, lead to a split. . . .
>
> "Stalin is too rough, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of general secretary. Therefore I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position

and appoint to it another man who differs from Stalin—more patient, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc."

While this message was not published, it was read to the Central Commitee and to the Congress of the party. Both bodies voted against its publication. Shortly after the Thirteenth Congress in 1924 Stalin asked to be relieved of the general secretaryship but he was unanimously requested to remain by all the Central Committee including Trotsky and Zinoviev. Again, a year, later, he made the same request, but it was not granted. The opposition was not permitted to publish its proposals to the party, although the majority could subject Trotsky or anyone else to a violent attack.

Being denied a free chance to agitate, the opposition finally organized in 1926 a secret meeting in the woods. Their plan was to construct an illegal discussion apparatus within the party and with a platform of increasing wages and freeing the poor peasants from all taxation, unite the party masses on their side. In addition they proposed a quick rebuilding of the industrial life by raising the price of manufactured goods and increasing the tax levied on the wealthy peasants.

The majority charged that by such policies the opposition would turn Russia into a colonial land of "exploited" peasants. The real oppression would be the high cost of manufactured articles. "We must not deal with our peasants as England does with her colonies," they argued.

The chief leaders in the opposition ranks now frankly threw aside all the work given them by the government to use their strength against the majority. Every session of the Political Bureau was used as an occasion for factional speeches. These would often be printed and distributed later. A strict Communistic rule prohibits the discussion of any question once it has been decided by the Central Committee. Trotsky openly violated this rule.

In the face of an overwhelming hostile majority and facing the possibility of expulsion, the opposition on October 16, 1926, surrendered. They agreed categorically not to do any further factional work. The Central Committee, which met the same month, removed Trotsky and Kamenev from the Political Bureau and Zinoviev from the Communist International.

Once the Central Committee meeting was over, the minority began surreptitiously to print and circulate opposition statements. One of them was signed by 84 members of the party. Zinoviev on the 9th of May, 1927, shocked the "orthodox" by making a speech against the majority before a non-party meeting—a gross violation of Communistic ethics.

Soon afterwards the Central Committee sent Smilga, an opposition leader, to Siberia to head the work of industrial planning there. He felt that he was being exiled and delayed departure for a month. Finally, on threat of expulsion, he obeyed, but only after Trotsky had made a burning speech against Stalin before everyone assembled at the railroad station to bid Smilga adieu. This resulted in the Presidium of the Central Control Commission raising the question of excluding Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Central Committee. Hundreds of members of the opposition during this period were expelled from the party.

At the next meeting of the Central Committee in August 1927, Trotsky, Zinoviev and other opposition leaders were reduced to the ranks but were finally permitted to stay in the Central Committee when they signed a statement conceding that the way of a second party meant the death of the revolution. They agreed to abide by all the decisions of the party and its Central Committee. They adhered to their belief, however, that in time of war the party must not suppress criticism. They also agreed to liquidate all opposition blocs provided that in case of a perversion of the inner party régime they could continue to struggle for the right to present to the party their real attitude and opinion. The majority in its turn agreed to let the minority publish its platform in the government press a month and a half before the Fifteenth Party Congress. In spite of this declaration the opposition continued to agitate secretly against Stalin and the majority. To do this more effectively, in September they set up an illegal secret printing press so that they could broadcast their platform and the Last Testament of Lenin. In a speech to the Plenum of the party in October, Zinoviev threw down the gauntlet to the majority by saying, "Either let us speak to the party and in the party or arrest us all. There is no other choice." The result was that Trotsky and Zinoviev were expelled from the party itself. In commenting on this action Bukharin, editor of *Pravda,* said in the issue of November 15, 1927:

> "Unless the Soviet power remains one and indivisible, the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible. In attempting to divide the party or to form a second party, Trotsky and Zinoviev inevitably became the center of attraction of all the anti-Soviet forces. That is the fact of the case—no matter what they thought about their Marxist duty or historical mission."

It seems probable that this decision is supported by an overwhelming proportion of the party. It is claimed that not even a single party cell supports the opposition. Just before the Fifteenth Party Congress, which met on December 2, 1927, opposition leaders signed a declaration in which they reiterated their loyalty to the party and their willingness to abide by the decisions of the Congress, but stated that they could not change their beliefs and felt the party would in the end adopt their policies. This did not save them. Stalin, Bukharin, and the majority remained firmly in control. The minority had practically no following. Ninety-eight of the leaders of the minority were expelled from the party. These included such prominent men as Kamenev, Radek (the brilliant Bolshevik journalist), and Rakovsky (former Ambassador to France). The Congress formally declared that belonging to the Trotsky opposition, and propaganda in support of their ideas, made membership in the party impossible, and that the "Trotsky opposition actually had become a factor in the anti-Soviet struggle."

Trotsky himself was finally exiled abroad but the only country which was willing to receive him was Turkey. Since then a so-called "right" opposition developed, led by Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky and others. Their platform in contradiction to that of Trotsky stood for more conservative policies and included:

1) greater opportunity for the kulak, or rich peasant
2) more individual opportunity for the peasant, less collectivization
3) greater production on the part of the industries which manufacture for popular consumption, less money for "heavy" industries such as coal, iron, steel and locomotives.

Early in this movement Bukharin was removed as editor of the *Pravda,* the official party paper, and Tomsky from the leadership of the trade unions. This "right" opposition, however, did not retaliate by using illegal party methods.

At the Sixteenth Party Congress which met at Moscow in July, 1930, Stalin emerged triumphant. He could have eliminated the opposition from the party. Instead he retained Premier Rykov in the Political Bureau and kept Tomsky and Bukharin on the Central Committee. It is another evidence of his power and his political sagacity.

The Communist International

At present there are 66 nations in the Communist Internationsl, 40 from Europe, 20 from the East, and the rest from North and South America. Each country has a Communist Party with a paid secretariat and an apparatus usually patterned after that of Russia. Where countries are closely associated they may form a central federated secretariat. This is true of Chili, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Colombia in South America; of Norway, Sweden and Denmark in Scandinavia; of Bulgaria, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, and Greece in Balkans.

All the Communist parties send delegates to the Congresses of the Communist International, which is supposed to meet once a year. The various parties have voting rights in proportion to their paid-up membership.

The Third International met in its first Congress in Moscow in 1919 with 60 delegates. The adopted constitution[16] declared that the organization was working for the overthrow of Capitalism in every country and that the chief burden of the work in the Executive Committee would fall on the party where the Committee resides.

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[16] The constitution is printed in full on p. 82.

It can readily be seen that in practice, since the Russian Party contributes most of the money for the Communist International, she would have a preponderant voice in the decisions of the Executive Committee, although legally she could be out-voted by other countries.

The idea of a Communist International was not created by the Bolsheviks. It is the successor of the International Association of Workingmen founded in 1864 by Karl Marx, and a protest against the conservative tendencies of the Second Socialistic International founded in 1889.

For a time the the Third International Congress met annually but the sessions have lately been growing more infrequent. The Fourth Congress met in November, 1922, the Fifth Congress in June, 1924, and the Sixth Congress in the summer of 1928.

It is commonly thought that the Communist International advocates armed uprisings by an insignificant minority of the workers. Zinoviev, however, declares that they do not favor armed revolution unless a majority of the workers are behind the movement. Naturally there is no impartial index as to the attitude of the majority in a given situation.

It has been a principle of the Third International to extend help to those parties which are illegal. The American party was illegal for a time following the war and received some aid. Now that it is legal, Zinoviev declares that it no longer receives help from Moscow, but actually sends money from the United States to Moscow.

At the present time Communist parties are declared illegal in the countries of China and the East, the Balkans, Roumania, Finland, Latvia, Poland and Hungary.

There is a difference between the Communist International and the Soviet government. The former is made up of Communist Party representatives from all over the world, while the latter is composed of elected officials from the Soviet Union alone, who may or may not be Communists. In answer to the criticism that leading members of the Russian government are also leading members of the Communist International, the Russians retort that Ramsay MacDonald, when Prime Minister of England, was also secretary of the Second International.

There is little question that the Communist International is glad to help in revolutionary movements in China, India, and elsewhere. Actually the first National China Soviet Congress met in Shanghai on May 1, 1930, but the Communist Movement there is still relatively weak. The printed stenographic minutes of the full meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International held in Moscow from November 22 to December 16, 1926, is entitled *The Way to World Revolution.* The amount of money spent by the Communist International in foreign countries has been grossly exaggerated. From British Government's reports we know that in 1925 the Communist International sent only $75,000 (£15,000) for all Great Britain, and that the year before it sent but $25,000.

The Bolshevik leaders claim that since the United States, England, France and Germany permit Communist parties to function, that they as a revolutionary government cannot be still more conservative and suppress the Communist International. Zinoviev asserted that the Third International can have success in foreign countries only to the extent that widespread injustice exists among the people. Apparently one safeguard against the "paid agents" from Moscow is to see to it that there is less injustice.

3. THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL [17]

In order that the official position of the Russian Government toward the Third International (Komintern) might be clear, the writer interviewed A. N. Mikoyan, the People's Commissar for Foreign and Domestic Trade, who is also a member of the all-powerful Political Bureau of the Communist Party. The questions and official answers follow herewith.

First Question: It is known that the Komintern is located in Moscow, that it is sending small amounts of money and sometimes agents of the Communist Party to other countries. It is the aim of the Communist parties of other countries to seize power by violence overthrowing the capitalist governments. Naturally, this is furthering the revolutionary movement in China, India, Germany and other countries. If the Soviet Government wants to be left alone, why does it not leave other countries alone? Why does the Soviet Government tolerate the existence of the Komintern in Moscow?

Answer: The Soviet Government must not be identified with the Komintern and I as a member of the government cannot speak in the name of the Komintern. The Communist International exists by itself, apart and independent from the Soviet Government. It is difficult to understand on what "principles of freedom and justice" the Komintern should not be permitted to remain in Moscow. The Komintern does not receive any financial aid from the Soviet Government. We have enforced the strictest laws against any kind of propaganda by agents of the Soviet Government in any country and anyone who would violate these rules would be discharged. Even the raid by the English Police on the Arcos and the Russian Trade Delegation in London proved the fact that neither the Trade Delegation nor Arcos is in any way connected with the Third International. It is true England claims to have found a certain list of names on one of the employees. We doubt whether this is true, but even if it were, it is purely a personal affair of that particular clerk and such an employee would be held strictly accountable. Even the English authorities had to confess that there was nothing else found on anybody. If anyone on the staff of the Soviet Delegation were found guilty of carrying on propaganda, he would be immediately discharged.

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[17] By Jerome Davis. Reprinted from the Editor's preface to Arnot, R. Page, *Soviet Russia and Her Neighbors* (New York, Vanguard Press, 1927).

In America today there exists the Amtorg Company which has in its staff some Soviet employees. It is said that you have in the United States a very experienced police force and there is nothing which can be hidden from it. If the employees of the Amtorg were engaged in propaganda, your police would have soon found it out. The fact that no one of the employees of the Amtorg has ever been accused of carrying on propaganda shows how false all such accusations are.

Some time ago the British Government made a protest against the transmission of money by the Russian Trade Unions to the striking English coal-miners. The Soviet Government cannot interfere when the workers or the people of the Soviet Union wish to collect and transmit money for kindred organizations abroad which are in need of money to carry on their fight for the betterment of their conditions. A similar collection was made in the United States, of course not to the same extent, but it did not occur to England to send any notes of protest to the American Government on this account. The only country to whom England sent a hostile note was the Soviet Union.

It is impossible for the Soviet Government to interfere in the mutual relations between the Komintern and the Communist parties of other countries. Communist parties exist in all countries. In a number of countries Communists carry on their work quite openly and without any interference, having their representatives in the Parliament; as, for instance, in Germany, England, France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc. It is therefore quite incomprehensible why the Soviet Government alone should place obstacles in the way of the activities of Communist organizations, when even the conservative bourgeois governments of various countries are compelled to tolerate the existence of legal Communist parties.

The Soviet Government is asked to exercise pressure upon the Communist organizations of other countries in order to limit their activities and their propaganda. In addition to the fact that the Komintern and the Communist organizations are not subordinated to the Soviet Government, such acts would actually mean interference in the internal affairs of foreign states. The Soviet Government which has not allowed heretofore and will not allow henceforth any interference in its internal affairs, is in general against the interference of one state in the internal affairs of another.

At the same time we cannot be induced to restrict our workers' organizations in expressions of sympathy or in assistance to Communists of other countries, just as the American Government could not keep their citizens from sympathizing with and helping, let us say, the Sinn Fein party in Ireland. I know, for instance, that a loan was obtained in America to help the Sinn Fein party and that the money was used for purchasing arms and ammunition. The Soviet Government has given no financial aid to the Komintern and the Communist parties of other countries. It is true, that some of the Soviet officials are at the same time members of the Komintern, but in this respect they do not differ from members of other governments. Mr. Vandervelde, Prime Minister of Belgium, is at the same time one of the leaders of the Second International. When he goes to the League of Nations, he appears there at one and the same time as head of the Second International and as Prime Minister of Belgium. Yet this does not raise objections from any one. We are in possession of proofs that some of the members of the Second International made attempts to organize a rebellion in Georgia, yet it did not occur to us to send notes to the Government of Belgium requesting them to stop the Second International from maintaining its offices in Belgium, or to prohibit members of their government from being members of the Second International.

In conclusion, I wish to refer to the fact that the Soviet Government in its notes to foreign powers has repeatedly emphasized the falsity of the assertion of identity between the Soviet Government and the Third International. I will cite, for instance, part of the official note of the Assistant People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs to the British Minister of Foreign Affairs of September 27, 1921:

> "The Russian Government wishes to take this opportunity of emphasizing once more, as it has repeatedly done before, that the Third International, for very obvious reasons, chose Russia as the headquarters for its Executive Committee, this being the only country giving full freedom for the spreading of communist ideas and also personal freedom to communists."

Second Question: Inasmuch as the Soviet Government and the Komintern are under the control of the Communist Party, is it not true that the policies of the Soviet Government and the Komintern will be identical?

Answer: This question is not quite clear to me. The Soviet Government is at the present time composed chiefly of members of the All-Union Communist Party, but the Soviet Government should by no means be identified either with the Communist Party or with the Komintern. The majority of the English Government are members of the Conservative Party, which, however, does not lead to the assertion that the British Government and the Conservative Party is the same thing. The same is true of your government, which is composed of members of the Republican Party, yet it acts quite separately from the Republican Party. It is also said that Soviet Officials, who belong to the Communist Party, are supporting by their membership dues the Communist Party and,through the latter, the Komintern. I do not see that there is anything to this which should raise questions in any one's mind. I was told that Mr. Coolidge, President of the United States, is donating money for foreign missionaries. It is believed by many people that the foreign missionaries have provoked unrest in China and that in particular during the "Boxer" Rebellion, the Chinese tried to rid themselves of foreign missionaries. Even though Mr. Coolidge, or his Government officials have been financially helping Chinese missionaries, the American Government is by no means responsible for the deeds of missionaries, inasmuch as this financial aid was a private affair of the members of the American Government, and inasmuch as this subsidy was not expended from the funds of the United States Treasury. The same applies to the Soviet Government. Inasmuch as the Soviet Government has not been extending any financial aid to communist organizations from the State treasury, the Soviet Government cannot be held responsible for the actions of Communist organizations.

What I have said, I am sure, will convince you that America has been given false information about our policy. All the propaganda against the Komintern and its seeming connection with the Soviet Government is merely a pretext. Had the Communist International chosen another country for its headquarters, our enemies would surely have found some other pretext to hinder the building of a Socialist State in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Before closing, I want to remind you that at the Geneva Conference of 1927 the question of the possibilities of peaceful coöperation and the coexistence of the capitalist and the Socialist systems of national economy was discussed. The Conference, having fully and thoroughly analyzed this problem, decided:

> "Considering the importance of peaceful trade and the desirability of abstaining from politics, the Conference thinks the participation of members of all countries present—*irrespective of all the differences in their economic systems*—is a happy sign for future *peaceful trade relations* between all nations."

One of the best means to check all the falsehoods which are being spread against the Soviet Union by all its enemies, is the maintenance of direct contact between American business men and the Soviet Union, and their visiting our country, where they can see for themselves the vast possibilities for economic *rapprochement* between these two countries. This is especially true since there are no antagonistic interests and no direct causes for conflict involved.

The experience of many Americans, who have visited this country for business purposes, has shown that upon their return to America they gave up their former prejudices against the Soviet Union and, while they did not hide the shortcomings which still exist in our economic structure, they none the less fully contradicted all the assaults and calumnies spread broadcast against the Soviet Union.

I believe that if representatives of our trade and industry will, on the other hand, visit America, it will help us to better learn and know the achievements of American science and technique, as well as facilitate the establishment of normal trade and cultural relations with the United States, which will be beneficial to both countries.

4. BASIC QUESTIONS [18]

Is it accurate to say that the Communist Party controls the Russian Government?

It all depends upon what is meant by control. In capitalist countries they have a rather curious conception of control. I know that a number of capitalist governments are controlled by big banks, notwithstanding the existence of "democratic" parliaments. The parliaments assert that they alone control the government. As a matter of fact, the composition of the governments is predetermined, and their actions are controlled by great financial consortiums. Who does not know that there is not a single capitalist "Power" in which the Cabinet can be formed in opposition to the will of the big financial magnates? It is sufficient to exert financial pressure to cause Cabinet Ministers to fall from their posts as if they were stunned. This is real control exercised by banks over governments in spite of the alleged control of parliament. If such control is meant, then I must declare that control of the government by money-bags is inconceivable and absolutely excluded in the U. S. S. R., if only for the reason that the banks have been long ago nationalized and the money-bags have been ousted. Perhaps the delegation did not mean control, but the guidance exercised by the Party in relation to the Government. If that is what the delegation meant by its question, then my reply is: Yes, our Party does guide the Government. And the Party is able to guide the Government because it enjoys the confidence of the majority of the workers and the toilers generally and it has the right to guide the organs of the Government in the name of this majority.

In what is the guidance of the government by the workers' Party of the U. S. S. R., by the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. expressed?

First of all it is expressed in that the Communist Party strives through the Soviets and their Congresses, to secure the election to the principal posts in the government of its own candidates, its best workers, who are loyal to the cause of the proletariat and prepared truly and faithfully to serve the proletariat. This it succeeds in doing in the overwhelming majority of cases because the workers and peasants have confidence in the Party. It is not an accident that the chiefs of Government departments in our country are Communists and that these chiefs enjoy enormous respect and authority.

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[18] By Stalin, Secretary of the Communist Party.

Secondly, the party supervises the work of the administration, the work of the organs of power; it rectifies their errors and defects, which are unavoidable; it helps them to carry out the decisions of the government and strives to secure for them the support of the masses. It should be added that not a single important decision is taken by them without the direction of the party.

Thirdly, when the plan of work is being drawn up by the various government organs, in industry or agriculture, in trade or in cultural work, the party gives general leading instructions defining the character and direction of the work of these organs in the course of carrying out these plans.

The bourgeois press usually expresses "astonishment" at this "interference" by the party in the affairs of the government. But this "astonishment" is absolutely hypocritical. It is well-known that the bourgeois parties in capitalist countries "interfere" in the affairs of the government and guide the government and moreover that in these countries this guidance is concentrated in the hands of a narrow circle of individuals connected in one way or another with the large banks and because of that they strive to conceal the part they play in this from the people. Who does not know that every bourgeois party in England, or in other capitalist countries, has its secret Cabinet consisting of a close circle of persons who concentrate the guidance in their hands?

Recall, for example, Lloyd George's celebrated reference to the "shadow Cabinet" in the Liberal Party. The differences between the land of the Soviets and the capitalist countries in this respect are (*a*) in capitalist countries the bourgeois parties guide the government in the interest of the bourgeoisie and against the proletariat, whereas in the U. S. S. R. the Communist Party guides the government in the interests of the proletariat and against the bourgeoisie; (*b*) the bourgeois parties conceal from the people the rôle they play in guiding the State, and resort to suspicious, secret cabinets, whereas the Communist Party in the U. S. S. R. does not stand in need of such secret cabinets. It condemns the policy and practice of secret cabinets and openly declares to the whole country that it takes upon itself the responsibility for the guidance of the State.

[On the same principles the party guides the trade unions.] . . .

Since there is legality for one political party only in Russia, how can one be sure that the masses favor Communism?

Take, first of all, so important a moment as the period of the October Revolution in 1917, when the Communist Party, precisely as a Party, openly called upon the workers and peasants to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and when this Party obtained the support of the overwhelming majority of the workers, soldiers and peasants. What was the situation at the time? The Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) and the Social Democrats (Mensheviks) allied with the bourgeoisie were in power then. The governmental apparatus, both in the center and locally, as well as the command of the army of twelve million, was in the hands of these parties, in the hands of the government. The Communist Party was in a state of semi-legality. The bourgeoisie of all countries prophesied the inevitable collapse of the Bolshevik Party. The Entente wholly and entirely supported the Kerensky government. Nevertheless, the Communist Party, the Bolshevik Party never ceased to call upon the proletariat to overthrow this government and to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. What happened? The overwhelming majority of the masses of the toilers in the rear as well as at the front most emphatically supported the Bolshevik Party—the Kerensky government was overthrown and the rule of the Proletariat was established. How is it that the Bolsheviks were able to emerge victorious at that time in spite of the malicious forecasts of the bourgeoisie of all countries of the doom of the Bolshevik Party? Does it not prove that the broad masses of the toilers sympathized with the Bolshevik Party? I think it does. This is the first test of the authority and influence of the Communist Party among the broad masses of the population.

Take the second period, the period of intervention and civil war, when the British capitalists occupied the North of Russia, the districts of Archangel and Murmansk, when the American, British, Japanese and French capitalists occupied Siberia and pushed Kolchak to the forefront, when the French and British capitalists took steps to occupy "South Russia" and raised on their shields Denikin and Wrangel. This was a war conducted by the Entente and the counter-revolutionary generals in Russia against the Communist Government in Moscow, against the achievements of the October Revolution. In this period the strength and stability of the Communist Party among the broad masses of the workers and peasants were put to the greatest test. And what happened? It is generally known that as a result of the Civil War the occupationary troops were driven from Russia and the counter-revolutionary generals were defeated by the Red Army.

Here it was proved that the outcome of war is decided in the last analysis not by technique, with which Kolchak and Denikin were plentifully furnished by the enemies of the U. S. S. R., but by proper policy, the sympathy and support of the millions of the masses of the population. Was it an accident that the Bolshevik Party proved victorious then? Of course not. Does not this fact prove that the Communist Party in Russia enjoys the sympathy of the wide masses of the toilers? I think it does. This is the second test of the strength and stability of the Communist Party in the U. S. S. R.

We will now take up the present period, the post-war period, when questions of peaceful construction are the order of the day. The period of economic ruin has given way to the period of restoration of industry and later to the period of the reconstruction of the whole of our national economy on a new technical basis. Have we now ways and means of testing the strength and stability of the Communist Party, of determining the degree of sympathy enjoyed by the Party among the broad masses of the toilers? I think we have.

Take first of all the trade unions which combine nearly 10 million proletarians. Let us examine the composition of the leading organs of these trade unions. Is it an accident that Communists are at the head of these organs? Of course not. It would be absurd to think that the workers in the U. S. S. R. are indifferent to the composition of the leading organs of their trade unions.

The workers in the U. S. S. R. grew up and received their training in the storms of three revolutions. They learned, as no other workers learned, to try their leaders and to expel them if they do not satisfy the interests of the proletariat. At one time the most popular man in our Party was Plekhanov. However, the workers did not hesitate to isolate him completely when they became convinced that he had abandoned the proletarian position. And if these workers express their complete confidence in the Communists, elect them to responsible posts in the trade unions, it is direct evidence that the strength and stability of the Communist Party among the workers in the U. S. S. R. is enormous. This is one test of the undoubted sympathy of the broad masses of the workers for the Communist Party.

Take the last Soviet elections. In the U. S. S. R. the whole of the adult population from the age of 18, irrespective of sex and nationality, —except the bourgeois elements who exploit the labor of others and those who have been deprived of their rights by the courts—enjoys the right to vote. The people enjoying the right to vote number 60 millions. The overwhelming majority of these, of course, are peasants. Of these 60 million voters, about 51 per cent., i. e., over 30 millions, exercise their right. Now examine the composition of the leading organs of our Soviets both in the center and locally. Is it an accident that the overwhelming majority of the elected leading elements are Communists? Clearly, it is not an accident. Does not this fact prove that the Communist Party enjoys the confidence of millions of the masses of the peasantry? I think it does. This is another test of the strength and stability of the Communist Party.

Take the Comsomol (Communist Youth League) which combines over 2 million young workers and peasants. Is it an accident that the overwhelming majority of the elected leading elements in the Communist Youth League are Communists? I think that it cannot be said to be an accident. Thus you have another test of the strength and authority of the Communist Party.

Finally, take the innumerable conferences, consultations, delegate meetings, etc., which embrace millions of the masses of the toilers, both workingmen and working women, peasants and peasant women, among all the nationalities forming the U. S. S. R. In Western countries, people wax ironical over these conferences and consultations and assert that the Russians like to talk very much. For us, however, these conferences and consultations are of enormous significance in that they serve as a test of the mood of the masses and also as a means of exposing our mistakes and indicating the methods by which these mistakes may be rectified; for we make not a few mistakes and we do not conceal them, because we think that to expose these errors and honestly to rectify them is one of the best means of improving the management of the country. Take the speeches delivered at these conferences and consultations. Note the business-like and ingenuous remarks uttered by these "simple people," these workers and peasants; note the decisions taken and you will see how enormous is the influence and authority of the Communist Party, an influence and authority that any party in the world might envy. Thus you have still another test of the stability of the Communist Party.

These are the ways and means enabling us to test the strength and influence of the Communist Party among the masses of the people.

That is how I know that the broad masses of the workers and peasants in the U. S. S. R. sympathize with the Communist Party. . . .

Could the Communist Party in the future take a neutral attitude towards a religious faith which supported all the teachings of science and did not oppose Communism?

The conditions of membership of our Party are: acceptance of the program and rules of the Party; absolute subordination to the decisions of the Party and its organs; payment of membership dues; and membership in one of the Party locals. . . .

Does that mean the Party is neutral towards religion? No, it does not. We carry on and will continue to carry on propaganda against religious prejudices. Our legislation guaranteed to citizens the right to adhere to any religion. This is a matter for the conscience of each individual. That is precisely why we carried out the separation of the Church from the State. But in separating the Church from the State and proclaiming religious liberty we at the same time guaranteed the right of every citizen to combat by argument, by propaganda and agitation any and all religion. The Party cannot be neutral towards religion and does conduct anti-religious propaganda against all and every religious prejudice because it stands for science, while religious prejudices run counter to science, because all religion is something opposite to science. Cases such as recently occurred in America in which Darwinists were prosecuted in court, cannot occur here because the Party carries out a policy of the general defense of science. The Party cannot be neutral towards religious prejudices and it will continue to carry on propaganda against these prejudices because this is one of the best means of undermining the influence of the reactionary clergy who support these exploiting classes and who preach submission to these classes. The Party cannot be neutral towards the bearers of religious prejudices, towards the reactionary clergy who poison the minds of the toiling masses. Have we suppressed the reactionary clergy? Yes, we have. The unfortunate thing is that it has not been completely liquidated. Anti-religious propaganda is a means by which the complete liquidation of the reactionary clergy must be brought about. Cases occur when certain members of the Party hamper the complete development of anti-religious propaganda. If such members are expelled it is a good thing because there is no room for such "Communists" in the ranks of our Party. . . .

What are the chief ways in which Russia differs from capitalist states in her treatment of national minorities?

This refers to the nationalities in the U. S. S. R. who were formerly oppressed by Tsarism and the Russian exploiting classes and who did not enjoy state sovereignty. The principal distinction is that while in capitalist states national oppression and national enslavement prevails, in the U. S. S. R. both the one and the other have been radically abolished. In capitalist states, side by side with nations of the first rank, privileged nations, "sovereign" nations, we have second rank nations, "non-sovereign" nations, nations which do not enjoy equality, which are deprived of various rights, principally of sovereign rights. In the U. S. S. R., however, all the attributes of national inequality and national oppression have been abolished. In the U. S. S. R., all nations are equal and sovereign, for the national and state privileges which previously were enjoyed by the great Russian people have been abolished. We do not of course speak of declarations of national equality. All bourgeois and Social-Democratic parties have made not a few declarations concerning national equality. What is the value of such declarations if they are not carried out? The thing to do is to abolish those classes which are the bearers, the creators and the conduits of national oppression. In Russia these classes were the landlords and capitalists. We overthrew these classes and by that abolished the possibility of national oppression. And precisely for the reason that we abolished these classes real national equality became possible in the U. S. S. R. This is what we call the application of the idea of self-determination of nations including even the right of complete separation. Precisely for the reason that we carried out the self-determination of nations, we managed to eliminate mutual suspicion between the toiling masses of the various nationalities in the U. S. S. R. and to unite these nationalities on a voluntary basis into one Federal State. The present Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is the result of our national policy and expression of the voluntary federation of the nationalities in the U. S. S. R. into one federal state.

It is hardly necessary to prove that such a policy in the national question is inconceivable in capitalist countries, for there, the capitalists who are the creators and conduits of national oppression are still in power. For example, we cannot fail to observe that the supreme organ of the U. S. S. R., the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, is headed not necessarily by one Russian chairman, but by six chairmen, representing each of the federal republics forming the U. S. S. R., of whom one is a Russian (Kalinin), the second a Ukrainian (Petrovsky), the third a White Russian (Cheriakov), the fourth an Azerbaidjanian (Musabekov), the fifth a Turkoman (Aitakov), and the sixth an Uzbek (Faizulla Hodjaev). This fact is a striking expression of our national policy. It need hardly be said that not a single bourgeois republic, however democratic it may be, would do this. And yet, with us it is taken as a matter of course, as following directly from our policy of national equality.

5. INDUSTRY AND THE GOSPLAN

Russia is a vast laboratory where scores of new and radical experiments are being conducted. For example, late in 1929 the Soviet Government decided to inaugurate the unbroken week in all industrial enterprises and offices. This means that there will be only five general holidays during the year: January 22, May 1, May 2, November 7, and November 8. It is proposed that for each worker every fifth day will be a day of rest, but no one day will be set aside for all workers, thus doing away with the general Sunday holiday as we know it. The following extract gives in outline the fundamental economic scheme of Communism.

Planning a Nation's Industry[19]

In Russia a factory is a landmark; it is pointed out as one points out a castle or a skyscraper in other lands. There are probably more factories in Pennsylvania than in all Russia combined. Over 80 per cent. of Russians are peasants tilling the land, and, in off seasons, doing a little industrial handicraft work. Of those who live in the towns and cities, a large fraction—altogether too large from the standpoint of efficiency—is engaged in the processes of retail distribution, tending store and peddling on the streets; another large fraction is concerned with government administration and the usual professional services; a third large fraction carries on building construction and public utility services, leaving as straight factory and industrial shop employees (in establishments having upwards of 30 workers each), not over 3,000,000 persons out of a total population of 150,000,000. In Russia, 2 persons out of 100 work in factories; in the United States about 8 persons in 100—four times as many relatively. We are a highly industrialized nation committed to mass production; Russia is a farming country with a factory and a mine here and there, and mass production only in evidence as a goal of the future.

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[19] From chapter by Chase, Stuart, in *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade,* pp. 14-52. John Day Co., New York, 1928.

It follows that the standard of living of the Russian people measured in terms of industrial output is, and has been—since the introduction of steam power—far lower than that of the people of the United States, on the average. From their physical appearance, the Russians eat as wholesomely, if not as variously, but their housing, their furnishings, their clothing, their tools, their means of transport and particularly their comforts and luxuries—barring an apparently inexhaustible supply of tea and cigarettes—are all, measured in pounds per capita, far, far below the average distributed in America. To attempt to judge pre-war Russia, or Russia today, by American standards is at once absurd and unjust. It is to date a totally different sort of a country.

Whether it need always remain so is another matter. Heaven forbid that it take over the American scene in toto, but it has the natural resources, the climate and, I suspect, the people, to approximate the prodigality of the industrial output of the United States. There seems to be no basic reason why factories and indeed mass production should not ultimately flourish in Russia. The temperate zone, the coal, oil, waterpower, timber, iron, metals, sugar, wool, cotton, leather, and the rest, are all there.

A Socialist State

I have no time and very little inclination to enter the mazes of doctrinaire theory covering the sorts and kinds of Socialism and Communism which Russia professes. Millions of words have been written about it, nor is there any sign that the printing presses will cease their output. Cutting under the interminable arguments to economic realities, what do we find? We find a great agricultural population which has been plowing, seeding and harvesting plain foods for a thousand years, eating the great bulk of them itself and giving a variable, but always relatively small, fraction of the total to landlords, czars and priests to eat. In bad years the peasants starved by the hundreds of thousands; in good years they ate bread a little less black, danced in the villages, composed sad and beautiful songs in the minor key, and ran the birth rate up to fifty to the thousand. Through war, invasion, flood, fire, pestilence and drought, this steady rhythm has continued undeflected; little more than touched by laws, edicts and the comings and goings of nobles, of metropolitans, and czars.

In 1914 another war came. The village boys marched off, but, as always, there were plenty left. In 1917 there came a revolution. For once the rhythm was broken—while the manor house was burned and the land records destroyed. The dictatorship of the Czar was exchanged for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The peasants had the land; but in a deeper sense they had always had the land. They still must plow and seed and harvest and eat the bulk of what they produced. A few years later came a famine. That was bad. But presently crops were good, and the everlasting rhythm continued—and still continues. That rhythm is Russia—whether Peter the Great or Comrade Stalin sits in the Kremlin. In the face of this timeless economy, long dissertations on exactly what shade of Socialism rules Russia, seem just a little remote.

But certain profound changes are to be noted—particularly in the status of the 2 per cent. who work in factories. And while want rules the peasants as it has always ruled them, there is at least no longer a dead hand to deny advancement to those who genuinely desire it. The path upward is not only free, it is encouraged. The gentleman who might be called the President of the Republic, Mr. Kalinin, was formerly a peasant. Lastly, and what may prove to be most important of all, the new government is doing all in its power to break the traditional, wasteful methods of agriculture. In the reapportioning of land it is getting away from the old strip system; in the Ukraine alone it is building 3,000 new villages, bringing the peasant nearer his land and spacing it more economically around its community focus; it is introducing more scientific systems of crop rotation. In a widespread system of experimental farms and laboratories, it is studying soils, improving seeds and stock, adapting crops to their natural economic areas. It has imported upwards of 30,000 tractors, established schools, colleges and museums of agriculture, and created a remarkable publicity technique through the medium of simple charts, posters and primers to get the scientific knowledge gleaned into the peasants' hand—and heads. This new experimental work —which I have seen in operation over a large area—is impressive in its quantity and its quality. It is beginning to take effect—20 per cent. of the Ukraine has gone on to the new "public rotations"—it may some day break the ancient rhythm and turn peasants into scientific farmers, but that some day is still far off. The habits of a thousand years are not broken over night. The start is auspicious, but it is only a beginning.

Meanwhile 90 per cent. of all agricultural output which finds a market is produced by private peasant proprietors—petty business men, if you please. Only 10 per cent. is produced by State farms and agricultural coöperatives combined. This is a long way from Socialism in agriculture.

Once the peasant's goods are on the market, and in respect to the great bulk of industrial goods, Socialism begins to operate. Whereas in the United States the overwhelming majority of production and distribution is in private hands subject to the profit motive, in Russia it is in the hands of the national government, the local government, or the coöperative associations. Including small industries and handicrafts, only about 17 per cent. of industrial production is in private hands. Furthermore the tendency in the past four years is for both private production and distribution to take a decreasing percentage of the total business.

For most industrial transactions then, the profit motive as we know it in America has ceased to operate. Individual initiative animated by gain is not in the picture; certainly not in its proper place in the picture; while the sovereign laws of supply and demand, if not in complete abeyance, are at least in hiding. The earning of profits appears we shall see, but in a very different, and from the point of view of the Manchester school, doubtless in a very wrongheaded sort of way. Instead of industrial goods being furnished automatically by the activity of thousands of private individuals hoping to make a profit, as is the theory in America, they are furnished by a deliberate and coördinated policy on the part of the state. This policy finds expression in the operations of the state industrial trusts, the state syndicates and other distribution agencies, and the coöperative associations, which, while voluntary, are protected and fostered by the government. Prices instead of following the usual haggling of the market are abitrarily laid down—on a far grander scale than was ever attempted by the Standard Oil Company or the United States Steel Corporation. The ownership of land, natural resources, over 80 per cent. of industrial production, two-thirds of the distribution system, have been socialized in Russia. Thus, despite the fact that the bulk of agricultural production is still in private hands, we have here probably the largest experiment in socialism which was ever attempted in the history of the world.

It is an experiment which merits our careful attention. If it can compete successfully with other economic systems, particularly the system loosely called capitalism, quite apart from the politics, the prejudices, and the windy speeches of its opponents and its adherents, it will set up a new standard for the operation of industry and force inferior methods off the market. If it cannot compete—in worthwhile goods produced per man-hour expended—again despite the shoutings and the tumult, it is destined to languish and ultimately to disappear.

In theory, each system has its advantages and its disadvantages. The wastes of capitalism are obvious to any impartial observer who cares to study them. The business cycle, the enormous duplication of the productive and distributive mechanism, the load of advertising and competitive salesmanship, restrictions upon the free exchange of technical knowledge and invention, the reserve army of unemployment, over-expansion, cross-hauling, the production of super-luxuries—are implicit in capitalism, and all waste manpower. On the other hand, the capitalist system is defended on the ground that it is automatic, requiring no great bureaucratic load to administer it, and that the hope of profit releases a fund of energy in business men which causes them to contrive, invent and manage, in the interests of more efficiency and lower costs for their own particular enterprises. In these lower costs the consumer is supposed to share, when competition is given free play.

The Russian experiment is based on the theory that there is more to be gained by coördinating industry to a functional plan and so eliminating the wastes of the business cycle, duplication of plant facilities, over-exhaustion of natural resources, high-pressure salesmanship and the rest, than can be lost through failure to stimulate individual initiative animated by the private-profit motive.

It is a pretty question, and one not to be decided by rhetoric. On paper the socialistic system has all the best of it. It is clean cut, straightforward and logical. Organize and control industry to produce with minimum waste and duplication the things which citizens need and want. Unfortunately, mankind is not often governed by logical considerations, and accordingly the psychological, not to say mystical, elements in the capitalist argument have a force in tangible performance that is not to be gainsaid. An industrial anarchy like America, has, in the last few years, lowered costs, enormously increased the bulk total of production, raised real wages and with them the standard of living of its inhabitants. A functional society ought to do better, but can it? That is the ultimate challenge to the Russian experiment. Can it develop and foster economic well-being, first, faster than the Czar's government did so, and finally, faster than the capitalist political democracy of America can achieve it? As we shall see presently, it has already begun to outdistance the Czar, but it cannot yet begin to be compared with the more advanced capitalist nations in the volume of its industrial output.

The Industrial Organization

Shortly after the Communist Party assumed authority for the economic life of Russia, it passed decrees which abolished private business altogether, which nationalized all means of production, largely eliminated the banking system and money, carried on commercial transactions in goods and in kind, requisitioned food supplies, distributed by card system—in brief, which splintered traditional economic habits into a thousand fragments. Part of this astonishing program was the result of theories not particularly well digested in the rather restricted atmosphere of prison and exile; part of it was the result of a concrete crisis that had to be somehow met—with a dozen alien armies advancing on as many fronts. "War Communism" it was called, and while it almost wrecked the national economy, it at least served to supply the young republic with enough plain food to keep it alive, and to equip the Red Armies with enough shot and shell utterly to rout their enemies.

But when the last White brigade had wheeled and fled, and Russia had time to turn around and survey her internal scene, a more dismal picture of a going economic structure it would be difficult to imagine. Lenin assumed the leadership of this stock taking, and inaugurated, in 1921, the New Economic Policy, which obliterated War Communism, as War Communism had obliterated capitalism. This New Economic Policy might be termed pragmatic socialism—as much socialism as the exigencies of the situation would permit, and no more. A money system was reëstablished, banks and credit facilities were set up, private interests were allowed to enter retail trade in large numbers, and to enter industrial production in smaller numbers. The forced requisition of food supplies from the peasants was stopped, the ruble was standardized on a gold basis, buying and selling reverted to a condition that was not too extravagantly out of line with former habits.

A period of rather carefully watched and checked experimentation set in. If a given policy did not work, it was scrapped—sometimes with a lag to be sure—in favor of something else that had a better chance of working. Gradually out of economic chaos came a semblance of order. Transportation was the first dirty mess to be cleaned up, and it was cleaned up within the limits of the available equipment. Factories were repaired and reopened, industrial production began to increase, retail stores again had goods for sale.

The period of experimentation still goes on. Policies are still being scrapped and new ones tried out. "The first crude beginnings of socialism" as Trotsky characterized the system to us in Moscow, are still in flux. I shall not attempt accordingly to give a detailed picture of the organization of that system; it will be modified before these words appear in print, perhaps drastically, perhaps moderately, depending upon circumstances. In broad terms, however, Russian industry in 1927 is carried on by the following major agencies.

Production

The bulk of non-handicraft industrial production—over 80 per cent. of it—is operated by several hundred State trusts, both national and republican, i.e., organized by the constituent republics of the U. S. S. R. These trusts are both vertical and horizontal; they may, like the Sugar Trust, comprise all operations from the growing of beets to the marketing of sugar; or they may simply comprise a given industrial process—such as wood-working—carried on by a number of plants in a given geographical area. In a specified industry there may be one trust, or a number of trusts, each comprehending several individual productive units—mines, or factories. There are 3 oil trusts, one for each of the major fields. There are 20 major trusts in the metal industry; 4 in the electrical industry; 5 in the woodworking industries; 13 in the cotton industry, and so forth. Altogether, there are about 60 major trusts.

These trusts are controlled as to general policy, prices, fixed capital, and the appointment of managing boards, by the Supreme Economic Council, of the nation, or of the local republic, as the case may be. The Supreme Economic Council is a cabinet department of the government. Within these rather severe limits, however, the trust is legally independent and responsible for its own financial obligations. Subject to universal labor laws it hires and fires and sets its wage rates after collective bargaining with the trade union; it borrows from the banks, contracts for its raw material, arranges for marketing its products, keeps its own books, and perhaps most significant of all, registers at the close of the fiscal year a profit or a loss after making due allowance for depreciation. Under the decree of April 10, 1923, which started this machinery in motion, each trust was granted a special charter from the State to operate "on a commercial basis with the aim of acquiring profits."

On the strength of the operating showing, the Supreme Economic Council maintains or changes the management of the trust after exhaustive scrutiny of its detailed and voluminous reports. Its showing is also a major factor in determining allotments for new capital outlays. By and large, the profitable trust has first call on the budget.

Profits are divided three ways: about 50 per cent. to the government, including a 10 per cent. income tax; 10 per cent. for the welfare of the workers; the balance to the surplus of the trust for expansion and reserves.

At this point we have to note a policy of the first importance from the standpoint of a coördinated industrial structure whose goal is economic self-sufficiency—profits from one trust as turned over to the government can be applied to make good deficits in another trust; or they can be applied for the expansion of another trust. Thus an industry need not necessarily curtail or suspend operations if it is not meeting its costs—*provided* it can convince the Supreme Economic Council that its losses are due to conditions over which it has not control. Thus the farm machinery trust is required to sell tools and implements to the peasants at 1913 prices. It cannot possible earn money on this basis and is allowed a subsidy accordingly. The iron and steel industry is in the "infant" class. It was never strong before the war and what there was of it suffered heavily during the war. It is a policy of the government to lay a foundation for a comprehensive industrialism by developing iron and steel. The operating losses during this development period are financed in part by the profits of the lighter industries—textiles, rubber, sugar, etc. And so, by virtue of this common pool, it is hoped to keep industry balanced, with the stronger helping the weaker until the latter can stand on their own feet. But individual plants within a trust which have been found to be persistent money losers—due to uneconomic location, or what not—may be shut down—and have been shut down, by the order of the

Council. Great care seems to be taken not to subsidize indefinitely operations which have no reasonable economic excuse for existence. For the plants which ought to earn and do not, the Council changes the management—has indeed a special corps of salvaging experts who have, in the fire of practical experience, proved their ability to turn deficits into profits.

For the fiscal year ended October 1, 1926, the sixty-two major trusts earned profits of $163,000,000 and losses of $24,000,000—leaving a net of $139,000,000. Their total capitalization was about $2,000,000,000, and thus their earnings averaged almost 7 per cent. The aggregate net profit of all State industries in 1926 was about $250,000,000 on a capitalization of $3,400,000,000—slightly over 7 per cent.

Based on nine months' performance for the fiscal year ending October 1, 1927, the aggregate net earnings of all State industry, on the same fixed price levels as obtained in 1926, should be about $350,000,000—one hundred millions better than the year before. During 1927, however, prices for trust products were abitrarily reduced some 6 per cent. on the average, cutting $75,000,000 from gross income, and leaving the estimated profit for the current year at $275,000,000.

These profits and losses, it must be remembered, are all part of a controlled structure; they are not subject to the same forces of supply, demand, price, competition, which obtain in other countries, and although the profit of a trust affects its credit, its wage rates, its new capital outlays, in another sense the profit is primarily a bookkeeping device to measure the efficiency of departments within one great operating whole. This device is widely used among our own large corporations for stimulating departmental efficiency. The Russian experiment seems to have worked out to a point midway between the departmental profit mechanism, and a condition of independent profit making. That it meets the pragmatic test and works, is evidenced by the striking increase in the physical quantity of production since 1922.

The balance of factory production is handled by such coöperatives as run their own factories; by private enterprise, by "mixed" companies (i.e., jointly controlled by the state and private interests, or by the state and the coöperatives); and by concessions granted to foreigners.

Handicraft industry is carried on by peasants at their farms and town workers in petty shops, who may or may not be organized into "artels" for buying raw materials and marketing their finished products. Government control over the handicraft field is far from stringent. The "Kustar" in certain sections is encouraged by the government to keep alive the very real values, artistic and otherwise, in the Russian handicrafts.

Of all fabricated goods, both factory made and hand made, including intermediate products, such as machinery, as well as goods for final consumption—the ratio in money value of output is roughly as follows. The figures are from the State Planning Commission and include all registered industry, measured in pre-war rubles. Doubtless a considerable volume of handicraft and home industry, locally exchanged, escapes registration, and to such extent the ratio of private handicraft production should be increased.

	Fiscal Year		
	1924	1925	1926
	%	%	%
State trusts produced	70	75	77
Coöperatives produced	5	5	5
Large-scale private and concession industry produced	4	3	3
Small private industry and private handicrafts produced	21	17	15
Total industrial production	100	100	100

In the last three years the tendency is clearly for the State trusts to grow at the expense of private industry, with the production ratio of the coöperatives remaining substantially unchanged.

Transportation both land and water is not a state trust but a government department under a cabinet officer, with its revenues and expenses running directly into the national budget. The net profit of the railways was some $5,000,000 in 1925, $24,000,000 in 1926, and is estimated to run over $100,000,000 in 1927. This profit is, however, not sufficient to finance the new capital outlays needed and voted for the railroads. The excess has to come out of the general budget.

The postal service, telegraphs, telephones and radio service are also outside the trust machinery, and operated by the cabinet department of Posts and Telegraphs. In 1926 the gross revenue of the department was reported as $67,000,000, an increase of 41 per cent. over 1925.

The production of electricity is operated in part by the public utility departments of local political areas, in part by trusts which have their own power plants, and for large super-power developments, by special committees in the national government.

Distribution

The State trusts, the coöperatives, the private industries, the peasants, produce their manufactured articles and their crops, and place them on the market. How are they delivered to the ultimate consumer? There are five chief mediums:

State wholesaling and retailing establishments
Coöperative retail stores
Private retail stores
The rural fairs
The government export bureau.

The State trusts have organized among themselves for purposes of distribution some twenty syndicates, one for an industry. The textile syndicate, for instance, markets the output of all the trusts in the textile industry. There is a syndicate for most of the major industries and it follows that a large fraction of the wholesale trade in Russia is handled by these twenty agencies. They are created by voluntary agreement among the trusts, but the Supreme Economic Council controls both the prices at which they take goods over from the trusts, and the prices at which they sell to the retail trade. It is the function of the syndicates (and the Union which acts as a clearing house for them all), to secure orders for trust products, to allot the orders among the constituent plants on the basis of capacity, distance to market, etc., to make market surveys relative to the possible demand for products, to assist the trusts in securing raw materials, to cut down transportation costs, to standardize materials and final products, to arrange credit facilities, and to promote retail stores in favorable locations. Among others, we note syndicates in oil, agricultural machinery, tobacco, textiles, clothing, leather, salt, vegetable oils and fats, starch and sirup, wine, sugar, matches, metals.

The syndicates, or the trusts individually, or local government bodies, may open and operate retail stores—the local government being often responsible for department stores. In addition the trusts, or the trade unions for the benefit of unemployed members, may organize street booths and groups of street peddlers. A large part of all retail trade is in government hands.

Next in importance come the coöperative stores, organized usually on a price-cutting rather than on a straight Rochdale coöperative basis. Finally come the private retail stores, which were of the first importance following the establishment of the New Economic Policy, but are now declining in turnover relative to the other two groups.

At the trade fairs—the Nizhni-Novgorod, the Baku, the Irbit, the Kharkov Epiphany, and the rest—an ancient and colorful practice is maintained and encouraged, and in the aggregate a considerable amount of both wholesale and retail business transacted. The turnover of Nizhni-Novgorod in 1926 was said to be nearly $75,000,000 in the six weeks which the fair continued.

Lastly in respect to the export of goods produced in Russian fields and factories, the national government maintains a rigid monopoly, in an attempt at once to build up a favorable balance of trade, and to allow nothing to leave the country which is needed for internal economy.

The relative share of the State, the coöperative, and private interest, in all internal trade, both wholesale and retail, may be roughly expressed in the following percentages. I say roughly advisedly, for while accurate reports are required from state and coöperative agencies, the private turnover has to be estimated on the basis of the wholesale value of the goods which have been bought from the syndicates and trusts.

	Fiscal Year	
	1925	1926
	%	%
State Trading Enterprises	50	49
Coöperatives	27	30
Private Trade	23	21
Total Trade	100	100

The coöperatives seem to be growing at the expense of both State and private interests according to these figures.

For retail trade alone, the percentage in private hands has been estimated as follows:

1924	59
1925	44
1926	39
1927	36

From all available evidence, private trading, like private manufacturing, is decreasing its ratio of the total business done. This decrease, however, does not seem to be due strictly to natural causes, but rather to the artificial and onerous restraints which have been placed upon private trading. Government policy has been frankly aimed at its complete elimination, if and when, it is no longer vital to the national economy. It was vital following War Communism, but with the development of other workable agencies—particularly state and coöperative stores, it becomes increasingly less vital, and restrictions can be imposed with greater and greater harshness. These restrictions take the form of heavy taxation, difficulty in securing merchandise due to the fact that state and coöperative establishments have first call, restricted discount and credit facilities, and so forth. The penalties are not so severe as to abolish the private merchant, because his services as a distributor are still needed, but ultimately it is hoped to have the coöperatives carry on the great bulk of retail trade, and no opportunity is lost to force distribution in that direction.

We found, furthermore, that in all probability pressure was being exerted at the expense of efficiency. If private trading is not too seriously hampered, it can serve as a standard which the State and coöperative stores must strive to better in fair combat, and thus keep their own selling expenses at a minimum. This does not seem to be the case at the present time. The cost margins of the private store are arbitrarily loaded with government imposed expenses, and as a result the State and coöperative stores do not have to be particularly efficient to undersell them. The charge has been made—though I saw no specific figures to support it—that pay-rolls in the favored stores have been padded by the addition of needless clerks, messengers, and hangers-on.

The fact that a "goods famine" has obtained for the past two years (i.e., more purchasing power available than goods to satisfy it) tends to keep the private trader from passing out of the picture altogether. By smuggling, hoarding, shopping around, he can often keep a stock together which can be profitably marketed when demand flows over from the government and coöperative stores, whose shelves have been temporarily sold out.

A report issued in September, 1927, gives the spread between factory door and ultimate consumer for manufactured goods, as 56 per cent. This is not as high as the average spread in the United States where profits, cross-hauling, duplication of retail facilities, advertising and high-pressure salesmanship generally, takes a tremendous toll, but it is far too high for a functional system, and is causing the industrial leaders of Russia a great deal of concern at the present time. In a summary of the economic accomplishments and failures of the past year, the plenum of the Communist Party observes that the year is marked by:

> "The maintenance of a high general level of prices for industrial goods in spite of all efforts, and the great discrepancy between wholesale and retail prices."

Coördinating Industry

With this very general outline of the actual machinery by which production and distribution are carried on at the present time in Russia, let us devote our attention a little more carefully to the ways and means by which the attempt is made to coördinate the whole economic structure in the interest of a balanced, waste-eliminating plan.

The goal to be achieved by the plan is simple and straightforward: a maximum production of necessities and plain comforts for the workers and peasants of Russia at a minimum of human effort, while scrupulously safeguarding at the same time the health, safety, education, opportunity for leisure, and working conditions of those who labor. In other words, however great the benefits of low cost production, it must not be obtained at the expense of the fundamental health and welfare of the workers. Only enough capital will be permitted to flow into a given industry, to balance consumer requirements: just enough shoe factories to provide shoes for the people of Russia; just enough textile mills; just enough sugar factories.

War Communism was largely a planless chaos. The New Economic Policy set up a host of boards and commissions to deal more pragmatically with harsh realities. Interests began to clash, particularly as the economic structure started to revive and capital was available for the expansion of industry. This capital was severely limited. Would it go to electrification, to the railroads, to agricultural experiment stations, to canals, to the iron and steel industry, to the drilling of new oil wells? The Russians are passionate pleaders and one can imagine the officers of the budget sitting amid a flow of rhetoric, and sweating large drops. Twenty billions called for, and only one to give. Nor is America the only country where town boosters are eloquent. From the Yellow Sea to the Baltic, the grandest little burg on earth pleaded for its power station, or fleet of tractors, or new housing project.

It was either flip a coin for it, or deliberately and intelligently plan; secure wide popular approval for the plan, and hold new capital expenditures, aye, the whole economic structure, to its general outlines. Only so could be created a first line of defense against the piteous wails of every industry, and every geographical section.

The gentlemen who run Russia do not travel on the flip-a-coin basis. They proceeded to get together a group of able economists, engineers and statisticians and ordered them—as President Wilson ordered the War Industries Board—to outline a program—a plan for next year, a plan for the next five years, a general policy for the next fifteen years. And so, in 1923, the State Planning Commission, popularly known as the *Gosplan,* came into being, taking over the functions of an earlier superpower board. It was paper work, inevitably abundant with theory and speculation, but at the same time it was an answer to a tangible, immediate crisis.

The national Gosplan at Moscow now has a large building to itself not far from the Kremlin. Its atmosphere reminded me strongly of the old Food Administration barracks in which I worked at Washington—the temporary partitions, the hurrying messengers, the calculating machines, the telephones, the cleared desks, the unending panorama of charts and maps. It is an atmosphere tense with effort; where men and women take their work with the utmost seriousness. They feel, and one feels with them, that they are challenged with a problem which lies at the border line of the capacity of the human intellect. To integrate in detail the economic life of one hundred and fifty millions of people over a six thousand mile stretch of territory is a bigger job than has ever been attempted in administrative annals. Only time can tell whether or not it is too big for human minds to cope with. But one can only stand bareheaded before the audacity and the courage of the experiment.

Suppose you were asked to-morrow to take a train to Washington, to sit at a desk in a government bureau, to take pencil and paper and tell the railroads, the power companies, the steel mills, the coal mines, the oil fields, the Secretary of the Treasury, the banks, the wholesale houses, the farmers, the ship lines, the automobile factories—how to order their capital investments and their raw materials, how to plan their production and distribution, for the next five years! One suspects that even Mr. Henry Ford would quail before the order. For lesser mortals, a journey to the moon would seem about as feasible. Yet here are men who have accepted the challenge in a bigger, though less industrially complicated, country.

The early work of the Gosplan was concerned with laying a statistical base for its future tables and diagrams, and with organizing subsidiary groups throughout the country. The first statistics of the Young Republic were sketchy and unreliable. They gave only the crudest notion of what was actually happening. Obviously this situation had to be corrected if curves which ran into the future, based on past performance, were to be worth more than so much waste paper. For the fiscal year 1926 (and thus prepared in 1925) a rough national plan was worked out, but I was told that the basic statistics were too poor to make it of much value. A year later, in 1926, the situation in statistics—i.e., the reliability of crop reports, factory production figures, trade turnover figures and the rest—had so far improved that it was possible to lay down an integrated plan for the fiscal year 1927 which really began to set up workable standards for the various branches of industry to meet. Finally some months ago, in the spring of 1927, a five-year plan was published in a book of 300 pages, and on this five-year plan industry is now actually operating, as we shall see.

There are at present over 500 persons on the central staff of the Gosplan in Moscow, headed by a governing board of sixteen, who are appointed by the Council of Peoples Commissars. In addition there are a number of consulting experts on a part-time arrangement. The staff is divided into a Reconstruction Division, a Production Division, and an Economic Division. A monthly statistical review is published, much of the data for which is kept up to date by information wired from the outlying local districts. The Gosplan has legal authority to demand documents and figures from any outside source. It does not do much collecting of original data itself.

To coördinate its activities, local planning boards—little Gosplans—have been set up all over the country. The Ural section has a fine building to itself and a staff of over 200. Each constituent republic has such a board, each major district, each smaller provincial area. Every agricultural center, every factory, prepares reports that ultimately come into the Gosplan calculations. The reports are made on printed forms and carry a wealth of detailed information—quite possibly more than is actually needed. As a result, every industrial unit knows where it functions, what it is expected to produce, what niche it fills in the whole national economy. I found no factory manager, no director of even the smallest agricultural station, who did not know all about the Gosplan; who did not feel its hand on his day-by-day work.

You may decide to go to Russia, but you cannot get in without a visa on your passport. Similarly no major step in industry, agriculture, transportation, super-power or finance can be taken without the visa of the Gosplan. It is the clearing house for the whole economic structure. Yet legally it is an advisory body only; one arm of the Council of Labor and Defense. It can promulgate no legislation, issue no "cease and desist" orders. Its power comes from the fact that the supreme administrative body of the republic—the Council of People's Commissars—will not act on economic matters until it has secured the approval of the Gosplan. Its real power—as opposed to its legal power—is accordingly very great. It charts the course upon which the ship of state is steered.

It would be a mistake to suppose, however, that the Gosplan is the only agent for economic coördination and forward planning. Rather it is the court of last resort. The Supreme Economic Council which as we have seen directs the trusts and operates industry, has a whole series of planning boards connected with its administrative branches. These boards work out operating schedules for the future, propose the allocation of new capital, industry by industry, make detailed proposals of what they think should be done. When such proposals are finally threshed out, *then* they go to the Gosplan for acceptance or revision. The Gosplan has itself been following industry closely; it has on the table, furthermore, the current proposals for agricultural development, the proposals for transportation, for super-power, for exports; finally, it has its own one-year and five-year programs as a bench mark—and, as a resultant of all these forces, it is the only body in the State which can intelligently accept or revise the proposals of the planning boards of the Supreme Economic Council, or of the railroads, or of any other operating group. It alone can fit the jig-saw puzzle together.

The operating groups feel its force, however, before the final amendment of their proposals. In making those same proposals, each group knows fairly specifically what is expected of it according to the one-year and five-year plans. They know that they cannot jump off the reservation too far. Thus if the Gosplan program calls for 10,000,000 tons of oil in 1928, the Oil Trust reporting through the Supreme Economic Council would hardly dare ask for new capital sufficient to produce 20,000,000 tons. It would know it was beaten in advance; that no such upsetting of the economic balance would be tolerated, however cogent the reasoning of the oil men. But smaller percentage variations are always in order, and if the reasoning is sufficiently cogent, allowed. I was informed on high authority that the original proposals for the canal adjoining the Don and the Volga rivers are being considerably modified in respect to immediate expenditures, while the original proposals for the development of the textile industry are being considerably expanded. There is nothing ultimately hard and fast about the Gosplan programs. There cannot be if they are to succeed.

The objectives of the Gosplan have been two. First to bring Russian economic output up to the pre-war basis of productivity. Second, to make Russia economically self-supporting—so far as is reasonably possible. These two objectives, furthermore, were not in complete harmony, because self-sufficiency meant a greater relative expenditure on capital goods than on goods for immediate consumption, and thus delayed the attainment of the pre-war output of consumable commodities.

Despite this handicap, as we shall see in the next section, the pre-war level for all industry combined has been reached and passed, with specific industries still below and others far above the 1913 standard. Therefore, the first objective of the Gosplan, broadly speaking, has been attained, though much remains to be done in pulling up the lagging minority.

The second objective is far more complicated and difficult. Russia can feed herself with plenty left over, but industrially she has always drawn heavily on other countries in exchange for her food surplus. Somewhere within her far-flung borders, there is nearly every sort of raw material, or the means to mine it or grow it—but the specific development for all sorts of essential manufactured goods has hitherto been lacking. Cotton can be grown in Russia, but the bulk of the material for her textile mills has always come from America—and still does. Meanwhile, the machinery within the cotton mills has crossed the border from England or Germany, or elsewhere. To grow cotton and make textile machinery in sufficient quantities to meet national requirements is a large and complicated problem. Behind it march in dismal phalanx the problems of rubber, chemicals, tractors, motor cars, coal-cutting machinery, locomotives, trolley cars, steamships, mill machinery of all kinds, instruments of precision, and what not. For many commodities, the cost of economic self-sufficiency, particularly at the present time, is vastly higher than the import cost—if the goods could be readily secured on the world market. For some commodities, it is positively prohibitive.

It is not to be gainsaid, however, that Russia could be advantageously far more self-sufficient than has been the case to date. The Gosplan objective would be sound up to a certain point whatever the form of government. It is sound to a somewhat further point when the numerous outside attempts to isolate the country economically are considered. Standing in perpetual threat of boycott and "cordon sanitaire," she has got to be reasonably self-sufficient, even if the initial cost gives a product at far above the world market price.

Meanwhile it devolves upon the Gosplan not only to lay down the general policy but to fix the point. How far shall self-sufficiency go?

There may be a concrete and comprehensive answer, but I could not find it. Broadly speaking, we know it goes all the way in respect to iron and steel and electrification. There is no phase in either industry which is not planned to bear the trade-mark "Made in Russia." Rubber, cotton and cork plantations are being experimented with. There is talk of large silk farms, of a huge automobile plant, of tractor factories. But it would take a year to find, and a book to tell, the exact status of the plans and the tangible achievement of the policy of economic self-sufficiency.

Finally, I was informed by a number of leading government technicians that perhaps in the long run the economic boycott would prove more of a blessing than a curse—though a curse it is in many respects. Like a bird which pushes her fledglings out of the nest, it has forced a nation with almost no industrial initiative hitherto to try her wings.

The five-year program of the Gosplan covers the span from October 1, 1926, to October 1, 1931.[20] During that period it calls for a 78 per cent. increase in the volume of industrial production against a 30 per cent. increase in agricultural production. With industry growing faster than agriculture, it is hoped to close the famous "scissors," and to give the peasant an adequate flow of textiles and hardware in return for his wheat and his beef; to bring industrial prices into reasonable alignment with agricultural prices. One year of the five is nearly completed, and figures are available, based on performance to date, to tell whether the program as outlined is actually being carried out.

Industrial production was budgeted to increase by about 15 per cent. Actually it has increased 13.7 per cent. The aggregate of agricultural production which is not locally consumed but finds a market, was budgeted to increase by 6 per cent. Actually it has increased 8.7 per cent. The shooting is thus not bull's-eye work, but it is close enough to make the five-year plan look as though it had a fighting chance.

On September 9, 1927, the Gosplan released its conclusions for the fiscal year 1927, and its proposals for the year 1928. Perhaps there is no better way to show the scope and method of its work than briefly to summarize that report.

It starts with a list of five major difficulties. Russian statisticians have a genius for being gloomy. The Gosplan finds that relative to needs, the industrial structure is growing all too slowly and it sees no turning point in this relative backwardness for years to come. The second black mark is the fact that population is growing faster than it can adequately be cared for, with a very serious unemployment situation as a result. The third is the lack of alignment between agricultural and industrial production—the still open scissors. The fourth is the difficulty in knowing where to draw the line between industry producing capital goods and industry producing goods for immediate consumption (the self-sufficiency dilemma). The fifth is the difficulty in securing the technical ability to carry out the immense projects in new capital construction for which the funds are available. Money is ready but not the full engineering staff.

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[20] This was later revised and a new five-year-plan projected to run from 1828-33.

With this sound Presbyterian beginning, we proceed to somewhat more cheerful matters. The mass of agricultural and industrial products which entered trade in 1927 amounted to $9,606,000,000. In 1928, the total should reach $10,850,000,000—an increase of 13 per cent. Prices are to be cut in 1928, however, which will bring the gross volume down to $10,323,000,000, or a money increase of about 7 per cent. (The physical volume will presumably remain at 13 per cent. and thus roughly approximate a second successful year on the original five-year program; to wit, a 15 per cent. increase in industrial goods, and a 6 per cent. increase in agricultural goods.) The productivity of labor will increase 12 per cent. in 1928, and manufacturing costs will decline 6 per cent. on the average. Transportation is to increase 12 per cent.

In 1928, consumption goods will not be increased as fast as the ratios of the previous years. A relatively greater effort will go into capital goods. This will cause some dissatisfaction and tend to prolong the goods famine, but there is now at least enough to go around on a modest standard of living, and capital goods are urgently needed. In respect to consumption goods, the first six months of 1928 will be harder sledding for consumers than the second six months.

The total capital investment in 1928 will be $2,678,000,000, an increase of $412,000,000 over 1927. Of this total, government industries will get $600,000,000, transportation $248,000,000, electrification projects $144,000,000. About 1,000,000 men will be engaged in construction work. Construction costs are to come down at least 8 per cent. during the year.

Total government revenues for 1928 will be $2,832,500,000, an increase of some 18 per cent. over 1927. The increase of 1927 over 1926 was 30 per cent. The budget is thus beginning to find its normal level. Revenue from taxes are not expected to increase as much as revenues from other sources—trust profits and the like. Administrative expenses must come down at least 20 per cent. during 1928.

The total credit facilities of the nation will expand 23.2 per cent. in 1928 to a total increase of $605,125,000, with a relatively greater share for long-term credits available.

Of all hired manual labor at the present time, 80.6 men out of 100 work for the government or the coöperatives, leaving only 19.4 men working for private industry. The former percentage will rise during 1928, forcing private industry to even lower ratios. In respect to distribution, the present share controlled by the government and coöperatives will rise to 84.5 per cent. in 1928, a sharp increase over 1927.

And finally the coming year will proceed "on a non-crisis course on the basis of economic equilibrium."

A more audacious document it would be difficult to imagine. Sixteen men heading the Gosplan salt down the whole economic life of one hundred and fifty millions of people for a year in advance as calmly as a Gloucester man salts down his fish. Furthermore, what I have seen of the actual working of the economic structure in Russia leads me to suppose that—failing Acts of God—the actual performance for the year 1928 will not be so very far from the prophecies and commandments so calmly made.

I do not imagine that there is a single business man, or more than half a dozen professors of economics, in America, who would not pooh-pooh, ridicule and utterly refuse to believe that such a thing were either possible or even remotely conceivable. Trained as I have been, I have the greatest difficulty in crediting it myself. One can only remember that forecasting in a system of economic anarchy is a far more risky business than forecasting in a system where 80 per cent. of industry is administered from one central conning tower.

But until—say fifteen months from now—a committee of pooh-poohers can show me that the figures I have quoted above have failed tragically to materialize, I must go on, staggering under a sort of dizzy conviction that what the Gosplan points to will actually come to pass.

Incentives

The figures cited above indicate that the Russian industrial machine is producing more and more goods every year. The American visitor is somewhat at a loss to understand what motivates this increase; what makes the Russians work. Save for the diminishing number of private manufacturers and traders, there is no incentive furnished by the hope of private profit in the whole mechanism at all. Why do the wheels keep turning faster and faster? It is quite contrary to our accepted rules for industrial behavior; indeed enough to make old Adam Smith himself stir in his grave.

A closer inspection, however, reveals a fairly elaborate series of incentives which have displaced the incentive of private profit, yet give substantially similar behavior reactions. Profit, of course, never applies to anything but management. No industrial worker the world around—save in a few rare cases of genuine profit-sharing—has the slightest interest in his employer's balance sheet. What makes the manager of a Russian factory strive to increase production, lower costs, introduce more efficiency?

For one thing the manager instead of being driven by a group of hungry stockholders, as is so often the case in America, is driven by a hungry government. This government is Argus-eyed, it is informed by battalions of statistics and by a member of the Communist Party whom we found close to the manager in every factory. Oftentimes this member is himself the manager, and to date he needs no further incentive than the burning zeal to create a new heaven and a new earth which flames in the breast of every good Communist. It is something—this flame—that one has to see to appreciate. There is nothing like it anywhere in America, probably nothing like it anywhere in the world to-day. One would have to go back to Cromwell, or Mahomet, or St. Paul. Will it last? I do not know. All I can report is that after ten lean years it still scorches the face of the curious onlooker. So must the flaming sword of Allah have come over the plains from Mecca. No Communist in Russia is entitled to draw a salary greater than 225 rubles a month—a bare living of $112, with sometimes housing space provided. At any hour of the day or night a telegram may call him to an industrial post on the Pacific, on the Arctic, in a trackless desert. And he goes. . . . Human nature is a more complicated thing than as comprehended in the doctrines of the Manchester School.

For the manager who is not a member of the party, a financial incentive is provided, but within rigorous limits. He may be paid up to 600 rubles a month or $300. Very few achieve this lordly rate, however. What keeps him going primarily, is the very human desire to "beat yesterday," to join in the grand game of pulling Russian industry out of a sink hole. His face lightens, his personality visibly expands as he shows you his charts and curves with the line leading ever upward. He measures himself against the Gosplan quota, he takes pride in beating it; he takes pride in beating out another plant in the same industry. The chief of the Ukrainian Sugar Trust chuckled as he showed us an operating statement which carried more profit than a competing trust. Managers get no profit, but they like to keep out of the red, and as high in the black as they can. Also there is an elaborate system of honors, decorations and modest cash prizes for new inventions, new processes, improvements in operating method. The engineer of the Port of Odessa pointed out his pair of new grain loaders, invented by himself, with ill-concealed satisfaction and told of the favorable notices in the press, and the welcome 300 rubles.

When this period of rapid expansion—the journey up from nothing to something—is over, and the curves flatten from mountain contours to something more in the nature of a plateau—then will come the acid test. The plateau has not been reached, the game is still universal and bracing, and other than mercenary incentives for the present suffice.

In respect to the workers, we noted decidedly more interest in the job than is displayed by the normal American factory hand. More interest and less tangible efficiency. The Russians are a patient folk, but not precisely broken to the machine age. They have little genius for organizing, for contriving, for speeding up. They are pathetically eager to learn these habits; they will sit up all night to talk about them; they will gather eagerly around the American visitor ten deep in the shop to talk about them. But they have not the Yankee knack. The tradition of the East is all against it.

Meanwhile they do the best they can. Every factory has a "production committee" composed of workers whose duty it is to coöperate with the management in promoting efficiency. Nor is it a paper committee. New suggestions are constantly being forwarded. We saw the tabulated lists in factory after factory. The workers have really been converted to the idea of "rationalization" and mass production; they really feel that they are the owners of the industrial structure—as indeed they are—and that upon them depends an increase in living standards, and the meeting of the challenge of the hitherto superior efficiency of the West. They have accepted an almost universal system of piece-work; they watch each other for slackness—and woe betide him that is caught, they know where their industry fits into the general industrial picture, and what they have to do to meet the Gosplan yardstick. Their intelligence as a working group is remarkable, even as their daily output—while gaining all the time—is deplorably low judged by Western standards. But as a system of applied incentives, the Russian method affects the mind of the worker, particularly the younger man and woman, far more profoundly than any other I have seen in operation. It is not inconceivable that this mental stimulus may some day break the ancient working habits of the East.

Conclusion

In conclusion I should like to quote from a remarkable political document. It is the economic summary for the current year, based on the Gosplan and other government figures, and issued by the Plenum of the Communist Party in September, 1927. The party runs Russia; it is to its interest—according to all Western political principles—to boast of its achievements and to soft pedal its short-comings. But this party staggers under too much responsibility to take the normal course. It points out its achievements to be sure, but it also lists its economic failures just as forcibly. This is unheard of. I give the two lists not only because they are contained in a unique document, but because, by and large, they coincide with my own observations covering the strength and the weakness of the going economic structure, so far as I know anything about it. There are ten favorable items and ten unfavorable items as follows.

Favorable

1. The steady increase in industrial production. For the first eight months of 1927 the production of State industries increased about 20 per

cent. over the same period in 1926. This is an average for two kinds of production: (a) capital goods, which increased 29 per cent., and (b) consumable goods, which increased 17 per cent. (The accent on capital goods is well illustrated by these figures.)

2. The outlay of over $500,000,000 in 1927 for new industrial capital, including electrification.

3. The increase in real wages during the first nine months of 1927, accompanied by an improvement in the productivity of labor.

4. The turning point of high retail prices was reached in January, 1927. Since then retail prices have begun slowly to fall.

5. The stability of grain prices paid to the farmer during the year, and the decline in retail prices for grain products.

6. The increase in land cultivated for technical crops—sugar beets, etc.

7. The growing importance in trade of the coöperatives and the government stores as contrasted with the private trader. (Which may or may not be a healthy growth.)

8. The attainment of a favorable foreign trade balance.

9. A balanced federal budget.

10. The increasing purchasing power of the ruble; the increase in savings bank deposits on the part of the people at large.

Unfavorable

1. Considerable miscalculations in capital investment, particularly in respect to higher costs than were anticipated for new construction.

2. The slow progress made in restoring housing. (Furthermore the high cost of new housing necessitates relatively high rents as compared with the old housing, the result being that people are loath to move.)

3. The extremely slow rate at which industrial costs decline.

4. The high general level of prices for industrial goods despite all efforts, and the great discrepancy between wholesale and retail prices.

5. The difficulties in securing adequate raw materials.

6. A less than anticipated increase in the corn-growing area.

7. The fact that too much credit has been granted to large farmers, and to pseudo-agricultural coöperatives.

8. The slow increase in the facilities for railway transport.

9. The great disparity between the development of foreign trade and internal economy.

10. The large amount of unemployment particularly among unskilled workers and government trade employees, accompanied by a shortage of skilled workers.

This to my mind is a reasonably fair and honest statement of economic gains and losses. In the statement of losses particularly there is no blinking of the facts. It is difficult to conceive of the Republican Party, let us say, drawing up an equivalent bill of particulars after eight years in office.

6. INDUSTRIALIZATION AND COLLECTIVIZATION

Since Mr. Chase wrote the preceding section "Industry and the Gosplan" late in 1927, three years have elapsed. The Soviets have made steady progress in their industrial program far beyond his predictions. A new and more ambitious five-year-plan was projected in 1928 and on the whole has been carried forward with success. Indeed, the leaders of the Gosplan stated in August, 1930, that there is every indication that it will be completed in four years or even less. The chief aim around which Soviet effort has centered during the past year has been rapid industrialization and collectivization.

The gross production of Russian industry in 1930 as a whole is now expected to be over thirty per cent greater than the previous year and to double that under the Czar's régime. The terrific speeding up process has necessitated frequent revisions of production estimates. Originally the five-year-plan called for only 22,000,000 tons of oil by 1933, now it demands 38,000,000 tons. Similarly, the amount of coal required has been raised from 75,000,000 to 100,000,000 tons.

Concrete evidences of the progress made during 1930 are:

1—The completion in May of the new thousand-mile railroad connecting Turkestan and Siberia; opening up a vast new area.

2—The largest agricultural machine factory in Europe was finished in June at Rostov on the Don.

3—A large factory with a capacity of 50,000 tractors was completed in June at Stalingrad.

4—A new Ford plant with an annual capacity of 100,000 automobiles is being rushed to completion at Nishni Novgorod.

5—The largest electric plant in the world is partly constructed and should be ready by 1933. It will supply low cost electric power and good water over about 200,000 square miles, and should be capable of supporting an industrial population of 16,000,000 or over twice the population of our six New England States.

6—Two huge steel plants are under construction besides two more large tractor plants.

One of the chief difficulties encountered has been the low quality of the products of Soviet industry. For instance, one electrical factory during the first five months of 1930 received materials worth 1,361,000 rubles but 21.2 per cent proved defective and had to be returned.

In contrast to the United States where unemployment was marked in 1930, Russia had practically none among the unskilled workers and on April 1, 1930, the Commissar of Trade reported that the total number of unemployed was only just over a million, although this included 300,000 youths coming from the farms for the first time.

Besides industrialization, the Bolsheviks have instituted an intensive drive for the collectivization of agriculture. This means that every effort was used to persuade the peasants to abandon their small individual holdings and join together in large collective farms. Inducements were offered in the form of loans, tractors, and skilled management. In some cases overzealous Communist workers practically forced the peasants to join in this movement. By March, 1930, it was reported that 55 per cent. of the peasants were enrolled. The result was that the government could not supply tractors or capable experts fast enough. In March, therefore, Stalin published an article "Giddiness from Success" in which he rebuked those of his followers who had brought undue pressure on the peasants to join collectives and assured the peasantry that the movement should be voluntary. This was followed by appropriate resolutions of the Central Committee of the party. The result was that many peasants withdrew and took up individual farming. The Soviet Government reports that in August, 1930, about one-quarter of the peasant households remain on collective farms.

One great difficulty with the plan has been the extreme individualism of the Russian peasant who hates to take orders. He has a vague suspicion that the lazy peasant will profit from his labor. In many cases no equitable arrangement was made to compensate those peasants who brought with them live-stock and tools as over against those who did not. The managers of collectives were faced by the dilemma that if they were too strict the peasant members were alienated, if on the other hand, they allowed too much freedom, some of the peasants became lazy and unproductive.

One advantage of collectivization is that it does away with the strip system in which each peasant has his land divided into long strips separated by wasteful ditches. It also enables the use of tractors, large scale production and scientific management. The Communists hope that it may develop a more socialized outlook on the part of the peasantry. Already as a result of collectivization, *Izvestia,* the government newspaper, reported in July, 1930, that 1,700,000 agricultural and forest workers had joined the trade union.

It is still too early to say whether Russia will be successful in either

her industrialization or her collectivization program but America should watch the results with scientific care.

7. LABOR AND TRADE UNIONS

Besides the seven-hour day Russia has made other interesting experiments in behalf of labor, one of the most significant being social insurance.

(a) Temporary Disability.

Any worker who is sick or injured receives full pay, beginning immediately.

(b) Permanent Incapacity.

Any worker who is permanently incapacitated, either by illness, accident or old age, is entitled to receive full wages if an attendant is needed to care for him, three-quarters of his wages if he needs no attendant, and if he is only partially incapacitated, an equitable proportion of his former wage.

(c) Pensions to dependents of the deceased.

If a worker dies, any one dependent on him is provided for. If death resulted from an industrial cause one-third of the average previous earnings paid for one dependent, one-half for two dependents and three-fourths for three or more. If the death was from a non-industrial cause the proportion of the payments is two-ninths, one-third and four-ninths. All children are considered dependent up to sixteen years of age. The widow is considered a dependent if she is unable to work or has children under eight years of age.

(d) Birth and Burial Allowances.

Women workers are allowed two months' vacation with pay before and after giving birth to a child. They are given one-half of one months' wages to equip the child with clothes and to pay other expenses. As a nursing allowance they receive one-eighth of a month's salary for nine months.

An allowance is made for the expenses of a modest civil burial.

(e) Unemployment Insurance.

Highly skilled workers and juveniles beginning work are paid benefits regardless of the amount of time they have been working. Others, if they are members of the union, must have been employed for one year; non-union members for three years. The benefits are divided into three categories. To those who are skilled manual workers and salaried employees with a higher education one-third of the average wage is paid; semi-skilled and higher grade salaried workers receive one-fourth of the average, while the unskilled and all other salaried employees receive one-fifth.

(f) Vacations with Pay.

A worker who has been employed for at least five and one-half months is given two weeks' vacation each year with pay. Workers in unusually hazardous or difficult occupations—such as mining, glass working, iron and steel—receive one month. About six hundred thousand workers are sent each year by the unions and the Social Insurance Department for vacations in rest homes where all expenses are paid. Usually these workers are selected because they stand in greater need of physical rest than others.

In considering these features of the new Russian structure it must be remembered that wages in Russia are still low and that the corresponding benefits are also low. At the beginning of 1929 the average monthly wage for all industrial workers was $33.45.

One of the most significant features of the Russian development is the coöperation which the government has extended to organized labor. The following account presents the facts briefly:[21]

> The Soviet trade unions are revolutionary bodies, with constitutional preambles much like that of some of the militant socialist unions in America. They are not interested solely in a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. They stand on the basis "of the international class struggle of the proletariat," and aim "to foster the development of the world-wide revolutionary class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the realization of socialism through the proletarian dictatorship."
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> The Soviet unions are thus more than "socialist unions" in the continental sense of the term, for they have already passed through their period of revolutionary conflict and are now devoted to the business of consolidating the state power of the workers and peasants and the building up of a non-capitalistic society.
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> In addition to these general aims, the more immediate day-to-day objects of the unions at the present stage of their development are: To protect the economic and legal interests of their members and to improve their material conditions; to raise the general cultural level of the workers; to participate in the organization of production in their particular trade or industry.
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> To carry out these aims, they make collective agreements with the employer, whether state trusts or private concerns. They help in the enforcement of the labor laws. They draft and secure the adoption of labor legislation. They organize special funds and traveling aid funds. They encourage the growth of mutual aid societies among their membership. They defend the workers before the various conciliation and arbitration boards and lead them in their disputes with both state and private manage-

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[21] Reprinted from *Russia after Ten Years*, Report of the American Trade Union Delegation to the Soviet Union, pp. 17-34. New York, International Publishers, 1927.

ment. They declare and lead strikes when necessary to achieve their ends They work with governmental and coöperative institutions in the construction of houses, the organization of public health work, playgrounds, nurseries and similar institutions. They send their representative to sit on the various government bodies such as the Commissariat for Labor, the Commissariat for Health and the Commissariat for Education. They organize a wide variety of cultural activities and schools, and carry on an extensive journalistic and publishing work. They aid and assist the consumers' coöperatives.

In addition to these functions the Russian unions carry out the same line of routine activity as do progressive, energetic unions in any capitalist country—with this major distinction, they pay much greater attention to production and the development of industry. On this point the interests of the unions and the interests of the Soviet government are practically identical.

The total number of members in all the twenty-three national unions is now over 9,827,000. The largest group is industrial; next in line is the group working in government public and trading institutions. Those following are, in order, transportation workers, agricultural and forest workers and those engaged in the building trades.

In order of affiliated membership, the following unions stand at the head of the list: 1. Land and Forest; 2. Civil Service and Commercial employees; 3. Railroad workers; 4. Metal workers; 5. Textile workers; 6. Educational workers, and 7. Building workers. The first two have each over 1,000,000 members.

The great majority of the union members (7,045,800) live in Russia proper (R. S. F. S. R.); nearly 2,000,000 live in the Ukraine, and much smaller numbers in the less industrial districts.

The latest figures show that 92.7 per cent. of all the eligible workers of the country are in the unions. Possibly 50 per cent. of land and forest workers are in the union, namely, 1,120,000, but the total number of such workers hired by the individual farmers throughout the country is not definitely known.

The highest percentage of organization obtains among the art workers, the printing trades and medical workers (comparatively small unions), while the commercial workers, paper workers, leather workers and catering and hotel workers all have 95 per cent or over.

Strikes and Disputes

The first questions asked by labor men on arriving in Russia are: "Do the workers have the right to strike? How are labor disputes settled?"

We are satisfied that the workers have the legal right to strike, that there is no anti-strike law, and nothing resembling American injunctions to curb strikes and the activities of the unions. The hiring of strike-breakers is prohibited by law. Anti-labor judges, courts and government officials are naturally unknown, since the officials are also workers.

However, strikes are not frequent. This is because, as one of the workers told us, "We see no reason for striking against ourselves." From the general union point of view it is naturally desirable to avoid disputes when the costs are so clearly borne by the workers themselves. The Soviet government is a workers' régime, and trade unions participate in the government. The leaders are able to look upon strikes not as a weapon of class conflict, as in other countries, but rather as a warning signal that the unions are not responding to the desires of the workers. When a strike occurs, they quickly see to it that conditions out of which it grew are remedied and that where the local trade union officials are responsible for the situation they are either severely reprimanded or removed from office.

Of course, strikes in privately owned industries are quite another matter. The Russian unions are not slow to strike if they see their interests jeopardized by a private factory owner or concessionaire. There have been a number of such strikes in the last few years.

The organs of mediation and arbitration to take up and settle the disputes arising between workers and management both in government and private industry are, in their order of jurisdiction, the standardization-conflict committee in the factory, the mediation chamber, and the arbitration board. The function of each of these is suggested by its name. The decision of the final arbitration board is binding by law only on the management. The union can discipline its workers if they refuse to obey the decisions of the board, but the state itself cannot compel compliance with arbitration decrees.

Reports to the last congress of the trade unions in December, 1926, showed that the general betterment of the economic life of the workers in the government factories had substantially decreased both the number of strikes and the number of working days lost by strikes. The strikes which occurred were usually not extensive. They broke out in sections or department of plants and represented the protest of workers against certain conditions peculiar to the craft or department. The union, of course, had always tried to settle the strikes, and had succeeded in 75 per cent. of the cases. The remainder were settled through direct understandings between the strikers and the managements of the enterprises involved.

Are the Trade Unions Controlled by the State?

The unions have a very definite relationship to the State, but the government does not control the unions. It would be more accurate to say that the trade unions control the government. Yet neither statement expresses the truth. Under War Communism the trade unions were practically a branch of the State; membership was compulsory and dues were checked out of the pay envelope. But with the creation of the State trusts and corporations under the New Economic Policy, the unions took on defensive functions similar to those of unions in other countries.

The unions have always been clear in their avowal of their determination to support the Soviet Government in industrializing the country and in "building up Socialism." Believing in the philosophy and practice of Socialism, they naturally support the government they have created and defended with gun in hand.

When the Russian workers whom we met in factory, shop and mine were questioned as to whether their unions were "controlled" by the government, their answer was usually an amused smile or a complete failure to understand the point of view of the questioner. "It is *our* government. They are *our* unions," was the reply in many cases. "This is a dictatorship of the proletariat, not a capitalist country" was another. "Our government never broke a strike," or "There are no injunctions and anti-trade union laws in Russia." The workers look upon the unions as an independent aid to the government and upon the government as the instrument of the workers' power in the field of politics and international relations. Many of the trade union leaders hold important posts in the government, and the will of the Central Council of Trade Unions (C. C. T. U.) in the matter of oppointments to certain public offices is absolute and binding.

Trade Union Structure

There are only twenty-three national trade unions in Soviet Russia. All of these are organized on industrial lines. There is no such thing as a craft union, no carpenters' union, plasterers' union, a metal workers' weavers' union. There is a building workers' union, a metal workers' union, a textile workers' union, a printers' union, and so on. The Russian workers told us that their unions have profited by observing the craft unions in other countries as well as in their own where, even after the revolution of 1917, a wide variety of small craft unions had come into existence. They modeled their unions on industrial lines, apparently a necessity where workers control industry. However, in some of the unions there are special craft or departmental groups associated chiefly for scientific purposes, such as the engineering and technical sections of practically every national union.

The Factory Committee

The foundation stone in the trade union structural organization is the factory committee. These committees consist usually of three union members in a factory having from 25 to 300 workers, five members for those with 300 to 1,000; seven members for those from 1,000 to 5,000 and nine for all those having more than 5,000. The number is much greater in some unions, the Central Committee fixing the size. They are elected usually at general meetings of the factory workers where every worker, union or non-union, if he is eligible for the union, has the right to cast a vote. Voting is not by secret ballot but by a show of hands. Only union workers may be on the committee.

The factory committee has certain members, chosen by the committee itself, who devote their full time to the work, their regular wages being paid to them while engaged in this service. In a typical factory of more than 1,000 workers there is a factory committee of three, one member of which is usually called the president, another the secretary and the third usually the chairman of the sub-committee on the protection of labor.

The committees hold office for one year. However, their work may be reviewed and a new election held at the end of six months if the workers demand it. And in most unions the committee, or individual members of it, may be recalled and a new election held on request of one-third of the members.

In every factory having a factory committee we found the following sub-committees at work: protection of labor, culture, standardization-conflict, and production. A member of the committee usually heads each sub-committee. The other members are either from the committee or are appointed by it from the ranks of the workers.

The chief functions of the sub-committees are the following: The protection of labor committee carries on all the work connected with the protection of the worker against ill health and industrial accidents. It sees to it, for instance, that laws relating to sanitation and the guarding of machines are carried out to the letter. It directs the sending of workers to hospitals, rest homes and sanitariums; the erection and maintenance of communal baths and laundries; supervises children's institutions operated in connection with the factory; and interests itself in the establishment and maintenance of coöperatives and workers' apartment houses.

The culture (or education-culture) committee carries on a wide variety of activities intended to raise the cultural level of the workers, to increase their industrial qualifications and to enrich their lives, during work and leisure. It organizes classes, circles, lectures, concerts, movies, libraries, schools, clubs, sports and physical-culture activities, excursions, reading rooms, choirs, and theatricals. It takes charge of the expenditure of the money paid by the industry to the union for culture purposes under the collective agreement.

The standardization-conflict committee is usually represented on the workers' side by two or three of the most intelligent men in the factory. Upon it falls the heavy responsibility of bargaining for wage rates and settling disputes, either individual or collective.

Production committees are now at work in practically every industrial and transportation unit. They are usually composed of from 3 to 15 members chosen by the factory committee. They include active workers, representatives of management and the technical personnel. They carry out the production work described hereafter.

The factory committee plays a very important rôle in the workers' lives. It is subordinate to the higher trade union organs, but within its sphere it is the free and powerful agent of the workers, defending their rights and representing their everyday interests. Because of the nature of the Soviet State and the organization of economic life in Russia, factory councils in no other country have as much power or perform more vital services. They have no direct control or responsibility in management, but they operate in various ways to check those tendencies toward bureaucracy, which are especially dangerous in a Socialist State.

Factory Delegates

To keep the rank and file of the workers better informed concerning the activities of the factory committees and to bring forward more effectively the desires and demands of the workers, factories with more than 200 workers have factory delegates. These are chosen every six months by the workers—one delegate to about 10 workers. The delegates make formal written reports to the workers whom they represent and hold a general delegates' meeting twice a month. But the chief service of the delegate is to speak for his small group of workers and to make their influence felt on the factory committee and in its activities. He also interprets the acts and decisions of the factory committee to the rank and file. On January 1, 1925, there were 200,000 of these delegates in the U. S. S. R.; a year later there were over 870,000.

"Actives"

The active workers, or the "actives" as they are called, are those union members who hold some position of responsibility, no matter how low, in the trade union system. They are not the hired employees and elected officials of the trade union, but only those who are working in the plant. Most of them do full time work at their regular jobs and give their spare hours to union activity.

The number of those "actives" varies from union to union. Some unions claim as high as 13 per cent. of members in the ranks of the factory committee members, sub-committee members, dues collectors, delegates, club leaders, and others who make up the list of the "actives." The sugar workers' union, for example, claims 35,000 out of less than 100,000 members. There are nearly 2,000,000 "actives" in the whole U. S. S. R.

Separate Industrial Unions

Before estimating the character of the work carried on by the inter-union organizations we may note the structure of the 23 separate unions whose combined jurisdiction covers all those who work for hire on Soviet territory.

The factory committee, as we have noted above, is the primary organ of the union. The next highest organ varies in different unions. In Central Russia where the gubernia (province) is the larger geographical division, the uyezd is the next highest organ above the factory committee. (The uyezd might be said to correspond roughly to an American county, while a gubernia or province could be compared to a State.) The order of importance, then, would be—factory committee, county conference, provincial congress, and finally, the national or federal congress of the industrial union.

At its general meetings of workers each factory elects delegates to a county conference of the union. This conference, in turn, elects the county administration of the union. Above the county is the more important provincial administration, organized at annual congresses of delegates elected straight from the general meetings of the workers in the factories. These provincial congresses also elect delegates to the bi-annual congress of the national industrial union. The national congress in turn chooses a Central Committee which is the supreme power in the union between sessions of the congress. A full meeting of the Central Committee elects a presidium or group of officers who direct the work of the national union between sessions of the Central Committee.

The provincial department of the separate union has very important functions. In addition to receiving the dues from the factory committees, it directs all the work of the county under it as well as the work of the factory committees. It has the right to change or annul the work of these lower organs, just as the Central Committee of the national industrial union has the right to overrule the decisions of the provincial organizations if their decisions run counter to the lines of policy laid down at the national congresses. These provincial offices create their own cultural, wage, economic and organization departments. They also set up special unemployment registration bureaus, information bureaus, book distribution departments and libraries, statistical departments; legal aid bureaus, engineering and technical sections and similar bureaus on a gubernia-wide scale.

The national industrial unions, likewise, have the same departments and bureaus in operation, only they serve the whole U. S. S. R. and supervise the lower union organizations, including the provincial administrations. All the national unions have their headquarters in the Palace of Labor in Moscow, along with the offices of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

Inter-Union Organization

The highest organ of the trade union movement in the U. S. S. R. is the All-Union Congress of Trades Unions which meets every two years to decide general policies and to select an executive committee of about 170 members known as the Central Council of Trade Unions (C. C. T. U.). This council chooses a presidium to carry on its work between sessions of the council. The presidium, corresponding in a general way to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, puts into effect the policies determined upon at the congresses and at the sessions of the Central Council.

The Central Council coördinates and directs, in a general way, the work of the 23 vertically organized industrial unions already described. It also coördinates and leads the work of the lower inter-union organizations such as the Councils of Trade Unions in the provinces and other variously named territories of the U. S. S. R. For example, the Moscow Provincial Council of Trade Unions or the Ural Territorial Council of Trade Unions are under the general supervision of the C. C. T. U. Such a Council of Trade Unions unites all the separate unions in the given area. It represents the joint interests of the unions in its territory on various governmental and economic bodies where counsel with the unions is always taken.

The functions of such an inter-union body are similar to, though vastly more extensive, than those of a State Federation of Labor in the United States.

The 1,600 delegates to the All-Union Congress are chosen not at the lower inter-union congresses or at the national congresses of the separate industrial unions but at the lower provincial, or territorial, congresses of the separate unions. For each 10,000 members a union is entitled to one delegate. However, for the thinly populated sections of the country where no one union in a district contains 10,000 members, the delegates may be elected at the Inter-Union Congress.

The Distribution of Power in the Trade Unions

This rather complex structure is called in Russia "democratic centralism." In it the supreme power rests with the C. C. T. U. elected every two years at the All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions. All the individual national industrial unions and the lower inter-union bodies are subordinate to it and must obey its decisions. The next highest authority is the Central Committee of the national industrial union elected at the national congress of that union. A central committee has power over its subordinate provincial and other branches. Only the central committee can expel or discipline such a provincial organization. It cannot be done by a lower inter-union organization. As a matter of fact, the power to expel is seldom, if ever, exercised. It should be noted in this connection that the central committee of a national union cannot simply dissolve a local administration and appoint its own candidates to succeed the unsatisfactory officers. It must call a new congress of delegates elected directly from the workshop. The congress elects the new governing body.

The power to make collective agreements is vested usually in the higher bodies, such as the provincial, but the factory committee possesses the full right to discuss the agreement in advance and also to work out with the management of the enterprise the local piece rates and production standards. For those industries, such as railroads, which are operated on a national scale, the central committee of the national union will only sign the collective agreement after it has been fully threshed out by all the local union organs. Usually when the provincial organization makes the agreement, it receives its general instructions from the central committee of the national union and attempts to carry them out in accordance with the requirements of the local situation. Appeals over the appointment of a trust director, for example, arising between the provincial department of a union and a government trust, are usually carried up for settlement to the central committee of the national union and the higher economic organs.

Union Finances

The union member pays his dues, amounting to 2 per cent. of his earnings, to a voluntary collector appointed by the factory committee. The factory committee, in turn, gives the dues in full to the higher union body. The factory committee itself is supported by the enterprise, receiving a given percentage of the payroll. The total income of the Russian trade unions during the last year amounted to approximately 60,000,000 dollars.

The provincial union needs money for its various departments—cultural, wage-economic, organization, and protection of labor. It also sets aside reserves for cultural work and for unemployment. It pays to the national industrial union of which it is a part, from 5 per cent. to 25 per cent. of its income, and also 10 per cent. more to the inter-union organization. The amount of its income spent on administration is comparatively small. It is estimated that these provincial unions return nearly 50 per cent. of their funds for mass work and as contributions to various reserves and funds of immediate value to the workers.

The national industrial unions thus supported by underlying provincial organizations must in turn pay from 10 to 15 per cent. of their income to the Central Council of Trade Unions. They also set aside special funds for cultural work, aid for the unemployed, student assistance, medical work, rest homes and sanatoria. Small strike funds are also concentrated in their hands.

The aim of the unions is summed up in popular posters issued by some of the industrial unions reading "Less for the union apparatus, more for the service of the union members." In this connection it may also be noted that the salaries of the highest trade union officials in the areas like Moscow, where the cost of living is highest, is a little over 112 dollars a month. Provincial and lower officials receive less. There seems to be no tendency to develop high paid officials receiving substantially more than the skilled workers whom they represent.

Membership Qualifications

Any manual or clerical worker may join a union irrespective of race, sex, nationality, age, color or political views. Private employers of labor, self-employed persons and those who are unemployed before joining any union are not eligible for membership, nor are other classes who are deprived of the suffrage. A member of one union who by reason of occupation becomes a member of another union is transferred without any further admission fee into the other union and without any loss of seniority. No worker, however, can be a member of more than one union at a time.

Workers join the union voluntarily. There is no "closed shop" as the term is used in the United States. There is, however, a "preferential shop" in which under the collective agreement, the employer agrees to hire union members first if they can be secured.

Production Work of the Unions

"Union-management coöperation" is a fact in Soviet Russia. They condemn the B. & O. plan and other such experiments in America but have introduced in their own plants the most friendly collaboration between the technical managers and the trade unions. This emphasis on the "rationalization" of the industrial process characterizes the Russian unions from the smallest factory committee to the Federal Council of Trade Unions. At the last congress of the unions in 1926 the resolution of this question read in part as follows:

> "The industrialization of the country, the need for capital and the raising of the material and cultural standards of the workers requires the further raising of the efficiency of work. It requires the constant attention of the trade unions. . . . The working class and its trade unions by working steadily and methodically for the development of industry and the whole Soviet economy not only creates the conditions for the further raising of the material and cultural level of the worker's life, but also insure the success of the building of socialism in our country."

To carry out the resolutions on production, passed at this as well as at previous All-Russian congresses, the unions, through the factory committees, have organized in all state factories and enterprises production committees. There are over 50,000 of these committees in the U. S. S. R. They have also called production conferences, the purposes of which are to "draw more workers into the building of our economy," to teach them more about production, improve their qualifications, to stimulate invention and to establish a stronger social control over the economic organs of the state.

Everywhere we went we found these production conferences at work, composed of all the workers in the factory who show a voluntary interest in increasing and improving production. In the large factories these conferences are also organized on a sectional or departmental basis.

The production committee, composed both of workers and technical personnel, helps to arrange the program for the production conference and also sees to it that its resolutions are "put into life."

We found that these factory and departmental production committees have largely eliminated the old conflicts and frictions between the workers and the technical men. This is partly because the specialists have become absorbed in the fascinating job of industrial reconstruction, and partly because the unions have trained thousands of their own members for technical posts. Chain systems, mechanical operations, "straight-line" production, specialization and standardization are a part of their dream of an industrialized Russia, just as they are the topic of constant discussion and planning among the union workers.

In order to attract the engineers and technical specialists into the activities of the unions, special Engineering and Technical Sections are formed both by the national and district organizations. These sections usually hold national congresses prior to the calling of the regular union congresses. Although they have their own funds, they have no separate craft autonomy and work under the control of the central committee of the national union. Many of these sections publish special engineering and technical journals for their membership.

Summarizing the work of the production committees and conferences during the past two years, President Tomsky told us that they have "increased the output of the individual workers, facilitated inventions, and helped in the rationalization of industry and the organization of work by scientific methods. They serve to free the plants from many petty defects in the work and organization which has tended to decrease output."

This production work is one of the most stimulating and novel tasks of the unions in Russia. It is capable of unlimited development. And it brings out clearly the part that the trade unions are playing in the whole economy.

Cultural-Educational Work

We asked Tomsky, the president of the C. C. T. U. what was the most important achievement of the unions during the last few years. His answer was:

> "The most notable development in the Russian trade union movement is the tremendous progress of cultural activities. Through these activities great masses of the working class are aided in their cultural development. Tens of thousands are being prepared for participation in the government as well as in economic and trade union life. They are brought nearer to the realities of life, and that is the most important factor. Such a development exists nowhere else. No union abroad is doing a tenth of what we are doing in that direction."

After examining the cultural-educational work of the trade unions we are inclined to agree with Tomsky. From the bottom to the top of the union apparatus the cultural-educational work is interwoven. The union leaders insist that it is incorrect to think of workers' education as a separate departmentalized affair. They contend that every branch of union work is educational, and that every "active" in the union is really an educational worker, so that through all the departments of the union runs the educational function. The educational work is not regarded as something apart from the union to be patronized and supported like an outside agency. Instead it is a vital, organic part of the work of every department of the organization.

Without going into the details of the various methods used by the unions to give their workers political, trade union and technical education (the three categories into which the unions divide their teaching activities), we may summarize some of the services and facilities enjoyed by the average union member:

1. If he is illiterate he may attend school or night class for the "liquidation of illiteracy." The unions have made particularly good progress for the last few years in eliminating illiteracy among their members.
2. He may become a member of a factory or union club. Within these clubs, now organized in practically every factory, he may attend discussions or join a "circle" to study almost any subject in which he and his union brothers are interested, from spelling to international politics.
3. In the clubs and reading rooms are "red corners" where educational classes are carried on as well as amateur dramatics, radio, moving pictures, "loud readings" and "living papers" (the acting out of contemporary news).
4. Libraries are actively used by the workers, including factory libraries, those of separate unions, and inter-union libraries.
5. The worker secures reduced rates to regular theatres, concerts, entertainments and dramatic performances. He also participates in excursions to museums and other places of cultural interest. He participates in all sorts of theatrical and musical organizations and performances.

6. He frequents summer gardens belonging to his union where entertainments and lectures similar to those in the clubs are carried on.

7. He goes to both technical schools in the factory and special technical schools. Through the educational department of the union he qualifies to enter the labor high schools (Rabfacs) and higher educational institutions.

8. He takes part in all sorts of sports and physical culture games. Some of the finest moderate sized sport stadiums in Europe are owned by the Russian unions. The workers participate in handball, field events, water sports and gymnastics.

9. He participates in editing wall newspapers (special factory papers containing news of the shop, criticism of the management, the union leaders, etc.) and also acts as a correspondent to his own union journal. All unions have official organs, while some operate daily newspapers.

All the educational work is supported from two sources—the funds supplied by the government trusts and economic institutions under the collective agreement, and special funds built up by the unions out of a part of the income from members' dues.

One trade union leader expressed the attitude of the unions toward cultural-educational work when he said, "We plan to be with the workers every hour of the twenty-four. At work, at play, at home, in the club, the union seeks to penetrate and influence the life of the workers."

The cultural work of the unions is one of the most impressive achievements of the new Russia. There is no precedent or parallel for it anywhere in the world to-day.

8. THE TRANSITION TO THE NEW FAMILY [22]

Of all the changes made in the position of women, the most sweeping and far-reaching are the laws concerning marriage and divorce and the family, formulating for the first time the new revolutionary manner of life and providing the defense for mother and child lacking in the old laws.

At the conference of women workers two years after the October revolution, Lenin spoke as follows:

> "A complete revolution in the legislation affecting women was brought about by the government of the workers in the first months of its existence. The Soviet government has not left a stone unturned of those laws which held women in complete subjection. I speak particularly of the laws which took advantage of the weaker position of women, leaving her in an unequal and often even degrading position—that is, the laws on divorce and children born out of the wedlock, and the right of women to sue the father for the support of the child. . . . And we may now say with pride and without any exaggeration that outside of Soviet Russia there is not a country in the world where women

[22] Reprinted from Smith, Jessica, *Women in Soviet Russia*, pp. 90-104. New York, Vanguard Press, 1927.

have been given full equal rights, where women are not in a humiliating position which is felt especially in every day family life. This was one of our first and most important tasks. . . .

"Certainly laws alone are not enough, and we will not for a minute be satisfied just with decrees. But in the legal field we have done everything required to put women on an equal basis with men, and we have a right to be proud of that. The legal position of women in Soviet Russia is ideal from the point of view of the foremost countries. But we tell ourselves plainly that this is only the beginning. . . ."

The decrees on marriage and divorce of December, 1917, were codified into law in July, 1918. The years that followed brought changes that could not have been foreseen by the authors of the codex, and a revised code based on the development of life and customs during the past nine years went into effect on January 1, 1927. Since the marriage laws are from day to day vitally affecting the lives of the people, and bringing about tremendous changes, and in turn being modified and adapted as some aspect of them proves unworkable, I shall sketch the main provisions of the original marriage code before taking up its revisions.

It is perhaps necessary at the outset to emphasize that the Soviet government, however varying the ideas of its individual members as to the form relations between men and women may take in the future, has preserved the family formed by the monogamous marriage as the fundamental social unit, and considers that except in special cases, mothers are still better adapted than the State for the care of babies.

Brandenburgski of the *Norkamyust* (Commissariat of Justice), states the position thus: "The family which has formed a number of obligations and rights between husband and wife, parents and children, will undoubtedly disappear in time, and be replaced by a State organization of social education and social welfare. But since as yet this does not exist, the Soviet State places mutual obligations on members of the family."

While Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education, who writes and talks a great deal on this subject, says:

"We hate the bourgeois family, but from this the conclusion must not be drawn that men in the revolutionary movement should not have families, nor the women bear children. . . . The main kernel of society, which must be in the center of our attention, is the family. . . . Whether there will be a free family, without a head, or whether the family will break up entirely, we do not decide in advance. In a Socialist society individual differences will not be eliminated, nor do we strive for that, and probably there will be different forms of the family."

The first marriage law of Soviet Russia recognized only civil marriage. No attempt was made to abolish the religious ceremony, it was simply stripped of all legal significance. At a matter of fact most of the peasants and many townspeople continued to be married in church. The priests, however, have refused to perform the ceremony without a certificate from *Zags,* as the registration office is familiarly called from its initials.

It costs nothing to be married or divorced in Russia beyond the few kopeks charge for any act of registration. In the cities there is always a long queue of strangely assorted couples waiting at the Registry clerk's desk, and the ceremony, consisting of an examination of their identification documents, a questioning of the bride and groom as to whether they are entering the marriage state voluntarily, and writing the names in the Book of Marriage, takes just twenty minutes. A Russian friend of mine tells me that when she was married in Leningrad, the clerk expressed great disapproval over the fact that this was the seventh visit of the young lady in front of her. He argued with her for some time, while his nose-glasses kept tumbling off until he tied them around his head with a string. But in the end, the girl acquired her seventh husband.

There has been some feeling that the act of registration would mean more, and compete more effectively with the lengthy and pompous church wedding, if it were not quite such a casual affair. In some places a special room has been set aside for the purpose, and the head of the Department instructed to officiate rather than one of the clerks. "Red Weddings" have satisfied more fully the demand for something to take the place of the old ceremony. A regular ritual for these has been developed in many factories. The bride and groom sit on a red draped platform, attended by fellow union members and representatives of the women's organization. The head of the factory committee is master of ceremonies. The pair pledge themselves to work mutually to raise the production of the factory, and suitable speeches are made, followed by an entertainment or refreshments. This ceremoney is followed in due course of time by the *Octobrina,* in place of the old christening where the helpless babe is plunged three times face downwards into an icy bath, and the priest brandishes the cross and spits out evil spirits. In the Octobrina the factory committee again officiates, the child is dedicated to the Soviet State, and instead of being named for one of the saints is christened "Lentrozina," for Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev, or "Era" if it is a girl "Rem" for Revolution, Electrification and Moscow, "October Twenty-fifth," or some other appropriate name if it is a boy.

Russians are full of ceremony. The simplest meeting must have its formally elected presidium in addition to the chairman and secretary. Speeches, questions and discussion must follow a rigid routine, and culminate in a resolution and protocol. All transactions must be accompanied by elaborate "Acts." The Soviet leaders, aside from having some of this in their own bones, have been quick to see the advantage of ceremony in aiding new social forms to take root among the people, and have encouraged this tendency toward revolutionary ritual.

To return to the marriage code. Originally it was required that a common marriage name be adopted which might be that of either bride or groom, or a combination, but in deference to the Lucy Stoners of both sexes, a later decree provided that they might either choose a common name or keep their pre-marriage names.

Marriage were annulled if it was discovered that the couple were below the marriage age of sixteen for the women, and eighteen for the men, and also if consent had been given under pressure, or either side was in an "irresponsible" condition at the time of marriage. Polygamy was prohibited, and it was made a criminal offense to conceal the fact of one marriage in contracting a second. Marriage was forbidden only to the feeble-minded or mentally unfit, and between parents and children, and brothers and sisters.

Divorce was made completely free. If husband and wife mutually desired it, it was done by a stroke of the pen in the Registration office, but the decree had to be granted through the court if only one wished it, since questions of support and care of children were usually involved. In any case there was no question of proving either side "guilty" of anything at all, and no explanation or reason was required.

Since there has been a vast ignorance of these laws, particularly among the peasants, a widespread system of information bureaus and legal advice has been set up throughout the country, and the Narkomyust has instructed its village departments to pay special attention to the interests of the women peasants, since conditions in the village as a rule left them unprotected. Questions of support must be handled free of charge and made the first order of the day, and even before the decision has been reached, the court has the right to order certain sums to be paid for support.

Certain negative points which might be considered superfluous in a revolutionary marriage code, were emphasized by way of contrast with the old code. Thus it was specifically stated that a wife need not follow her husband if he changed his residence. Citizenship of either man or woman was not affected by marriage. In the original code no community of property was created by marriage. Any agreement between husband and wife regarding property was legally recognized providing it did not infringe on the rights of either. Husband and wife were made mutually responsible for each other's support, providing one was in need, and the other in a position to give the support. This applied after divorce until a "change of circumstances," that is, a new marriage or a new job.

The stigma of "illegitimacy" was abolished, and children of unmarried parents given exactly the same rights as children born in wedlock. The unmarried mother could inform *Zags* three months before the birth of the baby of the name and residence of the father. If the latter offered no objection or proof to the contrary within two weeks, he was assumed to have accepted parenthood, and was held liable for the child's support. This also applied to the married woman whose husband was not the father of the child. The code provided for the following procedure in case the man in question objected to having fatherhood thrust upon him:

"If the court then finds that the relations of the man designated by the mother of the child have been such that in the natural course of events he would become the father of the child, it definitely establishes the fact of his fatherhood, at the same time determining his share of the expenses connected with pregnancy and birth and the further support of the child."

The name given to the maintenance the woman receives in such cases is *alimenta*, and to the men who have to pay it, they quote the old saying, "He who likes coasting must carry his sled up hill." The practice of the courts has been to take one-third of the man's salary. The position of the mother is always considered, and the extent to which the man is actually able to pay and still retain a subsistence minimum for himself. If he has another family, their needs also are considered.

A large proportion of all the cases coming up in the city courts have to do with alimenta, and about one-third of all the cases in the villages. A much larger proportion of the population is affected in the city than in the country because peasant girls have a greater fear of disgrace and are therefore less apt to demand alimenta.

This law has completely transformed the general attitude toward the unmarried mother. In the old days the young girl who lost her virginity before marriage was ruined for life. Sometimes she killed herself rather than face the consequences; sometimes she killed the baby. If discovered she was driven from home, or her honor "saved" by a timely marriage. In any case the whole affair was hushed up by the outraged family. Now she goes boldly to court and demands alimenta. The court asks intimate questions which she answers frankly, and the proceedings are published in the paper where all the world may see. Not, however, as a sensational betrayal or breach of promise story, for Russian papers do not consider such things news, but in a section in the back of the paper entitled "the courts" where the essential facts are reported. The unmarried mother is no longer a shamed outcast, but a self-respecting individual with a right to demand that the father share the burden of supporting the child.

The law permitted children to decide on their own name, citizenship, and religion when they reached the age of fourteen. Until that time the parents decided, or failing agreement, the court. If the parents could not agree on the religion, the child was considered to have no religion at all until old enough to choose for himself.

Parents were required to support their children, look after their proper mental and physical development, and prepare them for some useful activity. Contrary to the current conception outside of Russia, the law required that parents keep their children with them. Children could be sent away from home for training or teaching, but could not be hired out without their own consent. Children were also required to support helpless or needy parents not receiving support from the government. Adoption was forbidden.

The conventional will has given way in Russia to a legal inheritance provision whereby the wife and any relations dependent on the deceased for support receive equal portions of the property. When the amount is insufficient to support all those having legal claims, the most needy must be taken care of first. Wills are permitted in cases where equal distribution would be obviously unfair, but even then only in favor of legal heirs. The law originally gave control of property not exceeding 10,000 rubles to the wife, the remainder going to the State. In February, 1926, however, inheritance was decreed unlimited, but taxed on an ascending scale which reaches 90 per cent. for a sum exceeding 500,000 rubles.

This, then, is the legal basis on which the family has been developed during the first nine years of the Revolution. The courts, not being bound by precedent, soon found that they had to base their decisions on circumstances which had in some cases been created though not provided for by the law itself. Within a few years after its passage it was generally recognized that the law was already out of date, and the jurists drafted a new law which they presented in the fall of 1925. The new provisions aroused such a storm of protest that the draft was sent throughout the country for discussion.

When Russians once get to talking there is no stopping them, and there was nothing left unsaid on this question. But in spite of all this public airing of intimate family laundry, it is still impossible to draw any clear picture of what family life in Russia is to-day. By a careful choice of the facts that came out of the discussions you could prove that Communists had introduced polygamy, that they killed their babies, that immorality was flourishing as nowhere in the world before, that the family had been abolished, that a régime of complete asceticism had been inaugurated, that Communist women were refusing to have babies, that all women were being forced to have a great many babies, or almost anything else you wanted to prove.

Trotsky, in his little book, *Problems of Life,* gives the best picture I have found of what is going on in the family:

> "Family relations," he writes, "those of the proletarian class included, are shattered. . . . It is clear to all that some big process is going on, very chaotic, assuming alternately morbid or revolting, ridiculous or tragic forms, which have not yet had time to disclose their hidden possibilities of inaugurating a new and higher order of family life. . . .
>
> "The husband, torn away from his usual surroundings by mobilization, changed into a revolutionary citizen at the civic front. A momentous change. His outlook is wider, his spiritual aspirations higher and of a more complicated order. He is a different man. And then he returns home to find everything there practically unchanged. The old harmony and understanding with the people

at home in family relationships is gone. No new understanding arises. The mutual wondering changes to mutual discontent, then into ill-will. The family is broken up.

"The husband is a Communist. He lives an active life, is engaged in social work, his mind grows, his personal life is absorbed by his work. But his wife is also a Communist. She wants to join him in social work, attends public meetings, works in the Soviet or Union. Home life becomes practically non-existent before they are aware of it, or the missing of home atmosphere results in continual collisions. Husband and wife disagree. The family is broken up.

"The husband is a Communist. The wife is non-party. The husband is absorbed by his work; the wife, as before, only looks after her home. Relations are 'peaceful' based, in fact, on customary estrangement. But the husband's committee—the Communist "cell"—decrees that he should take away the ikons hanging in his house. He is quite willing to obey, finding it but natural. For his wife it is a catastrophe. Just such a small occurrence exposes the abyss that separates the minds of husband and wife. Relations are spoiled. The family is broken up.

"An old family. Ten to fifteen years of common life. The husband is a good worker, devoted to his family; the wife lives also for her home giving it all her energy. But just by chance she comes in touch with a Communist Women's organization. A new world opens before her eyes. Her energy finds a new and wider object. The family is neglected, the husband is irritated. The wife is hurt in her newly awakened civic consciousness. The family is broken up."

Everyone who has been in Russia since the revolution has seen endless variations of such cases. One of them is going on under my very eyes. A Communist on the staff of the farm has a wife who, while not politically minded, is very intelligent and has read a great deal of Communist propaganda about the emancipation of women. She finds it dull to sit at home all day, and wants a job. Her husband says he wants a home, not a boarding-house.

Many families have gone on the rocks as a result of material conditions. A perfectly happy couple are separated indefinitely. The husband goes for a job to another city. The wife has a job where she is, and remains. Life is dull and lonely and one or both find other companions. In another case the husband gets an important job in a government trust, hobnobs with "Nepmen," begins to live highly, gives frequent parties, expects his working-woman wife to act and dress the part. Sometimes a peasant is promoted to a city job and his peasant wife of twenty years standing is out of place.

There is also the family in which the husband and wife are held together by mutual interest in the revolution and in rebuilding their country. I have known a number of such families, and in general they give an impression of domestic felicity that compares quite favorably with that of families I have known which have not been exposed to the disrupting influences of revolution and freedom of divorce.

Comrade Smidovich is a good example. She is a true and tried old Bolshevik who was formerly the head of the Genotdel and is now one of the three women members of the Control Commission of the party. She took me into her home in the Kremlin one day. She herself might be someone's grandmother rocking away on the porch, benignly watching the children play from over the rims of her spectatcles. Her gray hair is pulled back from her forehead in a neat little knot, her twinkling eyes behind her silver rimmed spectacles are full of understanding and wisdom, her withered cheeks glow with a health that few of her generation have been able to keep. Her husband presided over the Sunday morning breakfast table like any gentle old patriarch. There were three children, a fresh faced girl of fourteen, two shy older sons, and two cousins. Their laughter filled the large, low-ceilinged room in the little house where Peter the Great used to play soldiers. The children adored both their parents, and hung on them every minute—"Mamushka, mamushka" the girl kept saying, "when will you leave off your stupid work and come for a walk with me?"

It seemed hardly necessary to ask Comrade Smidovich what she thought the family life of the future should be.

"Of course," she told me, "we older Communists believe that it is best to love one person and stick to him. It is harder for us than for other people to change around, because the ties we form are stronger. . . . It is no light thing to break up a union that is based on a life-time of struggle together for a common aim. What we seek first is a comrade—one whose thoughts and feelings we can share. If that feeling of mutual love goes, the marriage relation of course must stop. As for the future, we know that new economic forms will create new forms of human relationships. Some of them we are consciously shaping—others can only be formed as life itself proves which forms are best. Certainly we have no use for the old form of bourgeois family based on the economic subjection of women."

I asked her what she thought of institutional care of children.

"We are still far too poor to give the children the social training they should have," she answered, "therefore the family must be preserved as the nucleus to train the child if for no other reason. There is no question that if we had well-equipped, well-run institutions for children, they would be better off than they are in the majority of homes. I love my own children, but after all, how much do I see of them? I am at work all day, and usually in the evenings too. Sunday is my only free day. If they were in a Childrens' Home they could come to me in my free time, and meanwhile they would be getting better training and better care than I can give them, and they would be living a more stimulating life."

Side by side with these, remains the old family that will stick together for better or worse, held down by the weight of the past, where all the old traditions persist—where women are still not only slaves, but content to remain so, where the women feel that when their husbands cease to beat them, they are no longer loved.

Since the changes that have shaken the towns and cities so profoundly have penetrated far more slowly into the villages, most often this old type of family is to be found there. The village household is more permanent than the city family could be. The economic factor operates more strongly in the village than in the city as a cementing element; for rearrangement of the peasants' household is not such a simple thing, and the problems of redistribution of land and division of property usually holds the family together. But even in the villages the change has been stupendous. First the war, revolution, and famine shook them out of their old ruts, then the dawning realization of the women that it was no longer necessary to submit to the cruelty of a hated husband. More and more peasant women are bringing complaints against their husbands into court, and the peasant no longer dares to beat his wife to pulp, for the Genotdel has its representatives in every village to advise the peasant women how they can get redress or divorce.

III. SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES

America's relationship with Revolutionary Russia has been what one would expect when two diametrically unlike organisms react to each other. In our treatment in this section differing points of view are presented for analysis. First, an account of how propaganda was used in America by the anti-Bolsheviki, then an appeal which Lenin made to American workers. This was written after thousands of American soldiers had been sent against Soviet Russia, some to fight Russians amid the snow and ice of the North, others to guard the monarchistic railroad lines in Siberia. This letter is followed by brief descriptions of the history of America's relations with Russia and an official statement of our policy by the Department of State. Finally we have three careful appraisals of revolutionary movements in general and of Communism in particular by students of sociology and political theory. These analyses bristle with implications which America might weigh.

I. THE POISON GAS ATTACK [23]

The bulk of the Allied peoples work for their living and had therefore no strong impulse to rush to the rescue of the expropriated Russian proprietors. Naturally they resented being left in the lurch by Russia at the crisis of the war; while the French had the added grievance of the offhand repudiation of the huge Russian foreign debt. But they would not have consented to pour out blood and treasure in settling the domestic affairs of Russia had they not been thoroughly deceived as to the nature and prospects of the Soviet régime. Accordingly the emigrés and their sympathizers abroad waged the greatest and most successful campaign of misrepresentation that mankind has ever seen. We cannot anticipate to what heights mendacious propaganda may rise in the future, when control of the agencies for disseminating impressions and ideas may be even more centralized than it is to-day; but so far the anti-Bolsheviks hold the world record for the quantity production and marketing of untruth.

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[23] From Ross, E. A., *The Russian Soviet Republic* (New York, The Century Co., 1923), pp. 265-285.

The freshet of lies began in the summer of 1917, when Bolshevism lifted its head on the horizon, rose rapidly after the Brest-Litovsk peace, fairly rioted after the Armistice when the emigrés saw no hope of getting back to their estates save with the aid of foreign bayonets, and began to subside only in 1920 when the volume of truthful testimony about Russia by distinguished foreign visitors somewhat spoiled the market for the lurid products of the emigré imagination. I am not blaming the emigrés for circulating rumors, which possibly in many cases they themselves believed. No doubt under the same circumstances most of us would do the same. Nor do I set up any comparison between Whites and Reds in the matter of veracity. The latter were arch-propagandists certainly, but we do not know to what extent they circulated whole-cloth lies. The main difference is that their propaganda *did not reach us* as did that of the anti-Bolsheviks.

The dispossessed proprietors resorted to deception as their proper weapon. How they might look at it is brought out in an experience of Miss Louise Bryant. Just after the Bolshevik *coup d'état* the correspondents in Petrograd were handed out "the wildest yarns" by the bourgeois Committee on Saving the Country and the Revolution. "Once," she says, "I went to Mayor Schroeder and complained. 'At home,' I said, 'a politician wouldn't do that. He would really be afraid to tell a reporter a deliberate story. Now the other night you told me that the prisoners in Peter and Paul were being massacred and I went way out there at two o'clock in the morning and found them sleeping peacefully in their beds.' He stroked his beard and looked serious, righteous almost. 'Well,' he said, 'the Bolsheviks have all the force of arms on their side, and we have, after all, only the moral force.' "

The hearings of the subcommittee of the United States Senate on Bolshevik Propaganda (Overman Committee) in February and March, 1919, afforded the anti-Bolsheviks a coveted opportunity to get their fairy-tales before our people. Among their choicest products were the following: (1) that members of the Women's Battalion of Death had been violated after they had surrendered to the Bolsheviks on the occasion of the November overturn; (2) that the Bolsheviks had sent emissaries to China to recruit Chinese and bring them through Turkestan to serve as Red Guards; (3) that the Red Army was largely trained by German officers; (4) that the Bolsheviks imprisoned and put to death men from no other motive than their having too much intelligence for their purposes and that this was in pursuance of the policy known as "the leveling of intelligence"; (5) that the Bolsheviks took people out of prisons and shot them simply in order to make room for new batches of arrested; (6) that defenseless bourgeois women were made by the Bolsheviks to give up their two- or three-room apartments and get out on the street without a place to lay their heads; (7) that the Bolsheviks seized a thousand barrels of food belonging to the American Red Cross in Russia; (8) that this American Red Cross denied food to necessitous members of the American colony in Petrograd; (9) that whenever the forces of the Archangel expedition were compelled to fall back the Bolshevist troops massacred the people in the reoccupied territories; (10) that the minute the Allies occupied Archangel the North Russian Union Labor Corporation, composed of ten thousand woodchoppers, offered its services to the Allied troops; (11) that Colonel William B. Thompson, first head of the American Red Cross had spent more than one million dollars on behalf of the Bolsheviks, the fact being that he had patriotically spent that sum from his private fortune in propaganda designed to uphold the tottering Kerensky government; (12) that the Yaroslav revolt of the Whites in July was put down by German officers and prisoners after the Red Guard had failed to put it down; (13) that the Bolshevik leaders were "living in palaces, riding around in automobiles, and generally enjoying that kind of life which the very rich in the rest of the world are able to enjoy"; (14) that the Bolsheviks released all criminals and incorporated many of them into the Red Guard; (15) that the Soviet Government would have collapsed long ago but that "They noticed a certain hesitation and, perhaps, lack of unity in the policy of the Allies"; (16) that the Red Terror—which followed the shooting of Lenin and Uritzky on August 30, 1918—began when the Bolsheviks seized the reins of power, November 7, 1917; (17) that the Red Terror began in order to avenge the assassination of the German Ambassador Mirbach in July; (18) that the Allied invasion of Russia from the East and from the North had nothing to do with the Red Terror; (19) that in the Red Army there were sixty thousand Chinese and one hundred thousand released criminals; (20) that Trotsky had ordered that under certain circumstances the archives of the Russian Navy be turned over to certain German officers; (21) that in the autumn of 1918 90 per cent. of the peasants and three-quarters of the workmen were anti-Bolshevik; (22) that the Bolsheviks quartered hundreds of their soldiers and sailors in a large boarding-school for girls, not allowing the girls to be removed; (23) that in a public place Lunacharsky, commissar of education, advised a group of school girls twelve and sixteen years of age to go out into the street and get themselves each a bridegroom as the prostitutes were doing; (24) that the Lettish soldiers understood that they could break into houses with impunity and have all the women they wanted; (25) that hundreds of priests and officers, arrested and being taken on barges to Kronstadt, were tied together in pairs and thrown overboard; (26) that of 388 members of the Soviet of the Northern Commune (Petrograd) in Smolny Institute in December, 1918, 371 were Jews, and 265 were from the lower East Side of New York.

It cannot be proved that every one of the above statements is false, but, in view of the large volume of truthful testimony now available, it is probable that they are all baseless.

Turn now to the false reports about Russia which were injected into the public mind by means of the newspapers. The hotels in the border countries of Russia were filled with the despairing Russian noblemen and factory-owners, some of them with münchhausen imaginations, who passed their tedious leisure in concocting venomous lies about the Bolsheviks, which they then proceeded to palm off on foreign newspaper correspondents with an *impressement,* a wealth of circumstantial detail and an abundance of forged documentary proof which defied skepticism.[24] The too-confiding correspondents put these yarns on the wire and on the morrow they were poisoning the minds of millions of honest folk who earnestly desired to do the right thing about Russia. For more than two years these figment-factories operated with huge success, and it is owing to them that the Allied Governments, determined to crush the socialist republic, were allowed to pursue a policy of armed intervention in Russia which otherwise public opinion would have condemned.

So far as these lies are couched in terms of personal experience they cannot be refuted. If a *pomieschik* spins a yarn of arson and murder by Bolsheviks on his estate and under his eyes, if a mother superior recounts infamous proposals made by the commissar to her nuns, how can you show up the informant? So the only lies that can be noticed here are *refutable* lies. From their number let the reader infer how many of the other kind were put into circulation.

Nor can we take up one by one the lies which were presently exposed by the progress of events. Thus, in the course of a little over two years "The New York Times" reported the fall of Petrograd six times, announced at least three times more that it was on the verge of capture, burned it to the ground twice, twice declared it in absolute panic, starved it to death constantly, and had it in revolt against the Bolsheviks six times, all without the slightest foundation in fact. Tamerlane never treated a conquered city worse than Petrograd has been treated in the columns of the "Times."

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[24] In his report as member of the official Bullitt mission in the spring of 1919, Captain Pettit remarks: "Most of the stories that have come from Russia regarding atrocities, horrors, and immorality are manufactured in Viborg, Helsingfors, or Stockholm."

A writer in "The Nation" of March 6, 1920, shows up the kind of "news" which "The New York Times" and the Associated Press gave the world about Lenin. On January 17, 1918, they announced that some one had fired four shots at him. On February 18, the Associated Press chronicled an attempt to kidnap him. Two days later came news from London that Finland had heard that Lenin had fled. Next, without taking the trouble to replace Lenin, the "Times" made known that Lenin had dismissed Trotsky. On June 29 Moscow was reported taken in an exclusive special to the "Times" and the Red leaders were once more in flight. Again in the headlines of August 12 we read, "Lenin May Seek Refuge in Berlin; Prepares for Flight with Trotsky as Red Régime Totters." Next day it said, "Red Leaders Flee; Reach Kronstadt; Entire Bolshevist Government Escaping from Moscow." Three days later they fled again. On October 26 the "Times" reported Lenin in prison. On December 9 we read, "Red Leaders Ready to Flee to Sweden." A week later Lenin was reported "Ready to give up," as who wouldn't be after spending so much time fleeing? On January 3, 1919, it came out that his train was captured but that he had escaped. Six days later it appeared that Trotsky had proclaimed himself dictator and locked Lenin up. A week later the "Times" declared that he was in Barcelona, Spain. Soon a definite break was declared between the Bolshevist leaders, and on April 22 a "Times" special made known that the proletariat was plotting against Lenin. May 28 saw the Soviet chiefs in flight again, and on June 7 Lenin was once more "tired of the struggle."

This is ridiculous, but not very harmful. Far graver were those broadspread misrepresentations of the new regime which built up in the public mind an abhorrence of Soviet Russia that made it well nigh impervious to the truth when the truth began to filter through. Taking up again the tale of lies:

(27) In a letter to the London "Times" Trepov, one-time prime minister of Nicholas II, is quoted as relating "how the Chinese who perform the executions at 50 rubles a head to enable the Terrorists to hold their own, sell the flesh of their victims for human consumption, passing it off as a veal at fabulous prices." No one has ever had the impudence to tell this to any of the foreign visitors in Russia. . . .

(49) However, the crowning slander, the lie that is among lies what the Amazon is among rivers and the Matterhorn among peaks, was not born in the fancy of an emigré. I refer to the "nationalization of women." This, happily, it is needless to refute now that the United States Department of State says (February 28, 1919), "The rumor as to the nationalization of women is not true," while Mme. Breshkovskaya denies that in Russia women have been made common property and Mr. Harold Wil-

liams, anti-Bolshevik leader, states: "I have made particular inquiries among friends recently arrived from Russia as to the alleged nationalization of women and they all assure me positively that they have never heard or read of such a decree. It is certain that the Central Bolshevik Government has issued no order of the kind and if Anarchists in Smolensk, or school boys in some other provincial town have printed abominable productions. the Central Government cannot be held responsible."

How, then, did the story start?

It rests upon two "decrees," one said to have been issued in Saratov, the other in Vladimir. Both of them with their nauseating details have been avidly circulated all over the world. The former "decree" was posted throughout Saratov as "a proclamation of the Free Association of Anarchists of the City of Saratov in compliance with the decision of the Soviet of Kronstadt regarding the abolition of the private possession of women." The Anarchists of Samara promptly put out a proclamation denouncing it as *provocatsia,* i.e., a lie intended to discredit their cause. The matter was investigated on the spot by two trustworthy Americans, O. M. Sayler and Jerome Davis, and it appears that the famous "decree" was invented by opponents of the Anarchists, either Bolsheviks or bourgeois, in order to damn them with the public.

There was another "decree" somewhat similar published in the "Izvestia" (News) of Vladimir. The editor of a reputable British magazine, the "New Europe," confounded this paper with the official organ of the Moscow Government ("Izvestia") and on October 31, 1918, charged that in Russia women had been nationalized. On March 13, 1919, the "New Europe" explained the origin of its error and said, "We desire to withdraw unreservedly the imputation and to express our regret for the mistake." On March 15, Mr. Sayler in "The New Republic" and Mr. Jerome Davis in "The Independent" showed the fraudulency of the "decrees." Yet so dear was the story to our anti-Bolsheviks that in August one of our great women's magazines circulated it as the truth, and even in December, 1919, General Leonard Wood, aspirant for the American Presidency, was using the yarn in his speeches! Even in 1921 Ambassador Francis prints it for a fact, while William J. Burns is said to retail it still.

The emigrés had missed a chance in not themselves inventing the story, but they atoned by their zeal in confirming it. In March they informed the London "Times" correspondent that Stuchka, president of the Bolshevist government of Lettland, had issued a proclamation nationalizing women. The "Bulletin Russe" of May 15 pretended to quote from the Bolshevist "Krasnaya Gazeta" that the nationalization of women had worked so badly in the province of Vladimir that the commissary and the local soviet had suspended it and appointed a committee of women to report on its results, among which were many murders and suicides. This is pure fiction. But something richer was to come from the imaginative South. On June 25, 1919, Denikin's Commission of Inquiry at his capital, Ekaterinodar, reported that a commissioner named Bronstein had lived in that town in the spring of 1918, that twenty-five young girls were carried off to him at the palace, and that authorizations of the following kind were issued to high-up Bolsheviks:

MANDATE

The bearer of this certificate, Comrade Karaseeff, has the right to socialize 10 women between the ages of 16 and 20 in the town of Ekaterinodar, according to Comrade Karaseeff's own choice.

Signed
(Commander-in-Chief) Ivastscheff.

Now, for ten months Denikin had been settled in Ekaterinodar, and for seven months Allied officers and correspondents had been coming and going. It is strange that a story so horrifying never once in all that time came to their ears. The likelier explanation is that the "nationalization of women" yarn was considered a good thing to play up to. This local version was good for half a column in the London "Times."

This last, be it remarked, sank to depths of lurid mendacity touched by no American newspaper. Here are a few of its typical head-lines:

Vladimir Lenin the Terrible
The Blood Test
Outrages on School Girls
Soviet Child Victims
Martyrs for Christ
Bolshevist Blood Lust
General Corruption at Moscow
Cats and Dogs as Food
Middle Class to be Destroyed
War Against Christianity
Horrors of Heathen Rome Revived
Martyrdom of the Clergy

To such a plane has Northcliffe degraded a paper which used to be known throughout Europe as "The Thunderer," but which Lloyd George characterizes as "the three-penny edition of the 'Daily Mail.'"

Such is the roster of lies down to the middle of 1920. I have not brought it farther from want of space and strength.

Despite the broadening flow of truth out of Russia in the last three years the fount of malicious invention has certainly not run dry. In February, 1922, Sir Philips Gibbs after surveying the famine-stricken district along the Volga declared indignantly: "In Riga and Helsingfors and other places near the Russian frontier there are factories of lies, and the liars are busy with the cables accusing the Soviet government of seizing food sent for the relief of famine, inventing lies about food ships raided at Petrograd, poisoning public opinion with the belief that its charity will be wasted because Red Armies and not starving peasants will get the food sent for rescue.

"Those are the lies of political propagandists paid by Russians of the old régime and by their friends. The truth is exactly opposite."

One would suppose that editors would be too canny to go on printing stories from sources which a score of times had proved untrustworthy. The "Springfield Republican," the "Chicago News," the New York "Globe," the "New York Evening Post," the "Baltimore Sun," and a few other papers became wary and learned to sift the news from Russia. But the Judas press, which comprises the bulk of our larger and richer newspapers, did not object to becoming channels for obvious propaganda stuff. Their prime concern was not to get the truth to their readers but to cater to the prejudices of the business class, whose advertising furnishes about 70 per cent. of the total revenues of American newspapers.

These emigré cock-and-bull stories, eagerly caught up and gratuitously circulated by this Judas press, produced an immense effect. Tens of millions of good people come so to hate and execrate the Russian Communists that they can never be undeceived. For the rest of their lives their minds will be closed to the facts regarding Soviet Russia. Never will they get the poison out of their systems.

In the year 1919 a strange and ironical situation prevailed in the United States. On the one hand were a few thousands who contemplated a violent overthrow of the system of society in this country and the establishment of a working-class dictatorship. There were certainly not over fifty thousand of these fanatics, i.e., not more than one to every thousand adult Americans. They were so few that there never was at any time the least danger from them. Had there been not a constable, a policeman, or a soldier in the entire country, nevertheless these people would have been overawed by the citizens who love our form of government and will not have it changed save in an orderly way.

On the other hand, influential sections of the capitalist class, aided by great newspapers, high politicians, and powerful organizations, were doing their utmost to involve the United States in war with a people on the other side of the globe, one and one half times as numerous as we, and inhabiting a country four times as extensive. The pretext was "to stabilize government in Russia," but the real motive was to stamp out the communistic experiment there and make the world safe for private capitalism. Already we had 13,500 troops in Russia, and there was a hundred times as much danger of our country's becoming entangled in this bloody adventure as there was of a mad attempt to start a revolution here. Yet a great hue and cry was raised about "Bolshevik propaganda" in our midst while nothing was said of the huge anti-Bolshevik propaganda and of the plot against the peace and happiness of the American people set afoot by Russian emigrés and American Tories. All honor to the brave handful—such as Colonel William B. Thompson, Colonel Raymond Robins, Major Allen Wardwell, Major Thomas D. Thatcher, Captain Walter Pettit, Mr. William Bullitt, Miss Bessie Beatty, Mr. Oliver M. Sayler, Professor Jerome Davis, and others—who knew revolutionary Russia and who sought to open the eyes of our people to the anti-Bolshevik propaganda and conspiracy.

Yet it is those who out of class feeling aimed to embroil us in a needless and criminal foreign war who pose as "100 per cent. American"!

2. A LETTER TO AMERICAN WORKINGMEN (EXTRACTS)

By V. I. Lenin

Moscow, August 20, 1918.

The history of modern civilized America opens with one of those really revolutionary wars of liberation of which there have been so few compared with the enormous number of wars of conquest that were caused, like the present imperialistic war, by squabbles among kings, landholders and capitalists over the division of ill-gotten lands and profits. It was a war of the American people against the English who despoiled America of its resources and held in colonial subjection, just as their "civilized" descendants are draining the life blood of hundreds of millions of human beings in India, Egypt and all corners and ends of the world to keep them in subjection.

Since that war 150 years have passed. Bourgeois civilization has borne its most luxuriant fruit. By developing the productive forces of organized human labor, by utilizing machines and all the wonders of technique America has taken the first place among free and civilized nations. But at the same time America, like a few other nations, has become characteristic for the depth of the abyss that divides a handful of brutal millionaires who are stagnating in a mire of luxury, and millions of laboring starving men and women who are always staring want in the face.

Four years of imperialistic slaughter have left their trace. Irrefutably and clearly events have shown to the people that both imperialistic groups, the English as well as the German, have been playing false. The four years of war have shown in their effects the great law of capitalism in all wars; that he who is richest and mightiest profits the most, takes the greatest share of the spoils, while he who is weakest is exploited, martyred, oppressed, and outraged to the utmost.

In the number of its colonial possessions, English imperialism has always been more powerful than any of the other countries. England has lost not a span of its "acquired" land. On the other hand, it has acquired control of all German colonies in Africa, has occupied Mesopotamia and Palestine.

German imperialism was stronger because of the wonderful organization and ruthless discipline of "its" armies, but as far as colonies are concerned, is much weaker than its opponent. It has now lost all of its colonies, but has robbed half of Europe and throttled most of the small countries and weaker peoples. What a high conception of "liberation" on either side! How well they have defended their fatherlands, these "gentlemen" of both groups, the Anglo-French and the German capitalists together with their lackeys, the social patriots.

American plutocrats are wealthier than those of any other country, partly because they are geographically more favorably situated. They have made the greatest profits. They have made all, even the weakest countries, their debtors. They have amassed gigantic fortunes during the war. And every dollar is stained with the blood that was shed by millions of murdered or crippled men, shed in the high, honorable and holy war of freedom. . . .

They are little more than imitators of the bourgeoisie, these gentlemen who delight in holding up to us the "chaos" of revolution, the "destruction" of industry, the unemployment, the lack of food. Can there be anything more hypocritical than such accusations from people who greeted and supported the imperialistic war and made common cause with Kerensky when he continued the war? Is not this imperialistic war the cause of all our misfortune? The revolution that was born by the war must necessarily go on through the terrible difficulties and sufferings that war created, through this heritage of destruction and reactionary mass murder. To accuse us of "destruction" of industries and "terror" is hypocrisy or clumsy pedantry, shows an incapability of understanding the most elemental fundamentals of the raging, climatic force of the class struggle, called revolution.

In words our accusers "recognize" this kind of class struggle, in deeds they revert again and again to the middle class Utopia of "class-harmony" and the mutual "interdependence" of classes upon one another. In reality the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably taken on the form of civil war, and civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of forms of democracy in the interests of the war. One must be a sickly sentimentalist not to be able to see, to understand and appreciate this necessity. Only the Tchechov type of the lifeless "Man in the Box" can denounce the Revolution for this reason instead of throwing himself into the fight with the whole vehemence and decision of his soul at a moment when history demands that the highest problems of humanity be solved by struggle and war.

The best representatives of the American proletariat—those representatives who have repeatedly given expression to their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviki, are the expression of this revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the eighteenth and the Civil War in the nineteenth century. Industry and commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But where can you find an American so pedantic, so absolutely idiotic who would deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American Civil War of 1860-1865?

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand very well that the overthrow of slavery was well worth the three years of Civil War, the depth of destruction, devastation and terror that were its accompaniment. But these same gentlemen and the reform Socialists who have allowed themselves to be cowed by the bourgeoisie and tremble at the thought of a revolution, cannot, nay, will not, see the necessity and righteousness of a civil war in Russia, though it is facing a far greater task, the work of abolishing capitalist wage slavery and overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The American working class will not follow the lead of its bourgeoisie. It will go with us against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the American people gives me this confidence, this conviction. I recall with pride the words of one of the best-loved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene V. Debs, who said in the *Appeal to Reason,* at the end of 1915, when it was still a Socialist paper, in an article entitled "Why Should I Fight?" that he would rather be shot than vote for war credits to support the present criminal and reactionary war, that he knows only one war that is sanctified and justified from the standpoint of the proletariat; the war against the capitalist class, the war for the liberation of mankind from wage slavery. I am not surprised that this fearless man was thrown into prison by the American bourgeoisie. Let them brutalize true internationalists, the real representatives of the revolutionary proletariat. The greater the bitterness and brutality they sow, the nearer is the day of the victorious proletarian revolution.

We are accused of having brought devastation upon Russia. Who is it that makes these accusations? The train-bearers of the bourgeoisie, of that same bourgeoisie that almost completely destroyed the culture of Europe, that has dragged the whole continent back to barbarism, that has brought hunger and destruction to the world. This bourgeoisie now demands that we find a different basis for our Revolution than that of destruction, that we shall not build it upon the ruins of war, with human beings degraded and brutalized by years of warfare. O, how human, how just is this bourgeoisie!

Its servants charge us with the use of terroristic methods. Have the English forgotten their 1649, the French their 1793? Terror was just and justified when it was employed by the bourgeoisie for its own purposes against feudal domination. But terror becomes criminal when workingmen and poverty stricken peasants dare to use it against the bourgeoisie. Terror was just and justified when it was used to put one exploiting minority in the place of another. But terror becomes horrible and criminal when it is used to abolish all exploiting minorities, when it is employed in the cause of the actual majority, in the cause of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, of the working class and the poor peasantry.

The bourgeoisie of international imperialism has succeeded in slaughtering 10,000,000, in crippling 20,000,000 in its war. Should our war, the war of the oppressed and the exploited, against oppressors and exploiters cost a half or a whole million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie would still maintain that the victims of the World War died a righteous death, that those of the civil war were sacrificed for a criminal cause.

But the proletariat, even now, in the midst of the horrors of war, is learning the great truth that all revolutions teach, the truth that has been handed down to us by our best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism. From them we have learned that a successful revolution is inconceivable unless it breaks the resistance of the exploiting class. When the workers and the laboring peasants took hold of the Powers of State, it became our duty to quell the resistance of the exploiting class. We are proud that we have done it, that we are doing it. We only regret that we did not do it, at the beginning, with sufficient firmness and decision.

We realize that the mad resistance of the bourgeoisie against the Socialist revolution in all countries is unavoidable. We know, too, that with the development of this revolution, this resistance will grow. But the proletariat will break down this resistance and in the course of its struggle against the bourgeoisie the proletariat will finally become ripe for victory and power.

Let the corrupt bourgeois press trumpet every mistake that is made by our Revolution out into the world. We are not afraid of our mistakes. The dead body of bourgeois society cannot simply be put into a coffin and buried. It rots in our midst, poisons the air we breathe, pollutes our lives, clings to the new, the fresh, the living with a thousand threads and tendrils of old customs, of death and decay.

But for every hundred of our mistakes that are heralded into the world by the bourgeoisie and its sycophants, there are 10,000 great deeds of heroism, greater and more heroic because they seem so simple and unpretentious, because they take place in the everyday life of the factory districts or in secluded villages, because they are the deeds of people who are not in the habit of proclaiming their every success to the world, who have no opportunity to do so.

But even if the contrary were true—I know, of course, that this is not so—but even if we had committed 10,000 mistakes to every 100 wise and righteous deeds, yes, even then our revolution would be great and invincible. And it will go down in the history of the world as unconquerable. For the first time in the history of the world not the minority, not alone the rich and the educated, but the real masses, the huge majority of the working class itself, are building up a new world, are deciding the most difficult questions of social organization from out of their own experience.

Every mistake that is made in this work, in this honestly conscientious co-operation of 10,000,000 plain workingmen and peasants in the re-creation of their entire lives—every such mistake is worth thousands and millions of "faultless" successes of the exploiting minority, in outwitting and taking advantage of the laboring masses. For only through these mistakes can the workers and peasants learn to organize their new existence, to get along without the capitalist class. Only thus will they be able to blaze their way, through thousands of hindrances to victorious Socialism.

Mistakes are being made by our peasants who, at one stroke, in the night from October 25 to October 26 (Russian calendar), 1917, did away with all private ownership of land, and are now struggling from month to month, under the greatest difficulties, to correct their own mistakes, trying to solve in practice the most difficult problems of organizing a new social state, fighting against profiteers to secure the possession of the land for the worker instead of for the speculator, to carry on agricultural production under a system of communist farming on a large scale.

Mistakes are being made by our workmen in their revolutionary activity, who, in a few short months, have placed practically all of the larger factories and workers under state ownership, and are now learning, from day to day, under the greatest difficulties, to conduct the management of entire industries, to reorganize industries already organized, to overcome the deadly resistance of laziness and middle-class reaction and egotism. Stone upon stone they are building the foundation for a new social community, the self-discipline of labor, the new rule of the labor organizations of the working class over their members.

Mistakes are being made in their revolutionary acitvity by the Soviets which were first created in 1905 by the gigantic upheaval of the masses. The Workmen's and Peasants' Soviets are a new type of State, a new highest form of democracy, a particular form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a mode of conducting the business of the state without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie. For the first time democracy is placed at the service of the masses, of the workers, and ceases to be a democracy for the rich, as it is, in the last analysis, in all capitalist, yes, in all democratic republics. For the first time the masses of the people, in a nation of hundreds of millions, are fulfilling the task of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, without which Socialism is not to be thought of.

Let incurable pedants, crammed full of bourgeois democratic and parliamentary prejudices, shake their heads gravely over our Soviets, let them deplore the fact that we have no direct elections. These people have forgotten nothing, have learned nothing in the great upheaval of 1914-1918. The combination of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the new democracy of the proletariat, of civil war with the widest application of the masses to political problems, such a combination cannot be achieved in a day, cannot be forced into the battered forms of formal parliamentary democratism. In the Soviet Republic there arises before us a new world, the world of Socialism. Such a world cannot be materialized as if by magic, complete in every detail, as Minerva sprang from Jupiter's head.

While the old Bourgeoisie democratic constitutions, for instance, proclaimed formal equality and the right of free assemblage, the constitution of the Soviet Republic repudiates the hypocrisy of a formal equality of all human beings. When the bourgeoisie republicans overturned feudal thrones, they did not recognize the rules of formal equality of monarchists. Since we here are concerned with the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, only fools or traitors will insist on the formal equality of the bourgeoisie. The right of free assemblage is not worth an iota to the workman and to the peasant when all better meeting places are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Our Soviets have taken over all usable buildings in the cities and towns out of the hands of the rich and have placed them at the disposal of the workmen and peasants for meeting and organization purposes. That is how our right of assemblage looks—for the workers. That is the meaning and content of our Soviet, of our Socialist constitution.

And for this reason we are all firmly convinced that the Soviet Republic, whatever misfortune may still lie in store for it, is unconquerable.

It is unconquerable because every blow that comes from the powers of madly raging imperialism, every new attack, by the international bourgeoisie will bring new, and hitherto unaffected, strata of workingmen and peasants into the fight, will educate them at the cost of the greatest sacrifice, making them hard as steel, awakening a new heroism in the masses.

3. SOVIET RUSSIA'S RELATIONS WITH AMERICA [25]

In March, 1917, the Russian Revolution broke out. On March 22 the United States was the first to formally recognize the Provisional Government. Later they granted credit for the purchase of war material in the United States to the extent of $283,100,000. Five days after the

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[25] By Jerome Davis. Reprinted from *Soviet Russia and Her Neighbors* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927), pp. 164-175.

Revolution began, the Petrograd Soviet, which actually had more military power than the Provisional Government, sent out a proclamation to the "Peoples of the World" in which it said:

> "Conscious of its revolutionary power the Russian democracy announces that it will, by every means, resist the policy of conquest of its ruling classes, and it calls upon the peoples of Europe for concerted decisive actions in favor of peace."

On May 15, this same Soviet sent an appeal to the Socialists of all countries which said:

> "You must force your governments to state definitely and clearly that the platform of peace without annexations or indemnities, on the basis of self-determination of peoples, is also their platform. . . . In order to unite these efforts the Petrograd Soviet has decided to take the initiative in calling for an international conference of all the Socialist parties and factions in every country."

The Provisional Government which we had recognized gave the stamp of its approval to this by declaring on May 18 that its aim was:

> "To bring about, at the earliest possible date, a general peace . . . without annexations, without indemnities, and on the basis of self-determination of peoples."

Secretary of State Lansing met this appeal by stating that no passports would be issued for Americans desiring to attend the Stockholm Peace Conference. The State Department looked with disfavor on the possibility of its spreading peace sentiments in the countries participating.

On May 12 the State Department announced a *Special Diplomatic Mission* to Russia headed by Elihu Root of New York. In Moscow on June 22, 1917, Mr. Root said:

> "It is a cause of joy to the democratic people of the United States if they can help to give to the Russian people the opportunity to work out their own system of government in accordance with the genius of Russian character."

On June 22 he said to the Moscow Duma:

> "You will make mistakes; you will have to retrace your steps here and there; you will find imperfections, but you will step by step go on to develop a structure of competent and successful free self-government. . . . *We will stay with you to the end.*"

On June 23 he said to the Russian War Industries Board:

> "A very cheering incident is the action recently taken in Petrograd by the General Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. . . . That resolution [welcoming coöperation between capital and labor] may well be accepted as

the authoritative declaration of the people of Russia, so far as they have yet been able to secure a representative assembly."

Mr. Duncan, another member of the Root Commission, said to the All-Russian Trade Union Convention on July 5:

> "We advise that in addition to these political activities the working men and women of Russia should thoroughly and strongly organize into trade and labor unions. . . . Organize now into militant trade and employment associations. Take co-equal interest in economic as in political organization."

This, Mr. Duncan assured them, was necessary because without it government officials would be careless in enforcing the law.

Still another member of the United States Government Commission told the Russian people that he was a Socialist:

> "I come from the workers, the radicals, the American Socialists, the champions of democracy. For freedom and the emancipation of man the Russian Revolution is the greatest event in human history."

When the Russian people followed their reasonable interpretation of these official messages from America and organized the government on the basis of a union labor system—on the authority of occupational units, or Socialistic Soviets, America refused to deal with them.

On June 16 the Russian Provisional Government sent a note asking for a conference of Allied Powers to revise the ultimate aims of the war. On the whole, these first few months were characterized by peace and friendship between Russia and her allies.

But the ensuing period was marked by the growing misunderstanding with foreign powers.

On November 6, after the people had elected Bolsheviks to a majority control in most of the Soviets throughout Russia, the Communistic Party seized control of the national government. Two days later the All-Russian Convention of Soviets passed a resolution proposing to all the warring peoples a peace based on the formula "no annexation and no indemnities." The Soviet Government on November 22 sent a note to the Allied Ambassadors proposing such a peace. The Spanish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss ministers sent replies saying that they were taking "proper steps."

General Judson, the ranking United States military representative, on November 28, sent a letter to the Chief of the Russian General Staff in which he said that America did not wish to aid any one political party in Russia against another, and that "it is certainly within the rights of Russia to bring up the question of a general peace."

The same day Trotsky sent a note to the diplomatic representatives of the Allied countries informing them that hostilities had ceased on the

Russian front and urging them to join in negotiations for a speedy armistice.

Trotsky protested on December 1 that the representative of the United States, Lieutenant-Colonel Kerth, had urged the Russian General Dukhonin to carry out a policy "directly contrary" to that of the Russian Government, and was consequently interfering in the internal affairs of the country. It was on that same day that General Judson called on Trotsky and stated: "The time of protests and threats addressed to the Soviet Government has passed, if that time ever existed." Because of his willingness to treat with the Bolsheviks, General Judson was recalled to the United States and kept here for the duration of the war.

On December 29 Trotsky once more appealed to the Allies to participate in the peace conferences. On January 2, 1918, Ambassador Francis, of the United States, in a written communication stated: "If the Russian armies now under the command of the People's Commissars commence and seriously conduct hostilities against the forces of Germany and her allies, I will recommend to my Government the formal recognition of the *de facto* government of the People's Commissars."

President Wilson, in his address to Congress on January 8, complimented the Soviet Government, saying:

> "The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been the audience, as was desired. . . . Their power [that of the Russian people] is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what it is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind."

On January 18 the Constituent Assembly met and was disbanded by the Soviet Government. On January 23 Colonel Raymond Robins, Commander of the American Red Cross, cabled America stating that in consequence of the dissolution of the Constitutional Assembly the Soviet Government was stronger than ever before and that he strongly urged recognition.

After waiting three months for Allied recognition, the Bolsheviks on February 8 repudiated Russia's foreign debts. Yet on February 28 the American Ambassador, who had removed his headquarters to Vologda, wired to Raymond Robins, of the American Red Cross, who had remained in the Russian capital, to "express gratitude Council People's Commissars for coöperation."

On March 5 Trotsky gave a note for transmission to the American Government asking what support they could count on from the United

States if they continued to fight Germany. And on March 9 the American Ambassador cabled the Secretary of State against Japanese intervention saying, among other things:

> "Trotsky furthermore asserted that neither his government nor the Russian people would object to the supervision by America of all shipments from Vladivostok into Russia and a virtual control of the operations of the Siberian railway."

On March 14 President Wilson sent a message for the Russian people through the Congress of Soviets, thus to that extent recognizing the Bolshevik Government.

Shortly afterwards Secretary Polk stated that Japanese intervention in Siberia could be justified solely with a view to "holding it safe against Germany. . . . Otherwise the Central Powers could and would make it appear that Japan was doing in the East exactly what Germany is doing in the West, and so seek to counter the condemnation which all the world must pronounce against Germany's invasions of Russia which she attempts to justify on the pretext of restoring order." All the world now knows that we did not limit intervention in Russia "to holding it safe against Germany."

On March 18 Trotsky officially asked America for officers to help train the Soviet Army and also for an American railroad commission.

During this same month the American Ambassador became alarmed about the reported arming of prisoners of war. These reports were later shown to be largely false by official American and British officers appointed to investigate the matter. On March 23 the American Ambassador in Tokio cabled that the Japanese Government had no present intention of intervening in Siberia. Less than two weeks later Japan began landing military forces in Vladivostok. All the Allied military attachés in Moscow cabled on April 4 against Japanese intervention.

On March 29 Foreign Commissar Chicherin formally asked the United States Government for the appointment of its representative on each of six commissions to settle Rumanian-Russian affairs. During this period the Soviet Government permitted our officials to purchase platinum for the use of the United States. But, although the United States Ambassador requested our railroad commission to come on, they were held in Japan by the State Department on the theory that the Soviet leaders were "acting under the direction of the German General Staff."

On April 9 Ambassador Francis was advised by the Secretary of State that Admiral Kato had landed troops in Siberia solely on his own responsibility. The Ambassador thereupon advised the British and American admirals and consuls that this had been done "purely for the protection of Japanese life and property."

On April 12, at the request of the Commander of the American Red

Cross who had had his automobile stolen, the Bolsheviks attacked and captured all the armed anarchist clubs in Russia, which the Kerensky Government had not dared to attack.

On April 17 the Commander of the American Red Cross protested because of the methods used by our consular representatives against the Bolshevik Government. He wired to the American Ambassador, who was still in Vologda,

> "Business relations not usually strengthened through policy kicking people in the face. Constant desire and expectation overthrow Soviet power poor foundation business coöperation."

On April 18 the American Red Cross Commander again reiterated his belief that unless the United States would create a commission with power to work with the Soviet Government for economic cooperation, all useful work in Russia was over.

On April 21 the Soviet Government claimed to have uncovered a conspiracy against the Siberian Soviet Government by Admiral Knight of the United States and the American Consul at Vladivostok. The American Red Cross admitted that it looked as if the Consul was at least indiscreet. The Soviet Government asked for the recall of the American Consul in Vladivostok.

On May 3 the American Ambassador wired Colonel Robins asking him if he thought "the Soviet Government would oppose Allied intervention if they knew it was inevitable."

On May 14, when Colonel Robins left for America, Lenin gave him a complete memorandum concerning "Russian-American Commercial Relations," guaranteeing that the military stores in Russia would not be sold to Germany and offering unusual concessions to America.

On May 31 the American Ambassador gave an official statement to the Russian people:

> "The policy of my Government is not to intervene in the internal affairs of Russia—and this policy has never been violated."

On June 1 he added another public declaration, in which he said:

> "In other words, the policy of my Government consists in non-intervention in the internal affairs of Russia and in giving the opportunity to the people of this great country to select their own form of government, make their own laws, and elect their own officials."

The American Ambassador, however, had already been working for intervention nearly a month, since on May 2 he had sent the Secretary of State this cablegram: "In my opinion the time has arrived for Allied intervention."

By July 13 United States marines had landed at Murmansk and

British, French, and Serbian forces were moving into the interior, arresting Soviet officials on the way. Chicherin felt called upon to make an official protest to the United States.

On July 25, after the Bolshevik Government had requested the American Ambassador to leave Vologda because of the possibility of military operations, Ambassador Francis sent a message to Chicherin, in which he said: "Do you expect a German siege of Archangel? Certainly you do not anticipate an Allied siege of that city." Scarcely a week later General Poole took Archangel and began moving down towards Vologda!

There followed months of warfare and bitter hostility.

On August 3, 1918, the United States Government at Washington officially made the following statement:

> "In the judgment of the Government of the United States—a judgment arrived at after repeated and very searching consideration of the whole situation—military intervention in Russia would be more likely to add to the present sad confusion there than to cure it, and would injure Russia, rather than help her out of her distress. . . . As the Government of the United States sees the present circumstances, therefore, military action is admissible in Russia now only to render such protection and help as is possible to the Czechoslovaks against the armed Austrian and German prisoners who are attacking them, and to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance."

As we have noted, Colonel Robins had already proved through Captain Webster and Captain Hicks the falsity of the reports regarding serious menace from armed prisoners of war. On August 23 Trotsky protested against this prisoner-of-war charge, calling it "an American lie."

The official American statement of policy continued:

> "Whether from Vladivostok or from Murmansk or Archangel, the only present object for which American troops will be employed will be to guard military stores which may be needed by Russian forces and to render such aid as may be acceptable to the Russians in the organization of their own self-defence. . . . In taking this action the Government of the United States wishes to announce to the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner that it contemplates no interference with the political sovereignty of Russia, no intervention in her internal affairs—not even in the local affairs of the limited areas which her military force may be obliged to occupy."

Yet United States troops were sent hundreds of miles into the interior of Russia under an allied force in which Russians played a subordinate role. In Archangel all the ministers of the new Northern Government were arrested and, in spite of the efforts of the American Ambassador to bring them back, they found it impossible to function because "the British officers together with some of the French officers had planned a *coup d'état.*" Tchaikovsky, the head of the Archangel "Government," was not permitted to publish his own material and, according to the report which Ambassador Francis himself reproduces, the Allied censor commission "had condemned over half of the matter in the proposed issue of the Russian governmental paper, and consequently it was not issued."

No wonder that on August 6 the Soviet Government protested to the American Consul in Moscow:

> "We therefore request you to inform your government and peoples abroad that a completely unjustifiable attack and a pronounced act of violence is being committed upon us. . . . Without a declaration of war and without the existence of a state of war, hostilities are opened against us and our national property is pillaged."

On October 24 the Russian Soviet Government addressed a note to President Wilson in which they expressed their belief that intervention to protect Czechoslovak soldiers was mere hypocrisy. They said:

> "The best proof of the real object of the Czechoslovak rebellion is the fact that, although in control of the Siberian railway, the Czechoslovaks have not taken advantage of this to leave Russia, but by order of the Entente Governments, whose directions they follow, have remained in Russia to become the mainstay of the Russian counter-revolution."

On September 3 the Soviet Government disclosed an attempted bribery of Soviet troops by the English and French missions in Moscow. According to the Soviet Government, the purpose of the conspiracy was the seizure of the People's Commissars. A British Lieutenant, Riley, paid over a million roubles in this attempt.

In October, 1918, rumors of an approaching armistice reached North Russia. Ambassador Francis in Archangel was forced to cable on the 18th of that month that the French troops would not now fight any more and that American soldiers "were partially inoculated with the same sentiment."

But the Armistice in France did not end Russia's difficulties with America and the Allies. Russia sought peace, but in vain.

On December 2 Chicherin sent to the Allied Governments an offer of peace. On December 24 Litvinoff appealed to President Wilson formally offering "to enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement of all questions making for hostilities against Russia."

On January 12 Chicherin sent a note to the American Government attacking former war arguments which had been used to justify American intervention, because by this time the war with Germany was over.

On January 21, 1919, the President of the United States admitted that Russia had been invaded by the Allies because they "were all repelled by Bolshevism." He went on to state that "one of the things that was clear in the Russian situation was that by opposing Bolshevism with arms they were in reality serving the cause of Bolshevism."

Before the President made this statement and while he was making it, the American Ambassador was asking that he be allowed to return to Petrograd with fifty thousand American troops! "This," he said, "would mean the extinction of Bolshevism, would save our faces, and would probably induce troops to obey orders."

On January 22 the Allied representatives at the Peace Conference proposed a meeting of all the Russian factions at Prinkipo. They again reiterated, "It is not their [the Allied] wish or purpose to favor or assist any one of the organized groups now contending for the leadership and guidance of Russia as against the others." The Bolsheviks accepted this invitation, but all the other factions refused and the meeting was never held. President Wilson instead sent William C. Bullitt and Lincoln Steffens to Russia to observe conditions at first hand.

On March 14, 1919, the Soviet Government sent out by the Bullitt Commission an offer of peace which included recognizing all its foreign debts. To this offer the Allies never replied.

Russia then attempted direct negotiations. It sent L. C. A. K. Martens as representative to the United States. On March 19 his credentials were sent to the State Department, but they were not accepted. On June 12, the State of New York raided his offices in New York City, but found nothing incriminating. In January, 1920, a Senate Committee made exhaustive investigations into his activities, and again nothing against him was discovered. Nevertheless, he was ordered deported in December, 1920, on the sole ground that he represented the Russian Bolshevik Government.

In October, 1919, the Allies asked all neutral governments, as well as Germany, to participate in the Blockade of Bolshevik Russia. Among other things clearance papers were to be refused to every ship going into Russian ports. The United States declared on November 4 that it was not participating in the blockade. It only refused "export licenses for shipments to Russian territory under Bolshevik control and clearance papers to American vessels seeking to depart for Petrograd, the only remaining Bolshevik port." There followed Allied help to Yudenitch, Wrangel, Denikin, Petlura, and yet each and every one of these military adventures was a dismal failure.

On December 5 the seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets, after reiterating ten distinct proposals for peace made by Russia, passed another resolution proposing peace with the Allies.

On January 16, 1920, over a year after the Armistice, the United States Secretary of State issued a statement declaring that it was the intention of the government to withdraw the American military forces from Siberia in the near future. On the same date the Supreme Council decided to lift the blockade of Russia. Nevertheless, the United States continued to warn business men that they would refuse to protect Americans who engaged in Russian trade.

Since 1920 the United States has practiced a policy of quarantining the Russian Soviet Government, with curious spasmodic interruptions. The American Relief Administration, under Mr. Hoover, worked in Russia from October, 1921, to July, 1923, sending in tens of millions of dollars worth of grain to relieve starvation. But the policy of non-recognition continues.

In August, 1922, America offered to send "an expert technical commission to study and report on the economic situation" in Russia. The Soviet Government accepted the proposal, provided she could send a reciprocal mission to America. This proposal we refused. President Coolidge in December, 1923, suggested settling with Russia, and again the Soviet Government accepted the proposal, but the Secretary of State, in a cold unfriendly note made new demands and refused the offer.

Russian business agents are, however, welcomed, and several American banks have financed the growing Russo-American commerce. For the year ending September 30, 1926, the All-Russian Textile Syndicate purchased over $33,000,000 worth of cotton in the United States. In three years, it purchased $116,815,282.42 worth of cotton, dyes, machinery, and other merchandise in the United States. The total turnover of imports and exports from Russia during the year ending September 30, 1926, was over seventy-eight million dollars. But while America was entertaining Bolshevik emissaries who had gold, and while Ford was shipping 10,000 tractors to Russia on partial credit, the United States Secretary of State refused a transit visa to the Russian Ambassador to Mexico. The "quarantine" has not been ended; so far as the United States Government is concerned, officially and formally, there is no government in Russia![26]

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[26] It is sometimes maintained that the absence of diplomatic relations does not handicap trade. This is not true. Instances of the handicaps which this policy entails are the following:

1. The United States still refuses to accept Russian gold at the Mint. Although the law reads, "Any owner of gold bullion may deposit the same at any mint to be formed into coin or bars for his benefit," nevertheless E. C. Ropes, Chief of the Russian Section of the Department of Commerce writes under date of July 30, 1930:

   "Since 1920, the Treasury Department has refused to accept at the United States Mints gold coming from Soviet Russia, the State Department having decided to give assurance that the title to Soviet gold will not be subject to attack, internationally or otherwise."
2. The Department of State discourages (in effect prohibits) the exportation of military equipment to Russia.
3. Without recognition trade relations are conducted in a haphazard way and are at the mercy of all sorts of extraneous factors. Some one may impose some forged documents on a credulous Police Commissioner in New York City. He

4. THE FOREIGN RELATION POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD RUSSIA [27]

During the past four years the Government of the United States has maintained the position that it would be both futile and unwise to enter into relations with the Soviet Government so long as the Bolshevik leaders persist in aims and practices in the field of international relations which preclude the possibility of establishing relations on the basis of accepted principles governing intercourse between nations. It is the conviction of the Government of the United States that relations on a basis usual between friendly nations can not be established with a governmental entity which is the agency of a group who hold it as their mission to bring about the overthrow of the existing political, economic and social order throughout the world and who regulate their conduct towards other nations accordingly.

The experiences of various European Governments which have recognized and entered into relations with the Soviet regime have demonstrated conclusively the wisdom of the policy to which the government of United States has consistently adhered. Recognition of the Soviet regime has not brought about any cessation of interference by the Bolshevik leaders in the internal affairs of any recognizing country, nor has it led to the acceptance by them of other fundamental obligations of international intercourse. Certain European states have endeavored, by entering into discussions with representatives of the Soviet regime, to reach a settlement of outstanding differences on the basis of accepted international practices. Such conferences and discussions have been entirely fruitless. No state has been able to obtain the payment of debts contracted by Russia under preceding governments or the indemnification of its citizens for confiscated property. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that the granting of recognition and the holding of discussions have served only to encourage the present rulers of Russia in their policy of repudiation and confiscation, as well as in their hope that it is possible to establish a working basis, accepted by other nations, whereby they can continue their war on the existing political and social order in other countries.

Current developments demonstrate the continued persistence at Mos-

in turn may induce Congress to appoint an investigation. The resulting Commission is prey to all sorts of propaganda.

4. No financial loans can be placed in the United States in the absence of diplomatic relations. Such curtailment of credit inevitably limits the purchasing capacity of the country against which it is directed.
5. Owing to the absence of diplomatic relations both countries are deprived of the assistance of consuls and diplomatic officers.
6. Ships flying the flag of a country maintaining no diplomatic relation with the country of destination are required to pay considerably higher port charges and other duties.

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[27] Statement by Frank R. Kellogg, Secretary of State in 1928, sent to the author, for inclusion in this volume, by the State Department.

cow of a dominating world revolutionary purpose and the practical manifestation of this purpose in such ways as render impossible the establishment of normal relations with the Soviet Government. The present rulers of Russia, while seeking to direct the evolution of Russia along political, economic and social lines in such manner as to make it an effective "base of the world revolution," continue to carry on, through the Communist International and other organizations with headquarters at Moscow, within the borders of other nations, including the United States, extensive and carefully planned operations for the purpose of ultimately bringing about the overthrow of the existing order in such nations.

A mass of data with respect to the activities carried on in the United States by various Bolshevik organizations, under the direction and control of Moscow, was presented by the Department of State to a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in January, 1924. Since that time these activities have been developed and extended to include, for example, the stirring up of resentment against the Government and the people of the United States in the countries of Latin America and in the Far East; and the supervision by Moscow of the organizations through which these activities are carried on has become even more comprehensive and more pronounced. The Government of the United States feels no concern lest this systematic interference in our affairs lead in the end to a consummation of the Bolshevik plan to bring about the overthrow of our Government and institutions. The Government of the United States, however, does not propose to acquiesce in such interference by entering into relations with the Soviet Government. Nor can the Government of the United States overlook the significance of the activities carried on in our midst under the direction of Moscow as evidence of the continuation of the fundamental hostile purpose of the present rulers of Russia, which makes vain any hope of establishing relations on a basis usual between friendly nations.

In the view of the Government of the United States, a desire and disposition on the part of the present rulers of Russia to comply with accepted principles governing international relations is an essential prerequisite to the establishment of a sound basis of intercourse between the two countries. A clear and unequivocal recognition of the sanctity of international obligations is of vital importance, not only as concerns the development of relations between the United States and Russia, but also as regards the peaceful and harmonious development of relations between nations. No result beneficial to the people of the United States, or, indeed, to the people of Russia, would be attained by entering into relations with the present régime in Russia so long as the present rulers of Russia have not abandoned those avowed aims and known practices which are inconsistent with international friendship.

While the international aims and practices of the present rulers of Russia preclude the recognition of the so-called Soviet Government by the United States, the Government and the people of the United States are now, as in the past, animated by a sincere friendship for the Russian people. As President Coolidge stated in his annual message to the Congress of December 6, 1923: "We have every desire to see that great people, who are our traditional friends, restored to their position among the nations of the earth."

As concerns commercial relations between the United States and Russia, it is the policy of the Government of the United States to place no obstacles in the way of the development of trade and commerce between the two countries, it being understood that individuals and corporations availing themselves of the opportunity to engage in such trade, do so upon their own responsibility and at their own risk. The Department of State has endeavored to reduce to a minimum difficulties affecting commercial relations. Visas are readily granted by American consular officers to Russian nationals, even if associated with the Soviet régime, provided that the real purpose of their visit to the United States is in the interest of trade and commerce and provided that they have not been associated with the international revolutionary activities of the Bolshevik régime. The American Government has interposed no objection to the financing incidental to ordinary current commercial intercourse between the two countries, and does not object to banking arrangements necessary to finance contracts for the sale of American goods on long term credits, provided the financing does not involve the sale of securities to the public. The American Government, however, views with disfavor the flotation of a loan in the United States or the employment of American credit for the purpose of making an advance to a régime which has repudiated the obligations of Russia to the United States and its citizens and confiscated the property of American citizens in Russia. Various Soviet commercial organizations have established branches in this country, and, as may be observed from the table on the following page, a substantial trade has developed.

Not only has a substantial trade developed between the United States and Russia, but an examination of Russian trade statistics during the past three years shows that the total value of American exports to Russia in that period exceeds the total value of the exports to Russia from either Great Britain or Germany during the same period. It is to be noted in this connection that Great Britain concluded a trade agreement with the Soviet régime in 1921 and accorded recognition in 1924, and Germany reëstablished diplomatic relations in 1922 and concluded a comprehensive commercial treaty in 1925.

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN TRADE
(IN DOLLARS)

	Imports from Russia	*Exports to Russia*[28]
1912	28,346,870	27,315,137
1923	1,481,699	7,308,389
1924	8,030,465	41,948,578
1925	13,001,731	68,873,019
1926	14,121,992	49,735,269
1927*	8,885,366	58,812,435

* Ten months.

5. CAPITALISM VERSUS COMMUNISM [29]

Prof. Edwin R. A. Seligman

. . . We all understand, of course, that by Capitalism we do not mean the factory system or the machine or the use of capital in any of its forms, because that is a technological problem and not an economic problem. The five-year plan of the Soviet Government, the attempt to introduce industrialization on the farms, is quite compatible with Capitalism.

By Capitalism, therefore, I mean an economic system which acknowledges the rights of private property and which puts into the hands of one social class the whole machinery of production, from the acquisition of the raw material up to the disposition of the final product.

By Socialism I mean that economic system which, while acknowledging private property in consumption, takes private property in production out of the hands of the individual and which, therefore, puts into the hands of the government or its accredited representatives the entire process of production from beginning to end.

And by Communism I understand an economic system which goes one step further, which abolishes private property altogether, whether in production or in consumption, and which does away with the other accompaniments of private property which are accepted by Socialism, such as the family and all the other results of the bourgeois system.

That being so, I want to say, in the next place, that it has always seemed to me a mark of lack of historical appreciation to consider that an economic system which, like Capitalism, is only in its beginning to-day, which has not even yet won large sections of the world, which is only developing at the present time in parts of this country, as in the South,

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[28] Later figures on American Russian trade, supplied by the Department of Commerce from American Customs figures, are given below. These figures include trade both with Soviet Russia in Europe and with Soviet Russia in Asia.

Year	*Imports from Russia*	*Exports to Russia*
1927	$12,876,790	$64,921,693
1928	14,024,525	74,091,235
1929	22,555,714	84,725,205

[29] From *Capitalism, Socialism, Communism.* A Debate (Rand Book Store, New York City, 1930).

and in other parts of the world, as in China and Japan—I say I have always considered it a gross solecism to think that a system which is just beginning, which is not more than a century or a century and a half old at the best, is destined to be supplanted, wiped off the field at once by any other system.

I shall not take up your time to recall what is familiar to all intelligent people—the fact that Capitalism is only the last stage in an economic development which has been going on for centuries and for millennia just as the medieval or guild system itself lasted for centuries and replaced a system which, before it, had lasted still more centuries.

Therefore, in considering this problem—namely, whether Capitalism, as such, promises more to the average man than Socialism or Communism —you must consider the system as something in the making, something that has had it growing pains, that has scarcely reached maturity yet and that has, in my humble opinion at least, a great future, a modified development, modified in many ways, in store for it.

Now, then, the first of the points that I want to make is to call attention to the achievements of Capitalism. What has Capitalism done for the world and what does it promise for the future? I should put its achievements under three heads. First and foremost, it has brought about an amplitude or a wealth of production which has never before been known. Indeed that is in large part due to the use of the machine and industrial capital itself. But the machine and industrial capital have, we must recognize, been the accompaniments of Capitalism. They have gone hand in hand with Capitalism. The guild system and the domestic system did not create that form of economic life. Capitalism is responsible for it. And under it no one can doubt but that, as regards the amount of production, the quantity of wealth at our disposal, nothing yet known in the history of the world can compare with it; because it enables citizens in New York, those who are able to secure it, and even the humblest among us, to possess as comforts—nay, even as necessities—what in former economic systems were considered luxuries. And the circle of the comfort-receiving class under Capitalism is continually expanding instead of restricting. The first achievement of Capitalism, therefore, is the amount of wealth that is produced under our present system.

In the second place, I should put the opportunities opened to the world and to the individual—opportunities which have never existed before. The world has always been so constituted, and probably will always be so constituted, that some people will have a better chance, will have a better likelihood of availing themselves of their opportunities. But, under previous economic systems, those opportunities were not available. The immense progress which we must ascribe to Capitalism is that the number of people to whom these opportunities are vouchsafed is continually growing, expanding from the privileged class of a very small scope to a greater and continually greater circle of people who may avail themselves of these privileges.

In the third place, under the modern system of Capitalism, which means the domination of competition, there has grown an amount of freedom which has never before been known in the history of the world. Freedom is indeed a relative thing. But, after all, the freedom to own one's self as against slavery, the freedom to express one's opinion, the freedom to achieve one's own soul—those things, while by no means 100 per cent. under our present system, have been attained to a very much greater extent than in any other system that has even been known in the world.

Thus you have these three great achievements: The production of wealth in unheard of quantity, the development of opportunity in a way that has never been known, the development of liberty—slow, gradual, but still also in a way that has hitherto been utterly unknown.

Now, then, candor compels me to confess that there are drawbacks also to Capitalism. But, has anything ever existed in the world without drawbacks? Have angels been known to tread in the habitat of mankind? Is perfection ever attainable, except perhaps in the limitless future of ages far-off, perhaps, as the stars? The drawbacks we must recognize. But what I am going to try to do is to compare the drawbacks of Capitalism with those of the other forms of economic life.

The first drawback is the waste of competition. There is an immense amount of waste under our present system, good, relatively, though it be.

Secondly, I should put the insufficient regard that is paid to the unsuccessful. Competition gives the greatest opportunity to the strong man, to the intelligent man, even to the good man who combines with his goodness intelligence and energy. But it does not, in my opinion, yet by any means give to the underdog what some day, perhaps, will be accorded to him. The mere fact, as an example of what I mean, that in an industrial depression like that through which we are now going it is very largely the workman who must stand the brunt of the difficulty is, in my mind, a grave indictment of our present system. The whole development of social insurance and of the other forms of social interference, as we shall see in a moment, tends to make us feel very acutely that drawback of Capitalism.

Finally, there is no gainsaying the fact that, while competition and Capitalism and private property have brought out some of the finest characteristics of human nature such as the sense of prudence, of foresight, of energy, of all those things that we associate with the amazing progress of the United States, for instance, it has also developed certain other qualities which are not so admirable, so that in the judgment of many the emphasis on the profit-motive might well be supplemented, if we could do so, by other forms of human activity.

But let us leave that point now and come to the real question, which is: Why is Capitalism better than Socialism or Communism? And here I am not like the proverbial advocate who refuses to see anything good in his adversary. Everything in this world is relative and there is much that is good, in theory at least, in both Socialism and Communism—not so much as in Capitalism, but still much that is good.

What Socialism presents to us very strongly is what I should call the coöperative spirit. A man like Karl Marx, for instance, one of the great thinkers of the world, one of the finest human beings—I won't say that, perhaps; the recent lives that have been written of him show that in some respects he wasn't quite so admirable; but I take the other great Socialists—many of the great Socialists have really been the elect of the world. They have had the finest ideals and the loftiest ambitions and they do stand for the emphasis upon the coöperative spirit.

And Communism, with its great leaders, men like Lenin, men like Trotzky, whom everyone must, if he understands them, respect and admire—not for their intellect, because I don't think they had great intellects, but for their character and because of their ambitions—they have succeeded in putting forward an idea which surely will some day more and more bear fruit: The subordination of the individual to the group—the thing that we all see in war time; in war time, when every man is willing to give up his own private individuality and sink it in the common good. And that is the wonderful idea in Communism, as all of us know who have seen that interesting play, "Red Rust."

But what are the weaknesses? Why do I stand for Capitalism? Because, so far as Socialism is concerned, it falls down completely on the first point to which I referred. Under Socialism you will not get, and do not get in any of the manifestations which we have of it, as much production as you have under Capitalism.

Every form of government activity is to a certain extent Socialism. Public education is Socialism. The Post-Office is Socialism. The street cars in San Francisco are Socialism. But so also in this country, we have had a few examples of a more developed Socialism, as the gas supply in Philadelphia, or the railway system here during the war, or the government merchant marine—all these show us conclusively that in a community, at all events, like that of the United States, the waste, the inefficiency, the corruption, the lack of individual ambition all result in such a diminution of production that, instead of surplus, you have deficit and, instead of prosperity, you have poverty.

And to come to Communism—if there were time I should like to read this to you. But I haven't time. I can only give you the name of a book by a man who, until recently, was a member of the Communist Party—Panait Istrati—which is written in French—a book which in one month went through seventeen editions—and this book, which appeared only a few weeks ago, has gone through eleven editions. That man, who knows his Russia as well as anyone makes his quotations from official Communist sources and from official Communist papers. He gives us a picture of the life of the 158,000,000 out of the 160,000,000 Russians which, to my mind, is the most horrible, the most terrible presentation that has even been given by any human being. The picture that it gives of life, in economic conditions, in moral conditions, in educational conditions, is such as to throw into the discard the very worst things that we see not alone in our Capitalism of to-day, as down South or in the coal mines or on the fields of this vast country, but the very worst manifestations of Capitalism in its beginnings, in England or on the Continent.

I would ask all of you who have any doubts as to what is better for the average man to read some of these devastating pages of "Naked Russia," by Panait Istrati.[30]

But the time is almost up, and I want to devote the last two or three minutes to my chief point, which is this: that Capitalism carries within itself the seeds of possibilities which are absent in both of the others. Capitalism is developing in this country two things which have never existed before. The one is a system of social regulation whereby, through government, through society, a system is gradually being evolved which, while preserving competition, raises its level. And, secondly, Capitalism is developing, especially among our foremost captains of industry, a sense of social responsibility which never existed before under any other system. It is a system which, under men like Ford, under men like Owen D. Young, under men like any of our great captains of industry, recognizes the doctrine that has been taught by economists for years, the doctrine of the economy of high wages, the doctrine that a workman should at least be treated as well as the machine, the doctrine that there is such a thing as a social responsibility of the Capitalist.

You see that in the present depression. Through the agency of our good President and all those that have helped him in the last few months, what has happened? For the first time in the history of the world, we have had an industrial depression without any lowering of wages. That, I think, is one of the most important signs of the times.

We have unemployment, of course, and always will, under any system. Read of the unemployment, read of the lowering of wages in Russia, read of the horrible conditions that affect the ordinary man under the conditions as you find them in Russia to-day, and you will realize that, while we are still far from perfection, there is in Capitalism a chance, a tendency, an opportunity to suffuse it with the social idea which is needed; while in Socialism and Communism, from the very fact that they abolish individualism and competition, and that Communism especially goes still further in abolishing the family and everything that goes with it, there is no saving force.

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[30] A Roumanian novelist who visited Russia as a Communist. A. Yarmolinsky, Head of the Russian Department of the N. Y. Public Library says, "It seems reasonable to question the testimony of so emotional and erratic a person as Istrati seems to be." *Naked Russia* is one volume of *Vers l'autre flamme*, see bibliography, p. 418.

We can, under Capitalism, as it is developing, have a kind of a compromise between the two essential elements in all life. Just as we have the red corpuscles and the white corpuscles in the body, so we must have in all life the individual side and the cooperative side.

Under Capitalism, as we see it developing in this, the greatest example of Capitalism, we are witnessing a socialization of capital under way. Under Socialism or under Communism you can never have any individualization of the social life. Therefore I say that under our present system, as it is developing, you have not only the best economic system that has ever yet been known in the world—far from perfect as it is—but you have a prospect which doesn't exist anywhere else.

Don't be deluded by promises. Don't think of Communism with its five-year program, which will never be realized. Take Communism as it is. Take Communism with the difference between the ideology of the enthusiast and the actual facts of the present.

As regards Socialism, while we have never yet had a chance to see what Socialism means in practice, anyone knows what practical Socialism means in this country when, for instance, under the Philadelphia gas régime, we had poor gas, with its deficit and corruption, and when the enterprise was turned over to a private company we got, as at present, good gas and cheaper gas and a large profit which even now goes to decrease the taxes of the community.

So that I close this presentation by saying that Capitalism, substantively and actually, gives us what the others have not yet given us and that it promises us far more than either of our adversaries, I think, can really, with justice, promise.

Rebuttal of Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman

. . . I am second to none, and certainly not to any of my antagonists, in the desire for a spiritual improvement of mankind. But remember that the top, the crown, the spire, the real spiritual life of a community must be built upon a material foundation. A man who starves has not time to think of the higher life.

Now, then, what is the difference between the beautiful day-dreams, the ideals that you have heard, and the realities? The reality we can find only in the Communist régime. The rest, the Socialism, is something for the future. I am going to take five minutes of my time to do what I had not expected to do and read you a little commentary, a little extract from this book [31] published one month ago.

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[31] The one by Panait Istrati, see footnote, p. 396.

First, as regards production and wealth and poverty and waste—I won't mention the names because I can't pronounce the Russian names, anyway: A canal was to cost 376,000 rubles. The official statement tells us that it cost 11,000,000. Another canal was to irrigate 10,000 acres (or what corresponds to acres) of land; and it turned out, actually, that only 75 acres were irrigated. A steel plant in an important city last year had been in process of being built for three years. Twenty million rubles had been spent on it. No final plan has as yet been made. The estimated expense is now 64,000,000 rubles; and they have just discovered that, when finished, the cost will be 50 per cent. higher than it would be in the old place that they have abandoned.

This example can be multiplied by the thousands—showing that under the present system of Communist Gosplan, money is being spent extravagantly, far more than we did during the war in any of our government ventures.

Secondly, as regards the beautiful picture of the marvelous experiment, so far as the working men are concerned, in the Karl Marx factory, in one of the towns where thousands are employed, eight or nine people sleep in one room. The babies' trail is everywhere. The filth, the excrete, the stench poisons the air. And most of the employees live in such quarters.

In another big factory further south, two or three families live in a single room where venereal disease and typhus are rife. I am quoting from official reports. The living conditions are such that, in the winter, they freeze; in the summer, the water leaks through. Everything is stenched from decay, all is rotting, all is tumbling.

Still another instance will be found on page 53. You will say, "Well, things are improving." Yes, but how are they improving? The funds destined for workingmen's dwellings in this town of "G" were either stolen or wasted to the tune of 75 per cent. And, in another town, where the houses, hundreds of them, were completed, they were made uninhabitable after one year. Such are the conditions of this delightful, beautiful life in Soviet Russia.

Now we come to wages and hours. Distinguish between theory and practice—the official seven-hour day and all the other beautiful things in the labor code. In this big factory (mentioned on page 87) they work twelve hours a day. The accidents have increased 47 per cent. in the last three years. In the textile factories, as a whole, the accidents to-day are 100 per cent. more than under pre-war conditions.

These are official documents I am quoting from. In another place—the mines of Siberia—the workingmen have tried to flee; but the police in the upper districts, especially in the North, have taken the shoes away from the workmen and they are unable to go without freezing.

Finally, let me say something to you about the conditions that the average American or foreign visitor sees. What are the facts among these 160,000,000 people? Remember, the Communist Party numbers less than 2,000,000, and the active members are only 200,000. You see the privileged quarters that these enjoy. But in the children's houses at Vorofsky, for instance, we are told that in one home with 352 children there have been in six months among these children 3,096 new cases of sickness.

I forbear to quote all the other horrible and repulsive conditions which show that there is a continual degradation going on in living conditions and that the mass of the people would, if they could, rise in desperation.

We hear a great deal about the kulak and about the rich peasant. What is really happening? The kulak is the intelligent man who, by prudence and foresight, is able to get two cows where the other man has only one cow. And this whole effort of doing away with the kulak is simply to reduce everyone to the condition of the poorest and of the least intelligent and of the unprogressive members of the class.

So much for this beautiful condition that we see in Russia. I shall not speak of the prostitution of science. I shall not speak of the fact that in these ten years there hasn't been a single book in any science, which bears any comparison with those of previous conditions. I shall not speak of the horrible life that is led by those that want to devote themselves to their ideal. That has sufficiently been touched by our Socialist friend when he speaks, in measured terms, of the conditions as we find them under a tyranny the like of which the world has never seen before.

Finally, in concluding, I would say that the real point is that Communism is getting worse, whereas Capitalism is getting better.

Five years ago I addressed an audience of three thousand people in Rochester—all of them workmen. They voted me down, as Socialists. Five years later I addressed these same people; and they have all left the Socialist Party, because they are getting on, because their wages have improved, because their conditions of life are better, because they are members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union—which shows what can be done in a community like ours, which holds to the possibility of improvement and which stands for the gradual development of the social control of the Capitalists and of the workmen in the interest of greater production, in the interest of greater opportunity, in the interest of a foundation for that spiritual life and that welfare which all of us desire and which none of us has yet succeeded in achieving.

6. THE NATURAL HISTORY OF REVOLUTIONS [32]

We may take it for certain that revolutions, even violent revolutions, will occur periodically for a long time to come. We hear some talk about substituting peaceable evolution for violent revolution, but such talk is only what the theologicians call "pious opinion"—laudable, but imaginative. No technology is being developed for the purpose of translating this talk into action. Modern political science, so called, is much like medieval physical science, largely a matter of incantations, exorcisms, and witch-hunting. Until a serious effort is made to understand revolution, no rational technique for dealing with it can be expected. The great nations employ hundreds of thousands of men and spend hundreds of millions of money on the study of the technique of war. If an equal proportion of the resources of society were expended on the study of the technique of peace, it is possible that we should presently have as well developed a scheme for helping one another as we now have for hurting one another. But "seeking peace and ensuing it" in any such rational and intelligent manner is quite beyond the mental and moral power of any present-day government or nation. Until we have thousands and tens of thousands of competently trained technicians investigating social phenomena with the same zeal and detachment that the physical scientists display in their work, we shall never escape violent revolution. How can a privileged class, which ceases to deserve its privileges, be demoted without war? How can a wealthy class, which ceases to merit its wealth, be made poor without violence? When does a social group cease to be useful and become parasitic? What causes of repression exist in our society? What is repression and how is it possible at any moment to measure its extent and nature? How much of it is due to economic conditions? What proportion of the intellectuals feel repression themselves? What proportion are aware of its existence in other classes? We must have the answers to these questions and to many more of the same sort before we can construct any machinery which will be adequate to forestall violent revolution. Modern societies carefully arrange for the study of Micrococci, the Spirochaetae, the bacilli, and all the other parasitic animal and vegetable organisms; but they carefully avoid the investigation of social parasitism, especially as it affects wealthy and influential classes. The existence of a class of parasites able to live without working, to consume without producing, is seldom recognized as a social disease unless the class is poor. No doubt the idea of the functional test for the ownership of wealth has made some slight advance in late years, but the advance is so slight that it will not affect events greatly for many years to come.

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[32] Reprinted from Edwards, Lyford P., *The Natural History of Revolution* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 212-217.

We have practically no machinery for avoiding violent revolution and almost no knowledge of how to construct any such machinery. We shall continue to have violent revolutions until we remedy these deficiencies.

Revolutions will be unavoidable for generations to come because both conservatives and revolutionists have the same way of thinking about society. They are both "standpatters." They both have the concept of a perfect state which is to be preserved inviolate. Their ideals differ, but the attitude of the revolutionist toward his ideal state is exactly the same as the attitude of the 100 per cent American toward the Constitution. The scheme of things which the revolutionist believes in becomes sacred to him through the struggle to attain it. So when his revolution succeeds and his form of social order is in some degree realized, he becomes the strongest of all opponents of further change. The Russian government is the only one on earth which is more conservative than the American government. Kalinin and Coolidge seem to be persons of precisely the same mentality, and they are both striving to the best of their abilities to do the same thing—that is, to maintain the existing régime in their respective countries. The soviet in Moscow and the Congress in Washington are twin brothers under the skin. The one dominant purpose of both of them is to preserve the *status quo*. Any deviation from the narrow path of rigid conformity is hated by both groups equally. Senator Smoot, excommunicating the heretical Senator La Follette, and Commissar Kalinin, excommunicating the heretical Commissar Trotsky, are as indistinguishable as Tweedledum and Tweedledee. The cabinet of President Coolidge and the cabinet of President Kalinin are as much alike as two flivvers leaving the factory in Detroit.

This fundamental identity of character between the conservatives and the revolutionists is one great reason for the endless succession of revolutions. Revolutionists are not in favor of revolution in general, but only in favor of their own kind of revolution. They do not aim at continuous change, but only at their own amount of change. A world made up of standpatters (whether conservatives or revolutionists) will have revolutions indefinitely because any given revolution merely substitutes a new set of standpatters for an old set. The essential evil about both groups is that they are *fundamentalists*. Only their repentance and conversion to the doctrine and practice of scientific social *evolution* can bring revolutions to an end. Of such repentance and conversion there is as yet little sign.

If future revolutions are unavoidable, can we predict anything as to the time when the next revolution will take place? So far as the United States is concerned, it would seem to be possible to make a reliable prophecy. If the previously given analysis of the development of revolution is at all in accord with the facts, it is certain, almost to the point of mathematical demonstration, that there is no possibility of a violent revolution in the United States within any future that need cause concern to persons now alive. The immediate symptoms of revolution are entirely absent from our society. The remote symptoms, if they exist at all, are so slight as to be unrecognizable. The enormous majority of the American people are not only content with the social order in which they live, but they are enthusiastically loyal to it and inordinately proud of it. Such discontent as exists is superficial and transitory. In regard to the volume of dissatisfaction, no equally enormous society ever had so little. No economic incentive to revolution and no new social myth are anywhere discoverable. The intelligentsia are prosperous and happy. All the other social groups are in the same condition. No such complacent, self-satisfied, and universally contented society has existed in Western civilization since the days of the Flavian Emperors of Rome. The radicalism of the United States is more conservative than the conservatism of any other great nation. An ultra-conservative British cabinet would be considered radical in Washington. This country is, with the exception of Russia, the most conservative country on earth. It is without exception the most prosperous nation in the world. This does not mean that no violent revolution will take place in the future. It very certainly does mean that no such revolution will take place within the next two, or even the next three, generations. . . .

A despotic monarchy, a haughty aristocracy, a corrupt state church, poverty, ignorance, disease, all in their most aggravated form, sum up the situation which existed in Russia before the Revolution. The best way to define the United States would be to say that it is the country where these evils either do not exist at all, or exist in the smallest degree. There is no more reason for America to become alarmed at the Russian Revolution than for the people of Florida to become alarmed at an eruption of Vesuvius. Yet, owing to the general ignorance of the nature of social upheavals, the people of the United States have developed marked cases of "nerves" in connection with revolution and revolutionary propaganda. Revolutionary propaganda is perfectly harmless in any community where social conditions are healthy. The public nervousness in the United States has been repeatedly exploited by professional politicians for their own purposes. The result has been that many thousands of humble, innocent, and useful foreign laborers have suffered undeserved hardship, imprisonment and terrorization. The possibility of the recurrence of all this needless suffering is by no means remote. It is the duty of well-informed people to prevent such an injustice by every means in their power. We have not much real knowledge of revolutions, but what we have is abundantly sufficient, if properly used, to prevent such "scares" as we have recently had. A little more light on the subject would bring great relief to multitudes of ordinary people, both Americans and foreigners, who are the victims of such "scares." The only losers would be a small group of self-seeking politicians and professional terror-mongers who capitalize popular ignorance and credulity.

7. THE PHILOSOPHY OF COMMUNISM [33]

Nothing is gained in any discussion of communism, by treating it as a wicked doctrine which would never have arisen if a handful of criminal adventurers had not devoted themselves to its propagation. Like any other system of belief, its rise is the outcome of its environment, and its acceptance by large bodies of men is no more unnatural than their acceptance of other creeds. Those to whom it appears either wicked or impossible, too impotent either from the quality of its adherents or the stubbornness of the facts it seeks to transform, to be worth sympathetic analysis, will do well to remember that in the early history of Christianity, the futility of its proponents and the folly of its doctrines probably seemed as obvious to the supporters of the Roman system.

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[33] Reprinted from Laski, Harold J., *Communism* (Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1927), pp. 238-351.

It is, of course, a dangerous doctrine. Its application involves tremendous risks, even on the showing of the communists themselves. If we assume the possibility of its success, the cost of establishing it would be enormously high; while any attempt that ended in failure might easily, by the scale of conflict it would arouse, come near to the destruction of civilized life. Neither prospect, it should be said at once, is any guarantee that the effort will not be made to give it application. As few doctrines in the world to-day, it commands a devoted service of which no man is entitled to underestimate the significance. Its adherents are not turned from their purpose either by imprisonment or death. In Germany and in Bulgaria, in Hungary and in the Far East, there is no danger they have not been willing to face in the desire to communicate their faith to others. They have the passionate zeal of the Jesuit missionary who sets out to conquer a new world for his creed.

The Communist, moreover, is playing with combustible material. Even those who reject his principles must admit the large degree of truth in the indictment that he brings against the present social order. Neither our methods of production nor our principles of distribution are capable of explanation in terms of social justice. The glaring inequalities that surround us on every side are hardly capable of overstatement. The liberation of the human spirit has not nearly kept pace with the conquest of nature by scientific discovery. The gain of living is denied to the majority of those who toil. And the more widely the realization of these disparities is spread, the more intensely do men feel that they are intolerable. That is the more natural in the disillusion that follows upon a great war. Men feel that if they are to risk their lives for the State, its benefits should be proportionate to the danger.

It is in that mood of doubt that the masses meet the idealism of the Communist faith. They hear an indictment of the conditions under which they live, which largely corresponds to their own experience. They are warned that they cannot trust to their rulers for the changes which will meet their needs. They are promised, in return for their energetic solidarity, an equal share in the gain of living as well as in its toil, a world in which there is principle instead of chaos, justice instead of privilege. To men whose environment is poisoned by insecurity, and for whom, in general, there is little hope of future benefit, the only wonder is that the promise has not proved more seductive.

Certainly, to counter its seduction means the alteration of the present social order by concessions larger in scope and profundity than any ruling class has so far been willing to make by voluntary act. It means allowing the democracy to have its way in every department of communal life, an acceptance, wholeheartedly, of Matthew Arnold's prescription, to "choose equality and flee greed." Yet it can hardly be denied that there are, in every community, groups of powerful men who make it a matter of principle to deny the validity of all concession. They display an ignorant hostility to change every whit as dangerous and provocative as the challenge they confront. They are as satisfied with the world about them, and as unconscious of its inadequacies as the Duke of Wellington in 1832. They equate doubts of the world as it is with something like original sin; and they treat them with the same self-righteous cruelty as religions have in the past treated dissent from their announced principles. They feel, like General Cavaignac, that a social order which allows its principles to be examined, and, still more, rejected, is already lost. Their blindness drives the timid to despair and the bold to desperation. They are as unprepared for the politics of rational compromise as the most extreme of their opponents; and, by their obstinacy, they produce the very situation they desire to prevent. They do not see either the inevitability of large change, or the fact that it is desirable, and possible, to concert those changes in terms of the plain wants and needs of men. They talk of the rights of property as though these were some dread Absolute, instead of principles as shifting and inconstant as anything in the historic record. They arrogate to themselves liberty to deny while they refuse to their opponents liberty to affirm

Yet the demands they confront do not decrease in volume; and every arrest of their satisfaction is a victory for the forces of disruption. The only way to defeat these is to prove to their audience that you can the better respond to its wants and propose to do so. For we cannot postulate the basic identity of human nature and continue to refuse an adequate response to similar need. We can do it the less as men at once grow conscious of their powers and aware of the irrational differences in response to need.

It is thought by some that the dubious results of the Russian experiment, the cost, further, of what success it has won, will ultimately persuade men of the errors of communism. That, it may be suggested, is a mistaken calculation so long as there exist large classes of men and women who are conscious of inadequate and frustrated lives. The French Revolution lit flames in the hearts of mankind which, because it responded to something fundamental in human nature, neither its errors nor its crimes could quench. What the working classes of the world see in Russia is less what its revolution denies than what it affirms. They see a State which, with all its faults and weaknesses, seems to them to lie at the service of men like themselves. They recognize in the demands it makes, and the principles to which it gives allegiance, their own demands and principles. We may admit that they are uncertain whether its gains outweigh the price paid for them; we may, also, agree that they resent the efforts of its leaders to force them to imitate the Russian example. But the indignation they display when (as in 1920) the security of Russia is challenged is evidence that, in an ultimate sense, the idea of the Russia Revolution stands for something of permanent value to them. The business man sees the inefficiency of Russian production; the worker sees the exaltation of the common man. The supporters of the old order warn the workers of the low level of wages, the discomfort of bad housing, the absence of political and intellectual freedom. To the workers, however, the things of import are the facts that all must toil, that communal experiment is in the interest of the masses, that no one is preferred save in terms of principle; and they have an uneasy suspicion that this atmosphere may largely compensate for the merits of the older way of life, so far as they share in them. The world, in fact, has to find response to the promise of communism in alternative forms; or it will discover that neither the crimes nor the follies of the Russian experiment will lessen its power to compel kindred action.

In a general sense, doubtless, the error of communism lies in its refusal to face the fact that this is a complex world. Its panacea is unreal simply because the world is too intricate for panaceas to have universal significance. Any solution that is offered to our problems is bound, at its best and highest, to be but partial and imperfect; no single method of social arrangement will meet the diverse needs we encounter. That means, of course, that we need not, as communism offers us, the formulae of conflict, but the formulae of coöperation. The sceptical observer is unconvinced that any system has the future finally on its side; that it is entitled, from its certainties, to sacrifice all that has been acquired so painfully in the heritage of toleration and freedom, to the chance that its victory may one day compensate for a renunciation that, on its own admission, is bound to be grim and long. He has the more right to his scepticism both from the dissatisfaction with the economic dogmas of Marxism and from the knowledge of the cost which attends its application. He may admit the possibility that, in the end, the communist may prove right, even while he retains his doubt whether success implies the realization of the ends he postulates. He may suspect whether any régime that is built on hate and fear and violence can give birth to an order rotted in fraternity. For these create an environment of which the children are, equally, hate and fear and violence. The spirit of man ever takes its revenge for degradation inflicted upon it even in the name of good.

But, whether we take the economic or the political aspects of communism, it is far more important to grasp the truths it emphasizes than to be merely denunciatory of the methods by which it seeks its ends. It was no answer to Luther to excommunicate him; the ignorant rhetoric of Burke hindered Europe rather than helped it in the understanding of 1789; and those who have sought the destruction of the new Russia have only added to, and not subtracted from, the problems of our generation. That a wide distribution of political power is worthless unless there is a similar distribution of economic power; that there can be no effective moral unity in a State divided, in Disraeli's phrase, into the two nations of rich and poor; that the absence of such unity means a violent attempt to destroy, and a violent attempt to preserve, any social order so distinguished; that men think differently who live differently, and, so thinking, lose their sense of kinship through the frustration of impulse; these are the obvious commonplaces of history. Nor is it possible to deny that, with the general tendency of governments to degenerate the lesson of experience is the continuous need to preserve by associating the widest interests with the benefits conferred by social systems. But that means a thoroughgoing reform in the direction of widening the basis of effective consent. Effective consent, in its turn, means the revision of the rights of property towards an equality greater than we have so far known, for in no other fashion can we obtain the equalization of privilege which has become the purpose of the modern State.

This is, clearly enough, to argue that it is possible and desirable to attain the ultimate aims of communism by alternative paths. And this, in a broad way, will be accepted by all who remain dissatisfied both with the achievement of capitalism and the motives upon which it rests. The compelling strength of communism is that it has a faith as vigorous, as fanatic, and compelling as any in the history of religions. It offers dogmas to those whom scepticism troubles; it brings to its believers the certitude which all great religions have conferred; above all, perhaps it implants in its adherents the belief in their ultimate redemption. If it is said that, like other religions, it destroys and persecutes, it can make the answer—which mankind has always found a convincing answer—that it destroys and persecutes in the name of truth. It is fatal to underestimate the strength of this temper. It is the thing that moved the early Christians, the Puritans of the Seventeenth Century, the legions of Mahomet, to victory, against obstacles which must have seemed insuperable to their contemporaries. To those who do not accept it, it may seem a joyless creed which takes from life its color, and a relentless creed which takes from the hearts of men the sovereign virtues of charity and justice. But to such an attitude there are at least two answers. The Puritan creed did not seem joyless to those who embraced it; on the contrary, there was for its devotees a splendor in its stern renunciation more emotionally complete than any other experience it was possible to know; and when the mind, secondly, becomes possessed of a truth it believes to be exclusive, it no longer admits that charity and justice are sovereign virtues.

"Its emotional and ethical essence," writes Mr. Keynes, of Communism, "centres about the individual's and the community's attitude to money . . . it tries to construct a framework of society in which pecuniary motives as influencing action shall have a changed relative importance, in which social approbations shall be differently distributed, and where behavior which previously was normal and respectable, ceases to be either the one or the other." This is a transvaluation of values in the degree that is the essence of religious faith. And it is worth while observing that, with all its difficulties, it has an enormous psychological appeal. The idealism of youth responds to it. It is of that inner citadel of conviction which moves the artist, the poet, the scientist, the philosopher, to their achievement. It is the mark which distinguishes those historic gestures which, as in St. Francis, or Savonarola, or George Fox, have given great leaders the power to command the loyalties of men. Even its partial success would make an epoch in the history of the world, and, even if it prove enough and intense enough, to win from those who accept it the ultimate service of heart and mind.

One cannot help insisting upon this aspect of communism because its implications are what primarily strike the detached observer who comes into contact with it. Its power to communicate the will to serve, its sense of exhilaration through contact with high purpose, its ability to make all alien from itself seem mean and unimportant, these, certainly, are beyond discussion. It gives something of the mental and moral excitement that is felt by the reader of the poetry inspired by the French Revolution, the unconquerable hope, the heedless and instinctive generosity, which makes great ends seem worth working for because they are attainable by ourselves. Most Europeans had something of that sense when the news came of the first Russian Revolution in March of 1917; it brought to them a new elasticity of mind which made the effort of victory seem emotionally easier. Most Englishmen had it again in the days after the Armistice of 1918 when it seemed possible to transfer the comradeship of coöperation in war to the days of peace.

The question that this raises for ourselves is whether capitalism is likely to inspire in the hearts of even those who live by its results emotions of similar intensity. We live in a civilization which avowedly separates its economic practice from its religious and moral faith. That means that its economic practice must, as Mr. Keynes has pointed out, be enormously successful if it is to survive. It must be able to leave men so circumstanced that there is room in the lives of the rank and file as well as of the leaders to be ends for themselves as well as means through which others move to their appointed purpose. In no other fashion can the capitalistic system win the loyalty of the mass. It is no longer either optimistic or self-confident as it was in the days of Nassau Senior and McCulloch. It acts, in almost every sphere, as a body of ideas and practices that is permanently on the defensive. It is significant, for instance, that whereas a hundred years ago it did not have to square its accounts with the Churches, because these were prostrate before its achievement, today the Churches increasingly insist that the economic system must be judged in the terms of their religious message. It is significant because the ultimate dogma of the Churches is the conviction of the basic equality of men. And for those increasing numbers to whom official religions of all kinds make little or no moral appeal, capitalism, certainly, has nothing of spiritual significance to offer. The Puritan could be hard and grim in riches or poverty because his real life was not of this world. But those who lack the conviction such confidence brings will not be content with an economic system which limits to so few the possibility of an inner harmony. That is why, it may be urged, there are so many Russians who regard the economic failures of the Revolution as insignificant alongside the spiritual liberation it has brought to them. And it is not improbable that others weary of material failure and spiritual inertia, may be persuaded, with all its dangers, to think likewise.

Therein, certainly, is the lesson that the communist theory enforces; and we have either to learn that lesson in other ways or to admit the prospect that no means of avoiding its consequences are at our disposal. Communism has made its way by its idealism and not its realism, by its spiritual promise, not its materialistic prospect. It is a creed in which there is intellectual error, moral blindness, social perversity. Religions make their way despite these things. Mankind in history has been amazingly responsive to any creed which builds its temple upon spiritual heights. The answer to the new faith is not the persecution of those who worship in its sanctuary, but the proof that those who do not share its convictions can scan an horizon not less splendid in the prospect it envisions nor less compelling in the allegiance it invokes.

8. A CRITIQUE OF COMMUNISM [34]

Every social movement in history must be judged in the light of its historical antecedents as well as by its achievements and the progress which it has made in eliminating injustice. The evils of the reactionary, hypocritical Tsar's régime were great. Communism is a step forward in comparison. Bolshevik leaders with their dream of a new and better social order will be remembered not alone because of their mistakes, but also because of their service to the world in completely destroying antecedent evils in Russia. The devotion and sacrifice which the Communist leaders showed in spite of exile, prison, and death, deserve emulation.

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[34] By Jerome Davis. From Page, Kirby (ed.), *A New Economic Order* (New York, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1930), pp. 89-91.

Every movement must be finally appraised not by its weaknesses alone, but by the totality of forces which it helped to set in motion. The Communist rulers seized the resources of a great country, embracing one-sixth of the land surface of the earth, yet renounced the opportunity to enjoy for their selfish personal pleasure the material benefits so acquired. They conscientiously tried to use the natural resources of the country for what they believed to be the best interests of the overwhelming mass of workers and peasants in Russia and throughout the world. While strongly opposing some of the principles for which they suffered or died, we must admire their courage, sincerity, and devotion to duty as they saw it. . . . Considering their background and the heritage of a Tsar's tyranny the Bolsheviks may have accomplished relatively more than many of us here with our democratic culture and our tradition of liberty. This article taken by itself will not give a fair picture of what is happening in Russia. Every American should also know the other side; he is urged to visit Soviet Russia to see and appraise conditions for himself.

If a visitor from Mars should suddenly find himself in a position to observe what was happening in Russia, his first query might be, "What are they trying to do?" He would be told that the goal of Communism is a state characterized by:

1. The basic means of production and distribution under the collective will.
2. No classes—one society of producers.
3. No great state power but free associations of toilers.
4. No antagonism between town and village.
5. A distributive mechanism controlled on the principle: to each according to his need, from each according to his ability.
6. A world system of economics.

The visitor from Mars might be greatly impressed with the "nobility of these ideals," but he would after all test Communism largely by its present tactics. He then might be amazed to discover that in building the structure the Communists to some extent have diametrically contradicted their principles. For instance, they posit no antagonism between town and village, yet actually there is continual friction and distrust between the ordinary village peasant and the city proletariat. The Bolsheviks aim to abolish classes, but frankly laud a class psychology based on the factory worker and the "dirt farmer" or peasant. In principle they oppose a great state power, in practice they have built up one of the strongest state political machines in history. The question inevitably arises whether any group can achieve ends via contradictory means.

It is conceivable that the Martian might partially excuse these inconsistencies as part of the birth pains of the new social order. He would, however, be amazed by the dogmatic self-assurance of the Communist theoreticians, who contend that what they term Communism holds the key for the abolition of all evils and, if universally adopted, would mean the dawn of the millennium. The Martian might question this sweeping assumption and reason somewhat as follows:

In the abysmal ignorance to which the Earthians are still subject, is it not a caricature of truth to assume that any plan formulated by them now can have universal validity or be final? The Communists forget the complexity of the world. Their remedy is like a patent medicine. It may do more good than harm in the case of a terrible malady such as Tsarism, but in more normal complaints it might be injurious, or even fatal. What the Earthians in their present ignorance need is many and varying kinds of political experimentation. Communism in Russia is an interesting political device for educating the Russian workers and peasants. Other countries need quite different types of political control. In the light of varying experiments each country will learn from the mistakes and achievements of the other and the political system finally worked out will be unlike any now existant. Communists should recognize that an economic mechanism which may be right for Russia may be wrong for America, that labor union tactics which aid the workers of Russia may be paralyzing to the far different culture of England. The Communists are reasoning too exclusively from their limited environmental setting and hence are trying to reform the world unreasonably. The rigid control and direction of Communist parties in other countries by the dominant Russian wing is unjustified.

If the visitor from Mars were to remain long in Russia, he would find that every party orator accepted the theories of Marx including the materialistic concept of history as communistic gospel. Yet he would find that the lives of the Communists themselves belie the theory. Apparently many of the older revolutionists have been willing to give their lives for an ideal; service to a class became their religion. The materialistic concept is further negated by the fact that while the Communists have set aside wealth and the profit motive as diabolic lust for gain, many of their leaders worship at the shrine of power. This can readily be seen in the inner disputes within the Communist Party, where scarcely any one of the old leaders is willing to give up positions of power and prestige. Zinoviev made an extraordinary fight against being deprived of his leadership in Leningrad. Stalin uses political methods strongly akin to some American varieties to keep himself in the key position within the Communist Party. Trotsky fought so vigorously against being deprived of power that he tried to set up an illegal rival party machine, and even now in exile Trotsky claims a secret organization and supporters in the army.

It is conceivable that Communist theory may be, and probably is, wrong in various particulars. Certainly the Bolsheviks themselves ever since taking the power have been changing their technique to make it work. In the early days of the Russian revolution the Bolsheviks attempted to confiscate all the peasants' grain above actual living requirements. Today they tax them on a fixed scale approaching the method used in capitalistic countries. The Communists used to assail bitterly the piece-rate system of production. Today they have installed the output test and are lauding mass production and capitalistic theories of rationalization. Once a gold secured currency was "a device of the devil,"—today they are trying desperately to keep their currency on a gold basis without depreciation. Once the Bolsheviks in large measure tried to equalize wages, today they permit wide variations; expert capitalists and inventors may even become millionaries. While these changing methods may do credit to the Bolsheviks and show their adaptability to the concrete realities of present conditions, they can only under great strain be reconciled with orthodox Communistic theory.

Communism is also at fault in its rigid acceptance of dogmatic atheism. It is not surprising that men who were brought up in contact with an orthodox religion supported and controlled by a dying Tsar's autocracy should oppose all religion. To some extent in trying to substitute science for superstition the Bolsheviks are rendering service. Dr. Spinka of the Chicago Divinity School after a study of religion under the Soviets maintains that the Bolsheviks have done genuine religion more service in ten years by fighting it than the Tsar's government did in a century of supporting it. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviks seem to be totally unable to comprehend that there may be a religion which is in harmony with the best that science teaches. Accepting the scientific philosophy dominant in their university days the Communists have not fully accepted the revolution which science itself has undergone. The work of Eddington, Milliken, and Einstein with the potential religious implication of the changed scientific outlook seem lost on the Communistic mind. They do not recognize the possibility of a religion which accepts every scientific law and is itself working in the interests of truth and on behalf of the workers and peasants.

Bolshevism destroys and persecutes religion in the name of truth. But in trying to destroy all that goes under the name of religion they may in reality be attacking part of truth itself. The religion they are fighting is a caricature of religion at its highest and best. Yet in their fanaticism they do not realize that in this mysterious universe in which humanity finds itself, there may be forces within religion which are as true and scientific as sunlight or nature—even matter. Yet the Bolsheviks would prohibit anyone who has faith in any form of Christianity from belonging to their party. In so doing they prove themselves fanatics of dogmatic atheism. They permit the most absurd propaganda to circulate freely—for instance, books arguing that Jesus Christ never existed, or that in reality

Christ was a libertine and a selfish exploiter. It may be argued that for the sake of the freedom of the press this is defensible, but then why should they prohibit and censor books and periodicals which defend religion in the light of the highest scientific knowledge we have? To be sure the churches are open, religious freedom for the individual exists, but church schools are in the main debarred. No one who expresses fearlessly his faith in a living God and tries to convert others to share his faith can be sure what persecution he may suffer.

The method which the Bolshevik censor has used with religious periodicals is to remove everything interesting and allow to circulate only that which is dull. Lately the Russian government has even passed a law prohibiting the church from doing social service and welfare work. This is, if anything, even more unfair to a religious faith than the restrictions regarding religious education. How can religion be anything but a mockery of the Christ spirit if it does not translate its creed into definite service for the peasants and workers? In reality in requiring a rigid divorce between applied Christianity and Christian theory, the Bolsheviks are negating the inner essence of religion. It is strange that at this point the Bolsheviks should join hands with some of the most reactionary capitalists. For in America conservative and wealthy interests are continually asking the church to refrain from applying the social implications of the Christian faith to our social order—precisely the Bolshevik position.

Besides the objections already raised, some of the methods of Communism are questionable. For instance, even such a historic method as mass violence may in the end prove to be too costly. It is commonly said that "the end justifies the means." But violence makes absolutely impossible the highest end until a better means is found. In other words, belief in a force psychology may finally prove fallacious. To be sure the Bolsheviks do not believe in revolution unless it can be successful, and it is generally true that the masses of mankind are too patient and long-suffering to revolt unless there exists real injustice. On the other hand, the preaching of the doctrine that little or no progress can come outside of Russia except by violence and bloody revolutionary movements is preposterous. Yet while most Americans will agree that the Russians are wrong in their advocacy of force, capitalist countries have scant grounds for opposing Communism on the basis of violence. If Belgium is invaded, we assume a nation is justified in sending armies to protect her. If American property is threatened, we feel we have a right to send marines and airplanes to kill men in South America to protect our economic rights. The Communists share our faith in violence; they differ in their concepts of injustice. They feel that injustice is being done to millions of our workers in capitalistic countries. This injustice justifies revolutionary violence. The violence caused by the world war which, directly or indirectly, destroyed thirty-five millions, may be just as dangerous, or more so, than the communist theory of violence and revolution. However, it is conceivable that both theories may be wrong. The costs of success in either case may not be commensurate with the progress achieved.

A formula of coöperation is higher than a formula of power through bloodshed. Here again the dogmatism of the Communists who, because they have once succeeded in winning power through revolution, thereupon preach revolution as the only road to truth, beauty, and happiness for all, is extremely dubious. Their formula to some extent is a class formula. They would rule out as enemies all those who do not belong to the one class. Their ideal is a future society in which there shall be only a group of workers. But the technique of violence and bloodshed may inevitably perpetuate various classes rather than annihilate all except one. Such a philosophy is unfair to other classes, and it tends to build up hatred in the minds and hearts of both the dominant and persecuted groups. Hatred is always a destructive force and tends to destroy truth, beauty, and happiness. Therefore, the reaction against hatred is divisive, it creates classes. If one believes in opposing injustice wherever it exists, Communism in its attempt to destroy all classes except the orthodox and approved workers, is unconsciously opposing certain groups who are working self-sacrificingly for the good of all along different lines. Then, too, may not Communism have too completely ignored the individual in its philosophy just as capitalism may have gone much too far in ignoring social philosophy? If this is true, we should expect to see the slow pressure of societal evolution forcing America into collective channels and Russia into more of individualism. To some extent there has been a trend in both countries to warrant such an hypothesis.

Russia has decreed the socialization of both industry and agriculture. But to build an industrial nation requires large purchases of machinery from abroad. It has been thought that this could be paid for with grain. The peasant, however, refuses to deliver his grain except as he receives in return manufactured supplies at low cost. If grain is not forthcoming in sufficient quantities and manufactured food products are exported instead, then there follows scarcity in Russia with rationing and discontent among the city proletariat. So Russia tries to attract foreign capital through a more liberal concession policy and through offering more attractive rewards to the individual who produces gold, platinum, lumber, grain, et cetera. But this is inconsistent with the theory of Communism. Another concomitant of too rigid state ownership and control may be bureaucracy. Certainly Russia is afflicted with this disease, as the Bolsheviks themselves recognize all too well.

It also seems that Communist theory of the absolute supremacy of the group at every point may to some extent make them deny the principle of the infinite worth of each human personality. According to their theory any life should be sacrificed wherever necessary for the good of the cause. This opens the door to the Red Terror. The Communists themselves admit that they have been harsh to monarchists, millionaries and the old intellectual classes. In fact, the persecution of these classes has been most cruel and bitter. The extent of the Red Terror, while understandable, seems to have been very much greater than was essential, even assuming that it was necessary at all. To be sure, the Red Terror was no worse than the White Terror. From various investigations it is doubtful if it was as bad; but two wrongs do not make either right.

Possibly the gravest objection to Communism as at present conducted is its lack of liberty. For liberty in Russia is a class liberty. The masses of the peasants and workers are free, but there is a legality for one political party only—the Communist Party. It is questionable whether one party machine, no matter how self-critical, can assemble all the wisdom in the universe, so as to be free from serious blunders; but in Russia anyone who opposes the party in action is considered a traitor. The Communists started out by granting freedom within the party; they end by denying freedom to those who differ within the party. All history teaches that political parties make irreparable mistakes. But Communism rigorously forbids any minority from challenging a policy once it has been adopted. Does not this pave the way for costly errors and irretrievable blunders? If this policy had been dominant in the United States it would have meant the imprisonment of William Lloyd Garrison and the abolitionists on the slavery issue. Certainly it can hardly be assumed even by the Communists that the majority is always right.

It is certain that had Lenin lived, for instance, the recent party split would never have assumed present proportions. Some way would have been found to use the Trotsky opposition for the benefit of the party and their cause. Granting that even today there is a great measure of self-criticism permitted, nevertheless, seeing the leaders who have done so much for Communism as Trotsky are expelled from the party and exiled from the country, one is inevitably convinced that as with some of our early religious forefathers, freedom is rigidly limited to those who interpret the faith along lines strictly orthodox and acceptable to those in power.

The Communists have a rigid control of the press. There is censorship of everything. Nothing is printed which is not passed on and approved by Communists. There is a rigid control of the theatre, moving pictures, and radio. Pacifists do not have the right to broadcast. There is a strict control of organizations and meetings; even within the party there is such strict control that in the past it was treason to publish Lenin's last statement to the party. Only the ruling group were in a position to interpret what was legitimate criticism and what was illegitimate. Consequently, the rank and file are unable to hear the case of a man who opposes the major clique at any point. To an impartial onlooker it would seem as if the Russian Soviet government is now so firmly established and impregnable that it should welcome criticism from minority groups and practice toleration rather than suppression. As radicals, should not Communists be jealous in guarding those minority groups who are fighting sincerely for an ideal? In actual fact the Communists have far more rigidly persecuted war resisters than we have in America.

In spite of the fact that a very strong case can be made against Communism, there has been a real spiritual liberation in Russia which has followed the Revolution. For Communism is a spiritual force. It holds up the ideal of economic liberty and equality. Communism is not free from intellectual error. It is blind, it is dogmatic, but it has made its way in spite of these faults by its idealism and its spiritual hope rather than its materialistic promise. Most faiths make their way because of their ideals and in spite of their faults. Humanity is responsive to any group which is sincere and sacrifices for a cause which it holds true. The answer to such a new faith is not suppression and persecution, but rather the building of a social order in which there is less injustice, more of brotherhood. We must meet the challenge of Communism by creating a nation which has more truth, beauty, equality, and liberty for all the working classes.

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BOOK V

FASCISM

QUESTIONS ON FASCISM

1. What are the chief causes of Fascism?
2. To what qualities and what circumstances are due the leadership of Mussolini?
3. What is the underlying philosophy of Fascism?
4. What advantages does the Charter of Labor give to the Italian workers? What disadvantages?
5. Precisely what do you understand by the political doctrine of Fascism? Just how does it differ from American democracy? Do you see any danger in Mussolini's instruction to Italian Prefects?
6. What advantages and what disadvantages does the Italian election law and the Grand Council system have over the political mechanism of the United States?
7. How far is it valid to speak of Fascism as a religion?
8. Evaluate the concrete achievements of Mussolini.
9. Is Fascism better or worse than Bolshevism? Why?
10. How do you account for the striking difference in the treatment by our press of Fascisti success in Italy and that of the Bolsheviki in Russia?
11. What sociological lesson, if any, can you discover from the Fascist movement?
12. Has Mussolini been responsible for progress or retrogression, or both? Explain and prove your position.

QUESTIONS FOR THOUGHT

1. Is efficiency which increases industrial production desirable if it takes away liberty?
2. Have you noted any tendencies toward a movement somewhat similar to Fascism in the United States?

I. HISTORY AND CAUSES

EVERY movement has its background. It does not spring ready-made to life without struggle and opposition. Fascism is no exception to the rule. It grew up in Italy because it found a fertile soil.

THE DAWN OF FASCISM [1]

Origin of the Word "Fascism"

The word comes from *fascio,* a group or cluster; it is used of a cluster of plants or branches which grow stronger by being thus bound together. A *fascio* of sticks with a battle-axe in their midst was carried by the Roman lictors: it was from the lictors' fasces that the Fascists derived their emblem.

There was once before in Italy a political movement which also bore the name of *fasci,* a Sicilian peasant movement, led by the Socialists in 1893, but which died a natural death.

The immediate predecessors of Fascism itself were the *Fasci di combattimento,* or groups of armed men which flourished between October 1914 and May 1915. Under these were enrolled the Socialists, Republicans, Anarchists and Syndicalists who were in favour of Italy's intervention in the European war then in progress, and who were anxious to give a revolutionary aspect to the war. These *fasci* had but a transitory existence, but many of their adherents, Mussolini amongst the first, were to be found in the post-war Fascist movement.

After the month of October 1917 and the unfortunate business of Caporetto, a group of deputies of the Right, the Centre and the Left, who wished at all costs to avoid a return of the Giolitti policy or a separate and inconclusive peace, were called the *Fascio di difesa nazionale*—the group of national defence.

In this group were included several parliamentarians who later on joined the Fascists, and who were in certain respects its immediate predecessors in their capacity of defenders of the victory which was as yet only a myth.

Formation of "Italian Armed Groups"

The origin of Fascism can be traced to the war. Those classes which had been in favor of the war and had borne its burden were convinced of its righteousness by reason of its democratic ideals as set forth by the Government upon its declaration. The belief had been established amongst these men that upon their return, with the glory of victory behind them, they should receive from their country those special privileges of which such extravagant promise had been made them. They were to be the leaders of the future in place of those who had stayed behind in safety: young, full of enterprise, and deserving, they should replace the old régime in politics and the bureaucracy, grown slothful, corrupt, unintelligent and incapable of bringing its views into line with the needs imposed by a new order of things. They had created "a great Italy," and to them should fall the task of completing the task they had begun. On demobilization the land should go to the men, to the officers the reins of government.

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[1] The selection following is taken by permission from Prezzolini's *Fascism,* pp. 1-37. Published and copyrighted by E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York.

But the ex-service men, on their return, found a very different welcome awaiting them from what they had been led to expect.

In the beginning of 1919 Italy was cast into a state of turmoil. Once ended the distorting tension of war and the fictitious sense of well-being guaranteed by the support of the Great Powers, she found herself all at once faced by grave problems: demobilization, which would cast a host of surplus men upon the country; the beginning of a slump in an industry temporarily swollen to meet the demands of the army and which must now necessarily undergo a technical metamorphosis and find new markets; confusion in all branches of service—public, municipal, provincial and national—until they should have adapted themselves to the new order; the financial crisis which threatened Italy as soon as the support of the Allies was withdrawn; the solving of national and international problems accruing from the Peace Conference; the consequences of the social revolution brought about during the war by the new distribution of capital; and, finally, the confusion induced by the undefined and undefinable aspirations of a mass of political ignorami, who, by virtue of the franchise, found themselves called upon to do their part towards political reconstruction at so difficult a point in the nation's history. In 1913 the electorate numbered 3,329,147—that is to say, one-twelfth of the population; in 1919 it numbered 11,115,441—that is to say, 29.3 per cent of the population; but the newly enfranchised, instead of being educated in the school of politics, knew only the school of war!

The State, faced with these formidable problems, did not prove itself equal to its task. Incapable of energy or of any clearly defined ideas, lacking, what is more, the moral strength which alone could have roused a country sunk in general sloth, the Government devoted all its activities to foreign politics, without, even in this respect, making it their business to fulfil the expectations of their country. In fact they gave the impression of having washed their hands entirely of the life and internal interests of the nation.

No sooner had the economic and financial upheaval begun to make itself felt (following upon the closing down of the munitions of war industry, the rise in the cost of living due to the rise in foreign exchanges, and the increased demand in proportion to the supplies available) than the equilibrium of the masses went to pieces. Strikes broke out in every branch of industry, and in the absence of any organized government action the extremists were fired with the idea that the hour was ripe for political revolution, while the rulers relied on the general dislocation, on the confused and ill-defined character of the revolutionary spirit fostered by stories of Red Russia, on the essentially materialistic aspirations of the masses, on the destroyed faith of the peasants who had listened eagerly during the war to rumours of a division of the land amongst the agriculturists; but they relied above all on the innate war-hatred of the majority, who had nevertheless gone to war to make an end of it.

It was this hatred first and foremost which finally decided their line of action in favour of urging a strong course to be adopted in both questions, political and social. The greatest psychological error of the Socialists was when they taunted the middle classes with this same war-hatred, for even though they might have joined the ranks of the malcontents, either because of the unfilled promises made them during the war or because of the unsatisfactory nature of the victory, they could not join with the Socialists in reviling a war which they had entered voluntarily, for which they had suffered and sacrificed themselves, and of which they had hoped and still did hope for much.

It was to this critical state of affairs and to this confusion that the troops returned, when they had looked forward to such a very different welcome. The Promised Land which had shaped itself during the last years of the war out of the promises made by the Government, seemed to be lost, and its loss brought with it the bitterness of disillusionment. Many of those who had given up position, profession or other work, returned to find their places occupied, and were compelled to begin again from the beginning of things. They saw about the streets of the towns crowds of pleasure-seeking people, shopkeepers miraculously and unjustly enriched, labourers earning more than they, peasants who had become landed proprietors, and their own economic position worsted thereby. The failure both in word and deed of the Government, that Government which had been so generous in its promises to them, to come to their rescue, only accentuated their resentment. It was not to be wondered at, then, that revolutionary feeling ran high and that thousands of people were incited to march under any flag that offered itself, provided that it was against the Government.

As it turned out, many of them flocked beneath the red flag, and all would have done likewise but for the Socialist leaders, who, in their blind hatred of war, roused the masses equally against the groups of ex-service men recruited from the middle classes—intellectuals, clerks, students and professional men—and who could not bring themselves to forswear in such a wholesale manner their ideals and patriotic and national aspirations.

These particular men constituted the section of the population most to be pitied. From their ranks had been recruited the officers. They had subscribed more than any other class towards the maintenance of the defensive, and consequently to the victory, and by way of reward they received the least recompense of all. While the economics of war had favoured the upper industrial middle classes, the workmen drawing high wages and safely out of the trenches, the peasants enriched by the rise in the cost of living, the middle classes were suffering impoverishment and disillusion. That class which, in constituting public opinion, had decided in favour of intervention, was made to realize at the cessation of hostilities that another class of society had arisen and supplanted them in the economic as well as in the political world.

Disillusioned by broken faith, by the interception of their proposed attack upon the Socialists, by the failure of the authorities to satisfy national and Nationalist aspirations arising from the war, it was the ruling classes, the Socialists and the masses that these people found themselves up against, and against whom they had to safeguard not only themselves but their hearths and homes.

A sign of the times was the founding of societies of ex-soldiers in towns throughout the kingdom, societies with various political programmes, some of them embodying the most radical spirits, such as the *Futuristi* and the *Arditi,* whose sentimental and Nationalist claims, and opposition to the current Socialist tendencies, had much in common with Benito Mussolini's programmes of reconstruction after the victory and appreciation of the ex-service men. Mussolini had himself been one of them and edited the *Popolo d'Italia,* a paper representative, as its sub-title testified, of "producers and ex-service men."

It was upon the initiative of Mussolini that there was a meeting in Milan on the 23rd March 1919, at the headquarters of the Industrial and Commercial Association, Piazza San Sepolcro, of the delegates from the various groups adhering to his programme. There were present, besides Mussolini (who immediately took the lead because of his moral and physical superiority to all the others), T. F. Marinetti, Giovanni Giuriati, Michele Bianchi, Canzio Garibaldi, General G. Douhet, Mario Carli, representing the *Fasci futuristi d'Italia,* representatives of the *Fascio futurista* in Rome, Piero Bolzon, Massimo Rocca, representing the *Fasci futuristi* in Florence, Ferrara and many others. This meeting was the occasion of the fusion of the various groups, and the formation of the *Fasci italiani di combattimento.* Michele Bianchi was made secretary of the Milan *Fascio.*

Programme of the "Fasci"

Many factors contributed to the determination of the first programme of the *Fasci,* a programme which showed a marked radical tendency. Amongst these were: the origin of the men who took the lead in the *Fasci* movement; the greater part of whom had been banished from the Socialist party, in which they had occupied the benches on the Left; the character of this *avant-garde* political movement which, between 1914 and 1919, had influenced all new movements; and the question of the ex-service men, principally of the proletarian and lower middle classes whose interests they had undertaken to safeguard.

This programme, issued by the constituent Assembly on the 23rd March, 1919, was based on the principle of the rights and wrongs of the revolutionary war (the war waged by the *Fasci d'azione,* led by these same men in 1914, was looked upon by them as revolutionary), and outlined its aspirations as Nationalist in external politics and reformatory in internal politics.

With regard to internal reform their programme was based upon four fundamental factors—political, social, military and financial. In the matter of politics it put forward a proportionate electoral scale, the granting of votes to women, the lowering of the age limit for deputies from thirty-three to twenty-five years, the abolition of the Senate, the calling of a National Assembly of three years' duration with the establishment of a new Constitution as its chief aim, the founding of regular national Councils for labour, industry, transport, communications, social hygiene, etc., chosen from amongst their own ranks and endowed with legislative powers. In the matter of social reform it demanded an eight-hour day for labourers and peasants, the participation of the workers' representatives in all technical industrial questions, the handing over of industrial management, particularly in the public services, to the workers' organizations (for example, the railways should be under the direction of the railwaymen's union).

With regard to the military, it suggested the formation of a national militia with a short period of training, for exclusively defensive purposes; the nationalization of munition and equipment factories. In the question of finances it demanded a heavy super-tax upon capital, the sequestration of a percentage of the wealth of religious bodies, and the abolition of certain privileges hitherto enjoyed by the clergy, especially in their higher ranks; and the revision of certain contracts for military equipment, together with the appropriation of 85 per cent of war profits.

In foreign politics the programme emphasized the Nationalist tendencies of the *Fasci,* who, in this respect, supported the same claims as the Nationalist party itself—that is to say, the revision of the London Pact so as to incorporate Fiume and the whole of Dalmatia, a claim which gained strength from the very outset by the opposition of the nuclei of *futuristi,* of ex-service men and of ex-*Arditi* to a speech of Leonida Bissolati posted for a date in January at the Scala Theatre in Milan, in support of a policy for the abandoning of both Dalmatia and Brenner.

Their Activities

The *Fasci di combattimento* included all those patriotic and liberal elements which the Socialists in their unreasoning aversion to war had so unwittingly fostered. Socialist opposition was concentrated against the *Fasci* because they were run by deserters from the Socialist ranks, who were consequently looked upon as traitors, and who, for their own part, regarded war on Socialism as their chief *raison d'être,* and an excellent opportunity to rekindle old hatreds of Socialist leaders.

However, during the time which elapsed between the spring of 1919 and the end of the occupation of the factories (a victory which marked the ruin of revolutionary hopes) the activities of the *Fasci* had but small compass. What activities there were were of no national importance, but merely local, and this fact applies particularly to Milan. Their greatest strength lay in their alliance to the bands of Arditi; in fact, their first strong action, namely, the attack on the newspaper known as the *Avanti!* in April 1919, was originated by the *Arditi,* with whom the Milanese *Fascio* joined forces on some occasions. It was but a remote connection that the *Fasci* had with D'Annunzio's enterprise in Fiume in 1919, though they supported and approved his venture, contributing thereto a small force and their public favour, but it cannot be said that success was due either to their action or to their encouragement.

Even in the elections of 1919 in November, the *Fasci* showed up but feebly, for their candidates, Mussolini and Marinetti, only obtained some 4700 votes in Milan.

Nevertheless, they began to work upon the public by means of pamphlets, speeches and patriotic demonstrations; their attitude being one of merciless criticism and opposition, nay, even death, to Socialism, its methods and revolutionary postulates. But at the same time they did not withhold censure from a Government ineffectual and lazy both in home and foreign politics, which, having betrayed the men who had fought, was now betraying the entire nation at the table of the Peace Conference. Nor was censure withheld from the lax and fearful middle classes who could not even stand up for themselves, but were prepared to treat with the enemy; against them they directed their shafts as well as against the Socialist leaders, and from that point one begins to notice anti-plutocratic tendencies which grew to be a feature of the Fascism of the Left.

Nitti and Giolitti

Fascism had its genesis under the governments of Nitti and Giolitti, encountering opposition from the former and support from the latter.

Under Facta it bore the fruits of the two preceding ministries, and with the "March on Rome" laid hands upon the State.

Fascists regarded these three governments as a reign of failure, disorder and treachery, but to what extent this is true of the actual facts is a question.

Francesco-Saverio Nitti was perhaps one of the most hated men in all Italy. No slightest cause for condemnation was he spared, and it must be confessed that he did all that lay in his power to render himself detestable to Italians and to weave about his own name a legend of treachery. But the actual truth is very far removed from the legend. Nitti was no traitor; he was a weakling who was the victim even of his nobler qualities.

He came of a poor family in the South, and he hewed for himself, through determination and hard work, first as professor and then as a lawyer, the road to the seat of the mighty. He had no originality, but sponged upon others for ideas. His most notable work, which brought him renown in Italy, was his book on the North and the South, which was after all only a clever summing up of the researches of Giustino Fortunato, the man who first brought up the "question of the South" in Italy. Here he showed, following the reasonings of his friend and patron, that Southern Italy is naturally a poor country and that her distressful condition is due to her union with the rest of Italy, and the severe régime of politics and taxation to which the North has subjected her. The works which rendered his name world-famous after he had signed, as Prime Minister of Italy, the Treaty of Versailles, were *l'Europa senza pace* (A Peaceless Europe) and *La Tragedia dell'Europa* (The Tragedy of Europe) —nothing more than vain repetitions, skilful paraphrases and amplifications of the books of Keynes. . . .

The amnesty granted to deserters is, perhaps, his chief title to the base infamy attributed to him by patriots. But this measure, which was a necessary step in preventing a revival of brigandage in Italy, erred only in the form it adopted. A very slight measure, some amendment rather than an Act of Parliament, would have sufficed to remove from the decree in question the hateful tenor of its expression, offensive alike to the families of ex-soldiers and of those who had lost their lives in the war. But, for that matter, Nitti's action has met with approval from many Conservatives, even from Mussolini himself.

Nitti's shortcomings were, in fact, very different from those with which the Fascists reproached him. Had he carried on a financial policy in favour of the capitalists, as he is alleged to have done, a policy whereby he reaped his own reward, as was so often insinuated, erroneously withal, he would in all probability have gained for himself a stronger support from the Press than he had the good fortune to enjoy throughout his ministry.

His attitude to the Fiume affair is understandable if one bear in mind the "fears" in which he lived: fear of the Allies; fear of the army; fear of D'Annunzio himself; fear of the Socialists.

Hardly had Giolitti reappeared upon the political horizon whence his neutrality of 1915 would seem to have banished him for ever, and taken once more into his own hands the reins of government, but one recognized the cynic who breathed no word of cynicism, the governor who despised the men he governed, but who knew how to achieve his ends by proffered honours, menaces and rewards.

Giolitti, too, was a son of the people, born of a Piedmontese family in very modest circumstances; but whereas Nitti had revealed a brilliant mentality as lawyer and writer in the school of journalism and a professorship, Giolitti mounted slowly through the lowly channels of a solicitor, silently, doggedly, acquiring a profound knowledge of the Italian bureaucratic system, and showing a shrewd dexterity in turning to public account the private ambitions and interests of mankind. He soon gained the upper hand with the bureaucracy and with the army, for he feared not D'Annunzio, and after once having concluded the Rapallo Pact with Yugoslavia, he did not hesitate to use this as an implement against Fiume, being careful not to give the matter more importance than if it had simply been a little affair for the police.

Nitti had fought Fascism without in any way undermining it. Giolitti made the great mistake of trying to use it for his own purposes, and, as often happens in the case of those who try to call up spirits, when he had armed them and given them his support, he found them ranged against him, hostile and strong. Giolitti found in his Parliament a great evil in the law regarding proportionate ballot introduced by Nitti, whereby every party claimed representation in the Government in proportion to its numbers; hence a period of undisciplined and unstable government, dominated by forces outside the bounds of Parliament. His first step was therefore to dissolve Parliament, hoping in an election to be able to build up a Government which would permit him to repeal a law which ran counter to his old experience of the master exercising his patronage; and in order to turn the election in the right course—that is to say, to destroy the Socialist and Popular parties—he armed the Fascists, believing that after the elections he would be able to absorb and dominate them. A double disillusion! The elections did not turn out as Giolitti had planned. Parliament was made up of practically the same forces; and the Fascists, once armed and under police protection, gained so much ascendancy with the middle classes, with their youth, their courage and their determination, that it dawned upon the heads of Finance, of Agriculture and of Industry that through Fascism alone could they put down Socialism and re-establish order in Italy.

However, government became ever more difficult as a result of party dissension, and when Giolitti, faithful to his policy of abandoning the Government on every occasion when things threatened to become serious, resigned, a man third-rate in intellect and purpose, the deputy Facta, was the only one to take his place, because none of the parties feared him, and all the leaders believed that they would be able to supplant him whenever the opportunity offered.

In this intellectually and morally impoverished atmosphere the plant of Fascism found the oxygen necessary to its rapid and strong growth. It was the negative activity of a Government rapidly falling to pieces rather than the Fascist principles that drove the people into the arms of the Fascists, on condition that they would rescue them from this nightmare of confusion. Just as, two years before, these same people had gone the length of desiring a revolution on the lines of Bolshevism, so they now saw in Fascism the inspired messenger of peace, order and security. In the heart of an Italian State capable of abandoning the power to no matter what force that might organize itself for the purpose, be it a party of scavengers, Fascism strove to create a sound State, with recognized hierarchies, a recognized leader, and eventually an armed militia and responsible councils capable of establishing and administering their power with an ordered discipline hitherto unknown in the annals of the State.

The Growth of Fascism

The Bolshevist spirit in Italy towards the end of 1919 and in the beginning of 1920 was on the wane, for various reasons, and particularly because of the spread of a new element, which had grown up in the atmosphere of Communist propaganda and of a Russian Utopia. The economic protest of the summer of 1919 against the sudden rise in the cost of living, which the Socialist leaders had feared to turn to account, was in itself a proof of the inability of the Socialists to raise a revolution, and this gave rise to a feeling of disillusion and doubt regarding the revolutionary ideals of the masses. Moreover, when the greater part of the working classes and peasants, who had joined Socialist, industrial and political societies, attracted by visions of a social revolution resulting, as they firmly believed, in the supremacy of their own classes as well as in other unlimited material advantages; when they saw their revolutionary fire die out in words; when they learned from the mouths of the first Socialists to return from Russia that the acquisition of power by the proletariat did not ensure that ease and comfort promised by Italian Socialists in their election speeches—then confidence in a Socialist revolution collapsed, and there took its place a fear that a following of the revolutionary flag—which had already encountered criticism even from such Socialists as F. Turati—would only involve a loss of those advances which they had already made. It was at this point that they began to look elsewhere for a solution.

Added to all this, the industrial and commercial middle classes and the landowners, during the reign of these Bolshevik tendencies, were only too obviously seized with panic. They saw themselves dethroned. For many years past they had been tyrannized over by the working classes, violated at the hands of the masses, oppressed by the leaders, daily imposed upon by the Socialists, threatened with effacement by a new fiscal system which made outrageous demands upon their resources, subjected to ever-increasing industrial and economic upheavals in times already difficult enough, so that they had come to regard revolution as the only means of escape from a perpetual state of uncertainty—always providing that this revolution should remain theoretical—for they realized the impotency of the Socialist leaders to turn to account such advances as had been made during the summer of 1919 as a sequel to the protest against the high cost of living; these middle classes found their confidence restored in allying themselves with the *Fasci,* who had come to their rescue, not wholly from disinterested motives.

The *Fasci* went to work with a true soldierly and patriotic spirit. They combated Bolshevism and proclaimed the return of order and discipline. They tried to force upon the masses the principle of nationalism: and they showered opprobrium upon a Government which had been so lax in dealing with the spirit of revolution. It was proclaimed that all those who, for one reason or another, found themselves under what was called "Red tyranny" might seek lawful defence by grouping themselves for combined action under the new flag.

Thus it came about that in all the big towns where *Fasci di combattimento* had been formed by the ex-service men, the sons of the industrial and commercial classes, young men of the middle classes, students, clerks, professional men, flocked to swell their ranks. In the country districts the *Fasci* enrolled the sons of the landowners, administrators, farmers and farm laborers—that is to say, all those who recognized in Socialism the enemy of their rights and privileges.

When this vast army had come to swell their ranks, the *Fasci,* whose strength lay in force of numbers, set about organizing and adapting themselves according to individual need and the particular conditions under which they found themselves called upon to function. Another consideration which influenced the varied aspects of the movement was the variety of standpoints, social, political and industrial, which were met with in the various parts of Italy. Even to-day, for example—and this explains the small hold Fascism has gained in the South—one must bear in mind the very special conditions which prevail there; and this does not apply to Fascism alone, but to all previous movements, including Socialism.

As a rule political movements have had their home in the North, where a political education is more widespread, and where the class which most feels the need of and advantages to be gained from organization—that is to say, the industrial workers—is to be found; for there the middle classes are better educated, more industrialized and therefore more disciplined, because they have to consider the two sides of the question where the interests of both employer and employee are concerned.

For this reason the Fascism found in Milan tends towards idealism, patriotism and equilibrium. Having sought out the working classes, organized them into groups according to whether they were Socialist or Syndicalist, they endeavour to communicate with them in the only language with which they are familiar. Moreover, the program of the *Fasci di combattimento,* drawn up by the constituent Assembly of the 23rd March 1919, is of a distinctly revolutionary nature, outlining reforms as clearly Syndicalist as the creation of industrially representative parliaments, the eight-hour day, even going the length of workers' unions, and the handing over of the factories to the workers. The attitude of Mussolini and of the *Fasci* in connection with a revolutionary rising in Dalmino in the province of Bergamo, near Milan, was very characteristic of the trend of opinion.

A dispute took place between the employers and employees of an important engineering works; and the workers, in May 1919, went out on strike. But before throwing down their tools, they shut themselves up in the factory and installed themselves there to sleep and feed, hoisting the tricolor flag. In a word, they took possession of it, refusing to come out before a satisfactory agreement had been arrived at.

This was the first occupation which had been known to take place in Italy, and the *Popolo d'Italia* encouraged and upheld the step in view of the fact that they had hoisted the tricolour rather than the red flag. Mussolini betook himself to Dalmino, approving and supporting the move of the workers.

Agricultural Dispute in Bologna

It was not, however, in the purely industrial centres alone that Fascism found the surest impulse to its ultimate development and its surest foundation.

Amongst the industrial classes, although doubt and discontent had already begun to spread regarding the Socialist leaders, an anti-Socialist movement such as Fascism could not hope to make its way without encountering grave obstacles in its path, for the masses after all had been ruled and educated through thirty years of Socialism, and besides, there was as yet no alteration in the economic system calculated to make them forget the advantages assured them by the Socialists.

It was in one particular centre, the agricultural centre, and even there in a very reactionary sense, that Fascism secured its victory. From that point it sent out feelers, and eventually secured a complete victory which included the agricultural districts of the Po valley, and, greatest conquest of all, those of Bologna, Ferrara and Polesina.

It may be said that there, more than elsewhere, the action of the Socialists justified the reaction to Fascism; that there, more than elsewhere, the exasperated middle classes were prepared to take any steps to regain their rights which the masses had so foolishly and so outrageously abused. It was in those regions especially that Fascism seemed to promise the solution of the greatest evils, so that it assumed a particularly impressive social and economic aspect.

In order fully to appreciate the character of the political movements and disturbances in the lower valley of the Po, one must bear in mind the exact geographical position of this country. One may fairly say that there cannot be found elsewhere in Europe an agricultural region where land-Socialism is so prominent a factor. It is a well-known fact that workers on the land, as a whole, seldom lend themselves to political demonstrations of a Socialistic nature, but that the economic nature of his work on the land, the age-old tradition which binds the peasant to the fields he tends, and the conditions unlike those of any other class under which he works have made him a Conservative, a traditionalist, bound by his customs and prejudices, hard to break to Socialist and Syndicalist ideas.

But the agricultural district of the lower valley of the Po has arrived at its present state of agitation as a result of a long and bitter industrial revolution. The soil of these regions was not originally productive; it was rather a sterile land consisting of stagnant waters and desolate plains where a deadly malaria raged. However, through a long process of fertilization extending over several centuries and not yet ended, and thanks to the work of man, aided in recent years by the most up-to-date mechanical and industrial processes, they have come to be amongst the most productive in Italy, and amongst the best tended in all Europe. Every inch of land had to be won from a hostile Nature, by means of canals, irrigation, the building of roads and bridges, and great labour to render the soil fertile. Desolate marshes gave place to rich pasture-lands and rice-fields; then followed the sowing of corn and planting of trees, while houses went up to house the laborers, and stables for the cattle they brought with them. Finally, great industries were founded, chief amongst which were the hemp and sugar-beet industries, which gave returns of the most encouraging nature and hastened development by the erection of factories to compete with the sugar, cheese and textile industries.

The labor demanded for this immense work of cultivation could not be met by an agricultural population in a continual state of fluctuation, as in the case of other regions. It was supplied from the surplus proletariat of neighboring districts, attracted by an exceptional offer of work in the transformation of vast tracts of unproductive lands into fertile fields. All aspects of the industrial and proletarian masses in the domain of agriculture were represented here, including not only the peasants traditionally attached to the land, but a whole population of men who had arrived on the spot for the sole purpose of working this land.

The economic conditions which ruled the work of these men were the same as ruled industry, and had little in common with those which governed agriculture. Alongside the peasant—in the accepted sense of the word—there was the hired man, or *bracciante,* who lived, for the most part, not on the products of the lands he tilled so much as on the weekly salary he drew from an horary which was the same for all, for they worked in gangs as in a factory. Thus the peasant's work lost its patriarchal character when it became a matter of being bound to the land of which he was no longer the master. It took on instead the character of a job of work to be relegated to specific hours, with the only difference that it was carried out in the open air instead of indoors, as is the case with mechanical enterprise.

The conditions of these people were industrial also in the matter of the vicissitudes they suffered in the demand for labor, just as in industries, and quite apart from the annual fluctuations generally reckoned upon in the economic phases of agriculture. It followed therefore that these workers, subject to vicissitudes which did not come within the terms of their contracts, which had all the features of a contract in a manufacturing industry, were compelled to organize themselves in the same way as ordinary workers, for the protection and safeguarding of their own interests; and as the dispensation of labor was concentrated in the hands of a small number of capitalists, as a result of property having changed hands so that by a smaller division of ownership expenses might be reduced, the workers' associations grouped themselves together under a kind of union, which roughly corresponds with the trade union system. There was a capital trust and a workers' trust. The unions were purely economic and had no preconceived political views.

The demand for this trade union for the workers had also another cause. The fact that labor was available in excess of demand was not caused so much by over-population as by the heavy fluctuations in the demand. To cope with the alternate abundance and scarcity of work, and to furnish a safety-valve in the labor market where the demand might be excessive to-day and insufficient to-morrow, a solution might have been sought in emigration, but this measure was prohibited by Socialist propaganda; hence the necessity for a registration office for the purpose of taking a census of labor and distributing it in the various districts where there was a demand, and of establishing a method by which each man in his turn might be given an opportunity of earning.

As was to be expected, most of the hired men, finding themselves in a position to monopolize labor, set to work to exploit this scheme by not only seeking but forcing employment. Having once obviated the danger of competition, having made it compulsory for all new-comers to join the union, the union demanded from the capitalists the fixing of a minimum wage, but not a fixed wage, thus the tendency was always towards an increase; at the same time, the union aimed at bettering the conditions of labor by a reduction of working hours.

The logical reaction against this economic pressure was very naturally a tendency on the part of capital to reduce as far as possible the employment of labor, substituting machinery and other modern labor-saving devices for cultivation. And while the cultivation of the land continued to improve, and it was found that the increased output recompensed the higher cost of production, unemployment spread amongst the workers.

It was at this point that a hitherto purely economic matter imperceptibly took on a political aspect, for the unemployment, the discontent of the masses, and the bar to emigration gave rise to social disorders which the Government could not ignore. So the Government, in order to stifle these agitations, began to grant subsidies for public works, purely as a measure of employing labor, and regardless of whether there was any demand for these works. There arose from this action a practice, very soon to be exploited by representatives of this district and others, to seek State subsidies for public works in cases where it served their own or the ends of the workers' unions. And here it must be added that the demands for State grants for public works—canals, roads, etc., in fact, works touching the improvement of the soil—were actuated by the great capitalist landowners, who in this way became the beneficiaries of the State grants, so that here, as in other branches of production upon a large scale, capital and labor found themselves in agreement in the matter of appealing for State aid in the accomplishment of personal interests.

The objects of the Socialist leaders of the workers' union, which was gradually becoming enriched and supported by minor organizations (cooperative production, consumption and land management, housing, workers' councils), were simple and straightforward: they aimed at the absolute control of labor by the unions, including its regulation and distribution. To this end it was essential that they should exercise an iron discipline, disclaiming compromise as much in the matter of the work as of the workers.

The varying psychology of the population, their sudden and swift evolution, demanded that this discipline imposed by the unions should be of an almost feudal, even mediæval character, and it expressed itself under the form of a very harsh boycott. In those little villages in a country where political enthusiasm is easily roused, the boycott assumed the proportions of cruel tyranny to a primitive people. The workingman who did not bend to the will of the Socialist leaders and join a local league could not live, not only as a citizen but even as a human being. He was immediately cut off and abandoned by both friends and relations, who feared a like isolation if they upheld him. He was insulted, hissed, mocked, threatened and scorned when he put in an appearance. And besides the torment of this moral isolation, all manner of other obstacles and difficulties were put in the way of the satisfaction of his simplest daily needs, for shopkeepers were forbidden by the league to supply him with bread, meat, wine or other food. They even went so far as to deny milk to sick children, or burial to the dead, if they were connected with the family of the boycotted man, who was, in fact, treated worse than a leper, worse than one stricken with the plague. He could only appeal to his conscience, which had nothing with which to reproach him but with refusing to submit to tiresome interference in the simplest and most fundamental rights of civilized existence to which he was entitled: the authorities, the police and magistrates, who could easily have proved him in the right, were powerless against the moral and material expulsion the unfortunate man had brought upon himself. He had no choice but to submit, to give way before his opponents, confess his guilt and enter the league.

So it was in the agricultural districts that the Socialist spirit grew, that the power and discipline of the workers' unions continued to be the ruling force, that the union, master of all labor, arbitrary tyrannizer over league members and the entire economic system of the district, was allowed to persist. The Socialist leaders adopted that attitude and assumed the powers of dictators—but poor dictators, even though they managed to bring to their feet simple citizens, capitalists, the working classes, even the authorities—little dictators who lacked neither the stupid pretensions which only rendered them ridiculous, nor the tragic element of a power based upon continual uncertainty and doubt, defiance and hatred, and which spurred them on their erratic course which hovered between unwarranted high-handedness and the most pacific concessions.

But at last the accumulated forces of hate, vengeance, suffering and humiliation broke loose. They plotted together and combined, and then they acted. All the outraged interests, both moral and material, which had fermented for so long beneath the surface, were doomed to burst forth in a reaction whose violence was measured by the long period of its compression. It burst forth and found in the Fascist movement a channel, a guide and a flag.

The Palazzo d'Accursio Massacre

As has already been observed, at the time of the political elections of the 16th November 1919, the activities of the *Fasci di combattimento* were feeble and their effect negligible. The *Fasci* in fact confined themselves to a testimony of their good faith, and a promise of action within the terms of the program drawn up at the council of the 23rd March 1919. On the whole, the elections ran a smooth course; there was only one fatality in all Italy. The Fascists attributed this order to the fact that the Socialist domination was so strong that it did not permit of any action whatsoever from the other parties. This fact supports the theory that Fascism was then only in its infancy as an active body.

The elections of 1919 gave an unexpected success to the revolutionary parties, who gained 156 out of the 535 seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

The first symptom of the grave menace which the Socialists saw in this victory occurred at the opening of the session on the 1st December 1919. The 156 revolutionary deputies were to appear wearing a red button-hole. At the very moment when the King entered the Camera to make the royal speech, they left the building in silence.

From that date, throughout the kingdom, revolutionary activities continued to increase.

Upon Giolitti's advent to power, following Nitti on the 16th June 1920, there was a notable decrease in these activities, due in part to the fact that Giolitti dealt with a firmer hand than had Nitti with the leaders of the Socialist organizations, whose activities were henceforth deprived of any State aid whatsoever.

But for all that, up until the month of September 1920 Italy certainly gave the impression of being the prey of the acutest disorganization and the most outrageous revolutionary follies, especially in the matter of propaganda speeches. The mania for strikes in every branch of industry, not excepting the public services, reached the limit of its tragicomedy. The slightest excuse served as a pretext for the holding up of production in the most essential as well as in the luxury industries. The offending of a single workman's susceptibilities was sufficient excuse for paralyzing the life of whole cities; and since public authority, owing to disorganization in those branches which were most vital to the life of the public, no longer possessed their old powers, the railwaymen refused to convey the police to the scene of the disorder—all this occurred without the sanction of the employers.

Individuals still continued to live in dread of violence. Anything which savored of the middle classes was still an object of aggression. Motorcars could not travel about the country or pass through the outskirts of certain towns without running the risk of being made the target of stones thrown by peasants and workmen. Everything which savored of authorized administration, patriotism or nationalism was held up to ridicule and abuse, and individuals were likewise liable, so that the celebrations for the first anniversary of the victory had perforce to be suspended. Officers here and there, wearing medals, incurred abuse; and the very name of ex-service man—or, even worse, volunteer—laid a man open to scorn and humiliation. On the other hand, in the country a political movement was on foot for the rehabilitation of deserters from the war, a movement which resulted in the famous amnesty granted by Nitti's Government.

The economic disorders did not, however, eclipse the progressive activities of the Socialists. The ease with which the political leaders obtained the moral support and favor of the authorities reached a point when the Government granted them all the concessions of an economic nature to which they laid claim, and these concessions, added to the victory won from capitalism in the question of salaries and working hours, drove the workers to the ranks of the Socialists. The Labor Confederation reached its height in the first half of 1920, with 1,200,000 adherents, when it placed itself at the service of the Socialist party.

In the country the outrages became ever more numerous. There was a series of strikes resembling the industrial strikes, which involved the burning down of houses, the killing of cattle, and the abandoning of harvests and beasts alike to their fate. New contracts comprising ridiculous demands were drawn up and imposed upon employers. Besides an absurd new system regarding the division of profits, whereby, in métayers' contracts, the laborer drew a share substantially larger than that of the proprietor, it is enough to recall the eight-hour day which was made applicable to the land worker, and which was a feature of the wholesale transposal of the industrial system to agriculture regardless of the vast differences in the two modes of production.

In these days the spread of the Russian myth reached the fullest extent of its diffusion. Communist Russia became the ideal of the majority of the working population. The outward signs of this myth appealed to their sentiment. Beside the red flag, symbol of the revolutionary creed, they placed portraits of Lenin and the emblem of the Soviet Government. These outward signs were so broadcast over the country that one would have thought that Italy already lived in an atmosphere of revolution à la Russia, and that it was now only a matter of hours before she should pass from the old to the new régime.

This revolutionary movement reached its zenith in the months of August and September 1920, with the occupation of the factories by the workers, and it maintained its reign until the Socialists seized a considerable number of municipal and provincial offices at the end of the year.

It may be said to have commenced its decline with the incidents connected with the Palazzo d'Accursio, just as a fever declines after the crisis. On the 21st December 1920, at Bologna, while the new Socialist municipal Council was in session, a demonstration took place in the square; bombs, prepared for the purpose in the business houses of the town, were hurled from the windows of the town hall, while, in the council chamber, members of the Socialist majority and others who had made their way in amongst them, fired revolver shots across the benches against the minority. The lawyer, Giordani, who had been wounded in the war and who represented the ex-service men, was killed.

The crime aroused very strong feeling throughout Italy and was the cause of many citizens joining the ranks of the Fascists, to whom they looked to save the nation and re-establish order in view of the paralysis which seemed to have seized the Government. The Palazzo d'Accursio murder seemed to have excited that sentimental spirit calculated to consolidate the Fascist movement. In the following year, in November 1921, the *Fascist movement* had become the *Fascist party*. That year of 1921 had been spent in enlarging, shaping, selecting and conquering public opinion. In the elections of the 15th May 1921 it worked officially through the ranks of Giolitti's party, obtaining only thirty-four seats—of which only one was gained on exclusively Fascist votes—but the "preferential" votes showed that the sympathies of the middle classes were on the side of the Fascist element—young, enthusiastic, ready to fight and already fighting in the streets, in the Press, in Parliament; the only party to guarantee and to safeguard order.

Contemporarily the Socialist party was falling to pieces; at Livorno, in January 1921, the Communists broke away, and between the right and left wings of those who remained, controversy became more heated and more personal. When the groups of the proletariat broke up, the middle classes ranged themselves behind the Fascists, and from that point the issue was no longer in doubt.

What Is Fascism?

Fascism, then, would seem to be the *revolt of the middle classes,* inspired by Nationalist and Conservative ideals, to range themselves against the pretensions of the proletarian classes and the ill-distributed fortunes of the capitalists; the revolt of a class disillusioned by a peace which had failed to realize in internal politics those rewards in which they had been led to put their trust, and which in foreign politics had failed to obtain for them what they considered their rights and dues.

If we read the speeches made by the deputies appointed from the Fascist ranks in 1924 or those made by the Fascist majority in the municipal councils, it will be seen that the Fascist Zerboglio and the Socialist Zibordi had arrived at a very clear view of how things stood. Zerboglio says:

"I have noticed for myself among the Fascists a majority of students from the universities and from the central schools, ex-officers and junior officers, also old soldiers, professional men, small business men and shopkeepers, farmers and some laborers; many idealists and young hotheads inspired by burning patriotism; some out purely for excitement, and for these Fascism is a sport; some ne'er-do-wells; some men of the middle classes out to defend their personal interests, not at the expense of the general public but in their service, so far as their personal danger may be judged to constitute more or less directly that of the general public."

Zibordi says: "To Fascism belong the bellicose professions, for the most part soldiers or ex-soldiers, ruffians enrolled without distinction from the slum areas; but there is also a strong force of young men inspired by fanaticism, ideals, romanticism and a love of sport. Connected with Fascism there are also groups of citizens, struggling intellectuals and well-to-do intellectuals, the former urged by economic instinct and various other sentiments, the latter by a hatred of society and an æsthetic disdain of the extremist and tyrannizing proletariat."[2]

The Religion of the Country

In Fascism, the religion of the country—which, as Pareto puts it, is the true religion of to-day—found its strongest stimulus to expression. Such a popular movement, with such impressive ceremonial, can only be traced to a form of religious expression. The strictest rites were observed round the tombs of Fascists who had met their end; and the trees which were planted to their memory were held in almost pagan awe. The tomb of the Unknown Soldier was an object of never-ending pilgrimages; and there was a distinctly religious savor about the references to the dead which were a feature of Fascist ceremonies.

Fascism embodies the most exalted conception of the patriotic spirit, and that explains the presence in the Fascist ranks, as in the followers of any creed, of hypocrites and exploiters, whose presence, as all know who have made a study of social movements, is in itself a proof of the authenticity and sincerity of the religious impulse behind it. The very same thing applies amongst the bands of wounded and decorated soldiers, where there are frauds who have decked themselves out in false medals so as to attract public sympathy and esteem.

No Democracy in Italy

With the "March on Rome" Fascism conquered a democracy which hitherto had no true existence in Italy. Italy never had what constitutes the essence and glory of the Anglo-Saxon democracies. *The primary schools were in many districts some old pit or quarry, and higher education was*

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[2] On the formation of the Fascist groups and their psychology, see A. Zerboglio and D. Grandi, *Fascismo*, Bologna, 1922; M. Missiroli, *Il fascismo e la crisi italiana*, Bologna, 1921; A. Cappa, *Due rivoluzioni mancate*, Foligno, 1923; L. Salvatorelli, *Nazionalfascismo*, Turin, 1923; M. Vinciguerra, *Il fascismo visto da un solitario*, Turin, 1923; Un Deputato al Parlamento, *Il fascismo*, Milan, 1922.

only open to those of ample means. There was no open competition for men of talent, except in theory, for influence and favoritism had superseded the usual system of competition in examinations. Freedom from taxation, a tradition dating back to Cavour, had been abandoned in 1880; and the uneducated masses had never had any word in the conduct of the country before a reform of 1913 introduced universal suffrage. And after the war they could not be expected to put this new implement to very good use. The acquisition of the Constitutional Statute in 1847 had not earned wide popularity, for Italians traditionally owed little to parliamentary régime, their political organ having been the Communes, which took the place of party or class government, and feudal overlordship, which kept the power in the hands of certain powerful families. The formation of the Kingdom of Italy and the acquisition of freedom —in the Press, in religion, and in the holding of meetings—had not cost them very dearly; rather had they been won for them by the foreigner, or by the reflection of similar movements in France, than by their own efforts. And as for the movement for the unification of Italy, the agricultural classes had had no hand therein, or if they had, their part had been indifferent or sometimes even hostile.

Recent generations had, moreover, extinguished the feeble flame of democracy which did exist in rude form in Italy. The criticism which was brought to bear upon this supposed democracy which yet had created no schools, produced no great book, nor any man worthy of his times, very soon stripped it of all it had been supposed to stand for. And the amazing critical and philosophical renaissance which started with Benedetto Croce in the year 1900 soon brought down the last fence and imbued the age with an anti-democratic spirit. The most interesting political developments in recent times had been nationalism on the one hand and syndicalism on the other, both anti-democratic. Italians began to believe in individuals, and ceased to regard minorities as a negligible body; they began to look ahead, rather in the spirit of Machiavelli, seeing in a nation actual possibilities to which Italy, far from renouncing, should attain. The war, whose realism, followed by a wretched Peace, had cast all these illusions to the ground, had fallen crushingly upon those who once cherished hopes of a future international and democratic Italy: and the defection of Wilson, once acclaimed as a great prophet only to be considered shortly afterwards as the enemy and betrayer of Italy, had struck the death-blow to democratic ideals.

Very few men retained hopes of a democracy, therefore, in the months when Fascism was gathering in its members and getting under way.

When the Fascists presented themselves before the democratic scaffold of the Italian State, they found there neither sentinel nor watchman.

II. LEADERSHIP

BENITO MUSSOLINI

Mussolini, whether or not he assumes the title, has many of the aspects of an emperor and is the dictator of present-day Italy. He is an admirable illustration of the great leader theory of social development. While the crisis following the World War, with its social disintegration, gave him his chance, few would deny that his personality and his qualities of leadership have vitally affected the entire political and economic structure of Italy. The reader should ask himself: how far is Mussolini the product of social forces which he could not control, and how far has he dominated or modified the social forces which he encountered?

Mussolini was born July 29, 1883, at Dovia in the Commune of Predappio. His father was a blacksmith, a revolutionist, and an atheist, while his mother was a woman of deep religious spirit. There is no question that Mussolini imbibed some of his radical views from his father, who he himself says "had been in prison for his ideas." The father was an ardent believer in the anarchistic and revolutionary doctrines of Michael Bakunin and taught the boy that the political system in Italy must be overthrown by violence. In the biography by M. C. Sarfatti, authorized by Mussolini himself, we find the following account of his early boyhood days:

> "At five he was a very naughty, troublesome little boy ready for every kind of mischief. In that village schoolroom of the inn, presided over by his mother, he was often as not on all fours underneath the benches pinching the bare legs of the other boys and girls. His face frightened them whenever he wanted a thing, so determined he looked, with his immense dark shining eyes beneath the big bulging forehead.
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> "One little girl, the prettiest in the class, stood in peculiar terror of him. He would be on the watch for her in the fields, behind a bush on her way to school, and would spring out upon her suddenly. He would forbid her to cry, and she had to go with him meekly, a bit fascinated, no doubt, as well as dominated."

This account, whether true or not, is interesting because it shows the type of material which Mussolini would like to have us read about him. His ideal for the younger generation is well illustrated in the Ballilla (Boy Fascist Scout) motto: "Better to live an hour like a lion than one hundred years like a sheep."

As a young man he once wrecked a beer hall in Zurich because he was overcharged sixteen cents. At eighteen we find him teaching school. He had some difficulty after an election—some say he smashed a ballot box. At any rate, he left the country and went to Switzerland. There he eked out a precarious living doing odd jobs, meanwhile studying in the Universities of Lausanne and Geneva. At Lausanne he studied at the feet of Wilfred Pareto, the political economist. He felt that "here was a teacher who was outlining the fundamental economic philosophy of the future."

Nietzsche was another who profoundly affected Mussolini; he absorbed his philosophy and accepted it. The writing of George Sorel, the French syndicalist, *Reflections on Violence,* struck a responsive chord in Mussolini and there is little doubt that his belief in direct action partially comes from this source.[3] He also says that Le Bon's *Psychology of the Crowd* interested him intensely. It can thus be seen that, intense Italian nationalist that he is, Mussolini is yet the product of many foreign forces. No great leader in the world to-day can still be isolated from the social impress of alien ideas. In his *Autobiography* Mussolini is also frank to admit that the greatest teacher of all for him was life. He thus admitted that he lived his way into his thinking most of all.

In Switzerland he lived with the workers and helped to organize unions and promote strikes, so that he was expelled from one canton after another, and finally from the country itself. Humorously enough, it was only after he became Prime Minister that Switzerland removed the legal bar to his entry into the country.

In 1908 he took part in the agrarian conflicts and was sentenced to ten days in jail, afterwards being considered by the police a dangerous revolutionary. He then became editor of *Popolo,* a socialistic paper in Austria. Here he became deeply interested in the philosophy of Nietzsche. He wrote in an article that "the Italian frontier does not end at Ala," and was promptly expelled from Austria.

In 1910 he became editor of a paper at Forli, Italy, called *La Lotta di Classe,* in which he energetically championed Socialism. He opposed the military expedition which the Italian Government sent to Tripoli, even urging the people to resist the authorities. For this he was sentenced to five months' imprisonment. At twenty-nine he was made editor of the official organ of the Socialist party, the *Avanti.* Under him the circulation increased from 40,000 to over 100,000. Because he believed in the intervention of Italy in the War, he resigned his editorship and was thrown out of the Socialist party. He immediately founded a paper of his own, *Il Popolo d'Italia,* securing 4000 lire for the purpose from patriotic advertisers. In April, 1915, he was arrested for advocating revolution. Shortly afterwards he was slightly wounded in a duel with an orthodox Socialist, Claudio Treves. Mussolini in his autobiography tells of two other duels, one of which was over "some parliamentary squabble."

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[3] G. Binzer-Dresden, *Die Führerauslese im Faschismus.* Langensalza, Germany.

When war was declared Mussolini served as a private and was wounded in 1917. After the war he continued to call himself a revolutionist, although he ceased to call himself a socialist. On March 23, 1919, Mussolini founded his first "Fascio die Combattimento," or fighting groups. Their program included demands for a republic, universal suffrage, international disarmament, abolition of compulsory military service, the dissolution of the banks and the stock exchange, confiscation of unproductive capital, and the transference of industry to syndicates of technicians and workers.

In the elections of 1919 Mussolini stood as a candidate from Milan but secured only a few votes, and the socialists described him as "a corpse to be buried in a ditch." Shortly afterwards he was arrested by Premier Nitti for "armed plotting against the security of the state," because he had supported the military adventures of d'Annunzio. Nitti soon released him, due to the pressure of public opinion, so the Fascists say.

In 1920, when the workers seized the factories, Mussolini approved of the action; but he was now strongly opposed to Socialism and Bolshevism and was soon intent on winning support from conservatives. He built up a strongly disciplined party of Fascists, ruled from the top. In the 1921 elections Mussolini and thirty-seven other Fascists were elected.

By 1922 Mussolini believed that he could organize a Fascist government. He broke the strike of August 1, 1922, and came out strongly for property and the conservative forces. In a speech he openly championed the monarchy and so secured the backing of the army. He then prepared for the march on Rome. The King was afraid to oppose him because so many military leaders were on his side. Consequently he was summoned to head the government. His cabinet was formed in seven hours.

He himself assumed the portfolios of Foreign Affairs, Secretary of the Interior, and later those of the War, Marine, and Air Ministries. In June, 1924, Matteotti, a sincere Socialist member of Parliament, was murdered by prominent Fascists. At the trial most of them stated that they had done the deed on the direct orders of Mussolini. We know that Mussolini had been greatly angered at the attacks which Matteotti had made against him. On June 6th, in a debate in the parliamentary Chamber, Mussolini stated that they ought to follow the Russian example, which would mean that the opposition "would have got a charge of lead in their backs."

After the Matteotti affair had entirely blown over, Mussolini said in the Chamber on January 3, 1925: "Before this Assembly, and before the people of Italy, I declare that I alone assume the moral, political, and historical responsibility for all that has occurred." In January, 1926, he wrote: "The abduction of Matteotti and its consequences belong morally, politically, and historically to Fascism."

There have been a number of plots to kill Mussolini but in only one—that of a demented English woman, Violet Gibson, on April 7, 1926—was he wounded, and then only slightly.

Mussolini is not an outstanding orator, but he has great force, and his sentences and style are like a series of explosions of a rapid fire gun.

There is little question that Mussolini will go down in history as one of the most remarkable men of our generation. No man could have started penniless and won for himself the dictatorship of a great nation without having achieved a secure place in the records of our age. All will have to recognize the extraordinary magnetism of the man and his great ability to organize and control. No man could be admired by so many without having good qualities.

Apparently he has been definitely anti-religious. The Pope has already recognized this and Mussolini has many times admitted it. In the introduction to a biography of himself Mussolini says: "The people are like little children. They ask but they despise him who yields to them and spoils them. If the Eternal Father were to say to me, 'I am your friend,' I would put up my fists to him. . . . I want to make a mark on my era with my will, like a lion with its claw." Only a man with a grossly exaggerated superiority complex could make a statement of this kind, throwing down the gauntlet to God himself. Mussolini admits that his favorite characters in history are Cæsar and Napoleon; his favorite philosophers Machiavelli and Nietzsche. In some respects Mussolini has been rather puritanical. At least he says: "I do not drink, I do not smoke, and I am not interested in cards or games. I pity those who lose time, money, and sometimes all of life itself, in the frenzy of games. As for the love of the table, especially in these last years, my meals are as frugal as those of a pauper. In every hour of my life, it is the spiritual element which leads me on. Money has no lure for me."

Mussolini has made so many contradictory statements that almost anything can be proved against him by quoting from his speeches; but friend and foe will admit that he is not a partizan advocate of liberty and democracy. Note his words:

> "Fascism, that was not afraid of being called reactionary while many of today's liberals lay prone before the triumphant beast, has no hesitation today in calling itself illiberal and anti-liberal. Fascism will not fall victim to this

kind of vulgar play. Let it be known, therefore, once and for all, that Fascism knows no idols and worships no fetishes; it has already passed over and if necessary will turn once more and quietly pass over the more or less decayed corpse of the Goddess Liberty."

(Mussolini, *"Forza e Consenso,"* in *Gerarchia,* p. 803, March 1923.)

In 1910 Mussolini said:

"I believe that the parliamentary system, a fallacious and faltering political institution, is destined inevitably to perish. . . . Violence today has become the best condition of real health for a people. . . . For to the present esthetics of filthy lucre we oppose—and let it come, let it come!—an esthetic of violence and blood."

(Quoted by Schneider, *Making the Fascist State,* pp. 264-265.)

In his *Autobiography* Mussolini tells of his first speech to the Chamber of Deputies after assuming power. The only part he quotes follows:

"I could have made of this dull and gray hall a bivouac for corpses. I could have nailed up the doors of parliament and have established an exclusively Fascist government. I could have done those things, but—at least for a time—I did not do them."

Why did Mussolini not do these things for a time? Because he did not have to. It was better, so he thought, to do them without slaughter if he could. Eventually he abandoned universal suffrage, and proudly declared: "To-day we solemnly bury that lie,—democratic universal suffrage." (*Italian Historical Society, Pamphlet No. 2,* p. 8.)

In 1925 Mussolini said:

"There are certain gentlemen who define themselves as officiating priests of a mysterious divinity called public opinion. We do not care a damn for this public opinion. Fortunately we are still an army."

(*Stampa,* June 23, 1925.)

So completely has Mussolini abandoned the democratic ideal that he does not believe in universal education for all and no longer provides state education for every one. He says of the system: "This throws on the scrap heap the democratic concept which considered a state school as an institution for every one—a basket into which treasure and waste are piled together."

The historian will almost be compelled to recognize that Mussolini has based his life and his cause on a theory of violence. Listen to him again:

(September, 1920) "Struggle is the origin of all things because life is full of contrasts. . . . Today it may be the struggle of economic purposeful war, but the day in which there is no more struggle will be the day of melancholy, the end."

(April, 1921) "We do not make violence a school, a system, or still worse, an esthetic. We are violent whenever it is necessary, but I add immediately that it is necessary to conserve in the necessary violence of Fascism a line, a character clearly aristocratic, or if you prefer, clearly surgical. Our punitive expeditions, all that violence which fills the daily papers, should always be of the character of a just rectification and a legitimate reprisal." [This statement could almost be duplicated in the pronouncements of the Ku Klux Klan in America.]

(May, 1921) "It was the 'prestige of violence' that gave victory to the Fascist candidates. . . . At the bottom of the present Fascist victory [elections of May, 1921] one encounters a case of 'force that creates right.'"

(September, 1922) "Violence is not immoral. Violence is sometimes moral. . . . Furthermore, violence is decisive, because at the end of July and August, in forty-eight hours of systematic violence, we obtained that which we had not obtained in forty-eight years of preaching and propaganda. Therefore, our violence is resolutory of a situation; it is conscientious, highly moral, sacrosanct, and necessary."

Mussolini has also been a very rigid and able dictator. He says he does not hesitate to scrap any individual in the party to prevent secession and that "having created the Party, I have always dominated it."

No doubt the greatest achievement of Mussolini is that he took an Italy torn by dissension and disorder and weakened by selfish politicians, and restored order, rebuilt the financial life of the country so that its credit was good, and created in himself a symbol of nationalistic power and patriotism which the masses could worship. This is no mean achievement and history will always bow in reverence before such a leader, while still recognizing that, as in the case of Napoleon, the damage he has done is also incalculable.

The historian will also record that Mussolini has been highly opportunistic in his life and action. Even the American ambassador, Richard Washburn Child, who says "the Duce is now the greatest figure of this sphere and time," admits Mussolini is one of the world's greatest opportunists. He has changed over from being a rabid socialist to a rabid militarist. He has at times denounced the King, and the Pope, at other times he has strongly supported them. When in Switzerland he wrote a book, *God and Country,* in which he said, in the preface: "God does not exist—Religion in science is an absurdity, in practice an immorality, in men a disease." To-day Mussolini most of the time claims to believe in religion.

His philosophy has been similarly changing according to the exigencies of the hour. This is perhaps one of the chief characteristics in which he differs from Lenin. Lenin was consistent in his major philosophy throughout his life. He never wavered, and he gave himself unsparingly to the cause of the workingman. Even when compelled by force of circumstances to give way or to compromise, Lenin made it clear that it was a temporary retreat. He did this in the case of the peace with Germany and in that of the New Economic Policy.

The greatest leaders of history are not the ones who have changed their principles to fit their personal ambitions. It is doubtful if Mussolini will have the same place in the history of ethical idealism as has Lenin. The sociological student, however, should note that both men are to a large degree products of their environment and of the social forces of their time. If Mussolini had been born in the United States and subjected to the training of Harvard or Yale, it is hard to conceive that he would have turned out to be so very different from other Harvard and Yale graduates. The chances seem good that if he had been born in America, he would have been a captain of finance. The theory that the biologic heredity forces would have compelled him to become a dictator of Italy or some other country, no matter where he had been born, is of doubtful validity. As students of social evolution we must recognize that there is a constant interlocking development between the great leader and his environment. Society exerts a powerful molding influence on the individual, and in some cases the individual may change slightly the contour of the social fabric.

III. THEORY

Fascist theory is particularly elusive because it changes to some extent to fit the action pattern of the moment. Nevertheless one can uncover certain basic presuppositions in both the philosophic and the economic field.

1. THE PHILOSOPHIC BASIS OF FASCISM [4]

In the definition of Fascism, the first point to grasp is the comprehensive, or as Fascists say, the "totalitarian" scope of its doctrine, which concerns itself not only with political organization and political tendency, but with the whole will and thought and feeling of the nation.

There is a second and equally important point. Fascism is not a philosophy. Much less is it a religion. It is not even a political theory which may be stated in a series of formulae. The significance of Fascism is not to be grasped in the special theses which it from time to time assumes. When on occasion it has announced a program, a goal, a concept to be realized in action, Fascism has not hesitated to abandon them when in practice these were found to be inadequate or inconsistent with the principle of Fascism. Fascism has never been willing to compromise its future. Mussolini has boasted that he is a *tempista,* that his real pride is in "good timing." He makes decisions and acts on them at the precise moment when all the conditions and considerations which make them feasible and opportune are properly matured. This is a way of saying that Fascism returns to the most rigorous meaning of Mazzini's "Thought and Action," whereby the two terms are so perfectly coincident that no thought has value which is not already expressed in action. The real "views" of the *Duce* are those which he formulates and executes at one and the same time.

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[4] *Foreign Affairs,* Jan. 1928, "The Philosophic Basis of Fascism," by Giovanni Gentile, p. 299.

Is Fascism therefore "anti-intellectual," as has been so often charged? It is eminently anti-intellectual, eminently Mazzinian, that is, if by intellectualism we mean the divorce of thought from action, of knowledge from life, of brain from heart, of theory from practice. Fascism is hostile to all Utopian systems which are destined never to face the test of reality. It is hostile to all science and all philosophy which remain matters of mere fancy or intelligence. It is not that Fascism denies value to culture, to the higher intellectual pursuits by which thought is invigorated as a source of action. Fascist anti-intellectualism holds in scorn a product peculiarly typical of the educated classes in Italy: the *leterato*—the man who plays with knowledge and with thought without any sense of responsibility for the practical world. It is hostile not so much to culture as to bad culture, the culture which does not educate, which does not make men, but rather creates pedants and esthetes, egotists in a word, men morally and politically indifferent. It has no use, for instance, for the man who is "above the conflict" when his country or its important interests are at stake.

By virtue of its repugnance for "intellectualism," Fascism prefers not to waste time constructing abstract theories about itself. But when we say that it is not a system or a doctrine we must not conclude that it is a blind praxis or a purely instinctive method. If by system or philosophy we mean a living thought, a principle of universal character daily revealing its inner fertility and significance, then Fascism is a perfect system, with a solidly established foundation and with a rigorous logic in its development; and all who feel the truth and the vitality of the principle work day by day for its development, now doing, now undoing, now going forward, now retracing their steps, according as the things they do prove to be in harmony with the principle or to deviate from it.

And we come finally to a third point.

The Fascist system is not a political system, but it has its center of gravity in politics. Fascism came into being to meet serious problems of politics in post-war Italy. And it presents itself as a political method. But in confronting and solving political problems it is carried by its very nature, that is to say by its method, to consider moral, religious, and philosophical questions and to unfold and demonstrate the comprehensive totalitarian character peculiar to it. It is only after we have grasped the political character of the Fascist principle that we are able adequately to appreciate the deeper concept of life which underlies that principle and from which the principle springs. The political doctrine of Fascism is not the whole of Fascism. It is rather its more prominent aspect and in general its most interesting one.

2. ECONOMIC DOCTRINES

(*a*) *The Syndical Doctrine of Fascism*[5]

Before proceeding to examine the fundamental law which revolutionizes all the doctrines that have heretofore been promulgated on the relations between capital and labor, it is well to review the principles on which Fascist syndicalism rests. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that we are dealing with a movement which is constantly developing and perfecting itself through experience, with the result that although its basic postulates are fixed, some of its aspects may be modified in accordance with the exigencies and needs of the times.

The cornerstone on which the syndical edifice of Fascism is erected is the motto: "The mother country must not be ignored, it must be conquered." This formula, aimed at the uplifting of the nation, contains the total force, both collective and individual, arising from the new doctrine.

The ideal of mother country, not however as an unattainable goal, but as a real and active force, constituted by the entire complex organism of the nation, of which each citizen is both a creator and a creature, stands out above all other interests, above all selfish motives.

The logical conclusion from this premise is that the interest of an individual or of a class cannot but identify itself with the people as a whole, that the fate of each is closely connected with the fate of all those who live in the same land, who have the same blood running through their veins, and who are governed by the same laws. Whenever a person opposes his own individual interest to that of the nation, he is exhibiting a narrow, selfish, immediate, and material attitude—an attitude contrary to the principles of Fascism, which wishes to develop in the people the recognition of spiritual values and civic responsibility.

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[5] Reprinted from A. Pennachio, *The Corporative State,* New York: Italian Historical Society Publications, 1927, pp. 30-32.

If we admit the mediate, but not always immediate relationship, between the individual interest and that of the group, it follows that the efforts of the individual and of the classes must be in harmony with the interest of the nation, if there is to be progressive national development.

Such an ideal is not possible without a just equilibrium of the various forces, without a just recognition of the needs and rights of each, without, in short, the collaboration of the classes. Contrary to the socialist and destructive theories, Fascism proves that the interests of the various social classes do not conflict with each other but rather supplement each other, since they regard each other as mutually indispensable elements working for the progress of the entire nation, a progress which can only take place by increasing the productive capacity, that is, the wealth of the nation.

The economic welfare of each individual class is bound up with the increase and perfection of production. In the light of the bitter experience of the past, both in and out of Italy (the Russian Revolution, and, in Italy, the occupation of the factories), Fascism denies that manual workers can take the place of the capitalist, the entrepreneur, and the expert, and fulfil the various functions of these. Therefore it upholds the sound conception of division of labor. Each of the classes mentioned above has its own task which is clearly defined in the productive process, and which will be improved and strengthened by the harmonious collaboration of each. Fascism denies the practicability of the theory of the collectivists, which advocates the fusion of similar elements, but, on the other hand, it wishes to bring about a sounder collectivism by the union of diverse elements, performing different tasks but aimed toward one and the same end. In substance, Fascism conceives of the nation as an entity, as a huge machine of which every part has its own individual function, but is closely related to the others.

It becomes clear, therefore, that none of the different social classes must be favored at the expense of the others; the benefit derived from an ever increasing production must be justly divided among all the factors of production, in proportion to the contribution and risk of each, so that it may be transformed into a new impulse for obtaining an ultimate profit.

Proceeding to the realization of these postulates, the problem of securing the desired class collaboration presents itself. It is also important to provide means for harmonizing the various exigencies when an agreement cannot be preserved or when one cannot be reached by peaceful and normal methods. Fascism has solved the first problem by organizing both the employers and the employees in the same manner and by placing them on a footing of equality. The second problem has been solved by appointing the State to act as judge in all controversies that have not been satisfactorily settled by the contending parties.

By the direct intervention of the State in conflicts between capital and labor, Fascism firmly rejects and annuls the liberal and democratic doctrines that have thus far prevailed, for these doctrines imply indifference and absenteeism on the part of the State. It has, on the other hand, adopted a social régime constructed on absolutely new bases. In addition, by the principle of state intervention, Fascism has, as a logical consequence, also taken steps to regulate juridically the relations between capital and labor.

(*b*) *The Charter of Labor*

This charter is supposed to express in concrete form the fundamental Fascist doctrine of the supremacy of the State. It is the duty of the State to intervene in industrial disputes. The serious economic depression of 1927 made Mussolini determine to place Italian currency on a gold basis. In order to do this he decided to reduce wages from 10 to 20 per cent. The Labor Charter helped to accomplish this without as great hardship and bitterness as would otherwise have occurred.[6] It was promulgated on April 21st, 1927—the day on which the founding of Rome is celebrated.

Since the adoption of the Labor Charter a law for compulsory insurance of workers against tuberculosis has been adopted and also one setting up Labor Exchanges, under the control of the state, over every kind of employment and making registration in these exchanges compulsory.

Text of the Labor Charter

Article 1.—The Italian nation is an organism possessing a purpose, a life, and instruments of action superior to those possessed by the individuals or groups of individuals who compose it. The nation is a moral, political, and economic unity integrally embodied in the Fascist State.

Article 2.—Labor in all its manifestations, whether mental, technical, or manual, is a social duty. It is by virtue of this fact, and by virtue of this fact alone, that labor falls within the purview of the State. When considered from a national point of view, production in its manifold forms constitutes a unity, its many objectives coinciding and being generally definable as the well being of those who produce, and the development of national power.

Article 3.—Organization whether by trades or by syndicates is unrestricted, but only the syndicate legally recognized by the State and subject to State control is empowered:

To legally represent the particular division of employers or employees for which it has been formed;

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[6] Cf. article by Augusto Turati, Secretary General of Fascist Party in Benn, *Survey of Fascism,* 1928.

To protect the interests of these as against the State or as against other trade organizations;

To negotiate collective labor contracts binding upon all those engaged in the branch in question;

To levy assessments and to exercise, in connection with the branch, specified functions of public import.

Article 4.—The collective labor contract gives concrete expression to the common interest of the various elements of production (capital and labor) by reconciling conflicting interests of employees and subordinating these to the higher interests of production at large.

Article 5.—The Labor Court is the organ through which the State acts in settling labor controversies, whether these arise in connection with observances of rules or agreements already made or in connection with new conditions to be fixed for labor.

Article 6.—The trade associations legally recognized guarantee equality before the law to employees alike. They maintain discipline in labor and production and promote measures of efficiency in both. The Corporations constitute the unifying organization of the elements of production (capital and labor) and represent the common interests of them all. By virtue of this joint representation, and since the interests of production are interests of the Nation, the Corporations are recognized by law as organs of the State.

Article 7.—The Corporative State regards private initiative in the field of production as the most useful and efficient instrument for furthering the interests of the Nation. Since private enterprise is a function of import to the nation, its management is responsible to the State for general policies of production. From the fact that the elements of production (labor and capital) are coöperators in a common enterprise, reciprocal rights and duties devolve upon them. The employee, whether laborer, clerk, or skilled workman, is an active partner in the economic enterprise, the management of which belongs to the employer who shoulders the responsibility for it.

Article 8.—Trade associations of employers are under obligation to increase business, to improve quality of output, and to reduce costs in every possible way. The organizations representing practitioners of the liberal professions or of the arts, and the associations of state employees, work together for furthering the interests of science, letters and the arts, for improving the quality of production and for realizing the moral ideals of the corporative organization of the State.

Article 9.—The State intervenes in economic production, only in cases where private initiative is lacking or insufficient or where political interests of the State are involved. Such intervention may take the form of supervision, of promotion, or of direct management.

Article 10.—In labor controversies involving groups, there can be no recourse to the Labor Court until the corporation has exhausted its efforts for adjustment. In controversies involving individuals in connection with applications or interpretations of collective contracts, the trade associations are empowered to offer their mediation for settlements. Jurisdiction in such controversies belongs to the ordinary Labor Courts supplemented by the referees appointed by the trade associations concerned.

Article 11.—The trade associations are required to regulate by collective contracts labor relations between the employers and the employees whom they represent. The collective contract is made between associations of primary grade, under the guidance and with the approval of the central organizations, with the provision that the association of higher grade may make substitutions in cases specified in the constitutions of the associations or by law. All collective labor contracts must, under penalty of voidance, contain specific statements of the rules governing discipline, of trial periods, of the amounts and manner of payment of wages, of schedules of working hours.

Article 12.—The operation of the syndicates, the mediation of the Corporations and the decisions of the Labor Court guarantee correspondence between wages and the normal demands of living, the possibilities of production and the yield from labor. The fixing of wages is withdrawn from any general rule and entrusted to agreements between parties in the collective contracts.

Article 13.—Losses occasioned by business crises and by variations of exchange must be equitably divided between the elements of production (capital and labor). Statistics relating to conditions of production and labor, to variations of exchange, to changes in standards of living, as issued by the various governmental departments, by the Central Bureau of Statistics and by the legally recognized trade associations, and as coordinated and elaborated by the Ministry of Corporations, will constitute the criteria for adjusting the interests of the various branches of trade, and of harmonizing the interests of the various classes, with those of other classes, *vis-à-vis* of each other, and of the higher interests of production in general.

Article 14.—When wages are paid on the basis of piece work and payments are made at intervals greater than two weeks, suitable weekly or bi-weekly accountings must be furnished. Night work not comprised in regular periodical shifts must be paid for by some percentage in addition to the regular daily wage. When wages are based on piece work, piece payments must be so fixed that the faithful worker of average productive ability may have a chance to earn a minimum in excess of the basic wage.

Article 15.—The employee is entitled to a weekly holiday falling on Sundays. Collective contracts will apply this principle so far as it is compatible with existing laws, and with the technical requirements of the enterprise concerned; and within the same limits, they will aim to respect civil and religious solemnities in accord with local traditions. Working hours must be scrupulously and earnestly observed by employees.

Article 16.—After a year of uninterrupted service, the employee in enterprises that function the year round, is entitled to an annual vacation with wages.

Article 17.—In concerns functioning the year round, the employee is entitled, in case of discharge through no fault of his own, to a compensation proportioned to his years of service. Similar compensation is likewise due in case of death.

Article 18.—Transfers of ownership of concerns offering steady work do not affect labor contracts, and the employees of such concerns retain all their rights and claims against the new proprietors. Likewise the illness of an employee, not in excess of a specified duration, does not cancel the labor contract. Call to service in the Army or Navy or in the Fascist Militia (the Volunteer Militia for National Safety) does not constitute valid cause for dismissal.

Article 19.—Infractions of discipline on the part of employees and acts disturbing to the normal functioning of a concern, are punished, according to the seriousness of the offense, by fine, by suspension, or in grave cases, by immediate discharge without compensation. The cases in which the employer may impose the respective penalties of fine, suspension, or discharge without compensation, must be specified.

Article 20.—The employee newly hired is subject to a trial period, during which there is a reciprocal right to cancel the labor contract, the employee in such case being entitled to wages only for the time of actual service.

Article 21.—The collective labor contract extends its benefits and its discipline to home workers as well. Special regulations are to be promulgated by the State to assure proper hygienic conditions for home labor.

Article 22.—The State has exclusive power to determine and control the factors governing employment and unemployment, since these are indices of the general conditions of production and labor.

Article 23.—Employment bureaus are to be managed by the Corporations through commissions having equal representation of employers and employees. Employers are required to practise selection among workers with right of choice among the various registrants, giving preference, however, to such as are members of the Fascist Party and of the Fascist syndicates, and to priority of registration.

Article 24.—The trade associations of workers are required to practise selection among workers with a view to constant improvement in the technical skill and the moral character of personnel.

Article 25.—The corporations must supervise the observance of the laws governing safety, accident prevention, and sanitation by the individuals subject to the central organization of associations.

Article 26.—Insurance is another manifestation of the principle of collaboration. Employers and employees must bear proportionate shares of such burdens. The State, working through the corporations and the trade associations, will strive to coördinate and unify as far as is possible the agencies and the system of insurance.

Article 27.—The Fascist State is working:—

a) for improvements in accident insurance;

b) for improvements and extensions of motherhood insurance;

c) for insurance against professional diseases and tuberculosis as a step toward general insurance against illness in general;

d) for improvements in insurance on involuntary unemployment;

e) for the adoption of special forms of endowment insurance (*dotatizie*) for young workers.

Article 28.—Protection of the interests of employees in legal and administrative problems arising in connection with accident and other forms of social insurance devolves upon the associations which represent them. Collective labor contracts will provide, where technically possible, for the establishment of mutual funds for insurance against illness, such funds to consist of contributions from employers and employees and to be administered by representatives of both classes under the general supervision of the corporations.

Article 29.—The trade associations have the right and the duty to provide relief for the workers they represent whether these be members or non-members. Such functions of relief must be exercised directly by committees of the associations themselves and must not be delegated to other institutions or corporations save for purposes of a general character which transcend the particular interests of the branch of production concerned.

Article 30.—Training and education, especially technical training of the workers they represent, whether these be members or non-members, is one of the principal duties of the trade associations. The associations must lend their support to the national institutes which deal with recreation and free time, and to other enterprises of education.

(*c*) *The Significance of Fascist Syndicalism*[7]

In asserting that the fascist revolution will have a decisive influence on the politics and ideas of the twentieth century, we mean that it truly represents a new reality and that it is a revolution with not merely a national, but also a world significance.

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[7] From the contribution of Edmundo Rossoni to *A Survey of Fascism* (Benn, 1928), p. 148.

The choice, indeed, lies between Rome and Moscow, although democratic countries laugh at the idea. They keep Moscow at a distance, and yet seem unwilling to borrow anything from Rome. They are convinced that democracy, as now practised, is the best means of government yet tried. But, meanwhile, the pressure of destructive forces continues, and it is clear that democracy must end in socialism—that is, in a system more or less akin to that adopted by Moscow. On the other hand, however, there is in many countries a new spirit of political and economic inquiry; and many are now turning their thoughts to Rome, even though they fail to understand the real meaning of Fascism. This want of understanding is shown by the fact that so many purely conservative elements regard Fascism merely as a conservative force, and quite fail to grasp the whole body of ideas and life-giving principles which have grown out of the revolution of October 1922.

It is only quite recently that a few foreign writers and journalists have succeeded in giving a satisfactory explanation of fascist phenomena. The greatest interest has certainly centered on the corporate organization of society, not only as a new and more fruitful system of relations between the industrial classes, but also as a basis for the reorganization of the modern State. It is interesting to note that, although the first investigations of foreigners were limited to the technical structure and legal framework of the syndicates, the spirit and ideas of the corporation are now becoming understood.

In England, for example, not only is trade-unionism changing its objective and turning towards truer and more responsible methods of group action, but, even in the opposite social camp, there are men who are trying to coöperate with this new and saner outlook, and are thus adopting a theoretical and practical standpoint closely approximating to the principles of fascist Syndicalism.

Immediately after the opening meeting of the Trades-Union Congress, discussion did in fact concentrate on the need for industrial peace. In the past, industrial peace has been a somewhat vague conception; but a few have now grasped the idea that peace and coöperation in industry cannot be achieved merely by wishing for it or by making speeches on the subject. Labor unions cannot be expected to give up their class position or the weapon of the strike, unless employers change their traditional attitude of sheer resistance to labor. Captains of industry must undergo a change of heart and even relinquish some of their despotic power, which is incompatible with modern ideas and with the dignity of labor. Whether one likes it or not, the birth of Syndicalism in the world results from the improvement in the conditions of the salaried and wage-earning classes; a new will, strictly controlled and disciplined, is intervening in regulating production and in determining the relations between classes. The aim of fascist Syndicalism is unity and collaboration: it does not oppose, but conforms to the needs of production; it does not deny the conscious aims of labor, but harmonizes them with the aims and with the industrial experience of the managers. This is the true and fundamental difference between fascist Syndicalism and trade-unionism, based as the latter is on class warfare.

3. POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Fascism represents a rather complete revolution against the political ideas which the twentieth century in its first quarter considered sacred: liberty, freedom and equality, democracy, representative government. Late in 1929 even trial by jury was abolished. On the other hand, it vigorously opposes internationalism and has reverted to the intense nationalistic spirit which believes in imperialism for the glory of Italy.

(*a*) *The Political Doctrine of Fascism*[8]

The true antithesis, not to this or that manifestation of the liberal-democratic-socialistic conception of the state but to the concept itself, is to be found in the doctrine of Fascism. For while the disagreement between Liberalism and Democracy, and between Liberalism and Socialism lies in a difference of method, as we have said, the rift between Socialism, Democracy, and Liberalism on one side and Fascism on the other is caused by a difference in concept. As a matter of fact, Fascism never raises the question of methods, using in its political praxis now liberal ways, now democratic means and at times even socialistic devices. This indifference to method often exposes Fascism to the charge of incoherence on the part of superficial observers, who do not see that what counts with us is the end and that therefore even when we employ the same means we act with a radically different spiritual attitude and strive for entirely different results. The Fascist concept then of the nation, of the scope of the state, and of the relations obtaining between society and its individual components, rejects entirely the doctrine which I said proceeded from the theories of natural law developed in the course of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries and which form the basis of the liberal, democratic, and socialistic ideology.

I shall not try here to expound this doctrine but shall limit myself to a brief résumé of its fundamental concepts.

Man—the political animal—according to the definition of Aristotle, lives and must live in society. A human being outside the pale of society is an inconceivable thing—a non-man. Humankind in its entirety lives in social groups that are still, today, very numerous and diverse, varying in importance and organization from the tribes of Central Africa to the great Western Empires. These various societies are fractions of the human species, each one of them endowed with a unified organization. And as there is no unique organization of the human species, there is not "one" but there are "several" human societies. Humanity therefore exists solely as a biological concept not as a social one.

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[8] Reprinted from *The Political Doctrine of Fascism,* by Alfredo Rocco, Minister of Justice in the Government of Italy, pp. 16-23. New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1926.

Each society on the other hand exists in the unity of both its biological and its social contents. Socially considered it is a fraction of the human species endowed with unity of organization for the attainment of the peculiar ends of the species.

This definition brings out all the elements of the social phenomenon and not merely those relating to the preservation and perpetuation of the species. For man is not solely matter; and the ends of the human species, far from being the materialistic ones we have in common with other animals, are, rather, and predominantly, the spiritual finalities which are peculiar to man and which every form of society strives to attain as well as its stage of social development allows. Thus the organization of every social group is more or less pervaded by the spiritual influxes of: unity of language, of culture, of religion, of tradition, of customs, and in general of feeling and of volition, which are as essential as the material elements: unity of economic interests, of living conditions, and of territory. The definition given above demonstrates another truth, which has been ignored by the political doctrines that for the last four centuries have been the foundations of political systems, viz., that the social concept has a biological aspect, because social groups are fractions of the human species, each one possessing a peculiar organization, a particular rank in the development of civilization with certain needs and appropriate ends, in short, a life which is really its own. If social groups are then fractions of the human species, they must possess the same fundamental traits of the human species, which means that they must be considered as a succession of generations and not as a collection of individuals.

It is evident therefore that as the human species is not the total of the living human beings of the world, so the various social groups which compose it are not the sum of the several individuals which at a given moment belong to it, but rather the infinite series of the past, present, and future generations constituting it. And as the ends of the human species are not those of the several individuals living at a certain moment, being occasionally in direct opposition to them, so the ends of the various social groups are not necessarily those of the individuals that belong to the groups but may even possibly be in conflict with such ends, as one sees clearly whenever the preservation and the development of the species demand the sacrifice of the individual, to wit, in times of war.

Fascism replaces therefore the old atomistic and mechanical state theory which was at the basis of the liberal and democratic doctrines with an organic and historic concept. When I say organic I do not wish to convey the impression that I consider society as an organism after the manner of the so-called "organic theories of the state"; but rather to indicate that the social groups as fractions of the species receive thereby a life and scope which transcend the scope and life of the individuals identifying themselves with the history and finalities of the uninterrupted series of generations. It is irrelevant in this connection to determine whether social groups, considered as fractions of the species, constitute organisms. The important thing is to ascertain that this organic concept of the state gives to society a continuous life over and beyond the existence of the several individuals.

The relations therefore between state and citizens are completely reversed by the Fascist doctrine. Instead of the liberal-democratic formula, "society for the individual," we have, "individuals for society" with this difference however: that while the liberal doctrines eliminated society, Fascism does not submerge the individual in the social group. It subordinates him, but does not eliminate him; the individual as a part of his generation ever remaining an element of society however transient and insignificant he may be. Moreover the development of individuals in each generation, when coördinated and harmonized, conditions the development and prosperity of the entire social unit.

At this juncture the antithesis between the two theories must appear complete and absolute. Liberalism, Democracy, and Socialism look upon social groups as aggregates of living individuals; for Fascism they are the recapitulating unity of the indefinite series of generations. For Liberalism, society has no purposes other than those of the members living at a given moment. For Fascism, society has historical and immanent ends of preservation, expansion, improvement, quite distinct from those of the individuals which at a given moment compose it; so distinct in fact that they may even be in opposition. Hence the necessity, for which the older doctrines make little allowance, of sacrifice, even up to the total immolation of individuals, in behalf of society; hence the true explanation of war, eternal law of mankind, interpreted by the liberal-democratic doctrines as a degenerate absurdity or as a maddened monstrosity.

For Liberalism, society has no life distinct from the life of the individuals, or as the phrase goes: *solvitur in singularitates*. For Fascism, the life of society overlaps the existence of individuals and projects itself into the succeeding generations through centuries and millennia. Individuals come into being, grow, and die, followed by others, unceasingly; social unity remains always identical to itself. For Liberalism, the individual is the end and society the means; nor is it conceivable that the individual, considered in the dignity of an ultimate finality, be lowered to mere instrumentality. For Fascism, society is the end, individuals the means, and its whole life consists in using individuals as instruments for its social ends. The state therefore guards and protects the welfare and development of individuals not for their exclusive interest, but because of the identity of the needs of individuals with those of society as a whole. We can thus accept and explain institutions and practices, which, like the death penalty, are condemned by Liberalism in the name of the preëminence of individualism.

The fundamental problem of society in the old doctrines is the question of the rights of individuals. It may be the right to freedom as the Liberals would have it; or the right to the government of the commonwealth as the Democrats claim it, or the right to economic justice as the Socialists contend; but in every case it is the right of individuals, or groups of individuals (classes). Fascism on the other hand faces squarely the problem of the right of the state and of the duty of individuals. Individual rights are only recognized in so far as they are implied in the rights of the state. In this preëminence of duty we find the highest ethical value of Fascism. . . .

This, however, does not mean that the problems raised by the other schools are ignored by Fascism. It means simply that it faces them and solves them differently, as, for example, the problem of liberty.

There is a Liberal theory of freedom, and there is a Fascist concept of liberty. For we, too, maintain the necessity of safeguarding the conditions that make for the free development of the individual; we, too, believe that the oppression of individual personality can find no place in the modern state. We do not, however, accept a bill of rights which tends to make the individual superior to the state and to empower him to act in opposition to society. Our concept of liberty is that the individual must be allowed to develop his personality in behalf of the state, for these ephemeral and infinitesimal elements of the complex and permanent life of society determine by their normal growth the development of the state. But this individual growth must be normal. A huge and disproportionate development of the individual of classes, would prove as fatal to society as abnormal growths are to living organisms. Freedom therefore is due to the citizen and to classes on condition that they exercise it in the interest of society as a whole and within the limits set by social exigencies, liberty being, like any other individual right, a concession of the state. What I say concerning civil liberties applies to economic freedom as well. Fascism does not look upon the doctrine of economic liberty as an absolute dogma. It does not refer economic problems to individual needs, to individual interest, to individual solutions. On the contrary it considers the economic development, and especially the production of wealth, as an eminently social concern, wealth being for society an essential element of power and prosperity. But Fascism maintains that in the ordinary run of events economic liberty serves the social purposes best; that it is profitable to entrust to individual initiative the task of economic development both as to production and as to distribution; that in the economic world individual ambition is the most effective means for obtaining the best social results with the least effort. Therefore, on the question also of economic liberty the Fascists differ fundamentally from the Liberals; the latter see in liberty a principle, the Fascists accept it as a method. By the Liberals, freedom is recognized in the interest of the citizens; the Fascists grant it in the interest of society. In other terms, Fascists make of the individual an economic instrument for the advancement of society, an instrument which they use so long as it functions and which they subordinate when no longer serviceable. In this guise Fascism solves the eternal problem of economic freedom and of state interference, considering both as mere methods which may or may not be employed in accordance with the social needs of the moment.

What I have said concerning political and economic Liberalism applies also to Democracy. The latter envisages fundamentally the problem of sovereignty; Fascism does also, but in an entirely different manner. Democracy vests sovereignty in the people, that is to say, in the mass of human beings. Fascism discovers sovereignty to be inherent in society when it is juridically organized as a state. Democracy therefore turns over the government of the state to the multitude of living men that they may use it to further their own interests; Fascism insists that the government be entrusted to men capable of rising above their own private interests and of realizing the aspirations of the social collectivity, considered in its unity and in its relation to the past and future. Fascism therefore not only rejects the dogma of popular sovereignty and substitutes for it that of state sovereignty, but it also proclaims that the great mass of citizens is not a suitable advocate of social interests for the reason that the capacity to ignore individual private interests in favor of the higher demands of society and of history is a very rare gift and the privilege of the chosen few. Natural intelligence and cultural preparation are of great service in such tasks. Still more valuable perhaps is the intuitiveness of rare great minds, their traditionalism and their inherited qualities. This must not, however, be construed to mean that the masses are not to be allowed to exercise any influence on the life of the state. On the contrary, among peoples with a great history and with noble traditions, even the lowest elements of society possess an instinctive discernment of what is necessary for the welfare of the race, which in moments of great historical crises reveals itself to be almost infallible. It is therefore as wise to afford to this instinct the means of declaring itself as it is judicious to entrust the normal control of the commonwealth to a selected élite.

As for Socialism, the Fascist doctrine frankly recognizes that the problem raised by it as to the relations between capital and labor is a very serious one, perhaps the central one of modern life. What Fascism does not countenance is the collectivistic solution proposed by the Socialists. The chief defect of the socialistic method has been clearly demonstrated by the experience of the last few years. It does not take into account human nature, it is therefore outside of reality, in that it will not recognize that the most powerful spring of human activities lies in individual self-interest and that therefore the elimination from the economic field of this interest results in complete paralysis. The suppression of private ownership of capital carries with it the suppression of capital itself, for capital is formed by savings and no one will want to save, but will rather consume all he makes if he knows he cannot keep and hand down to his heirs the results of his labors. The dispersion of capital means the end of production since capital, no matter who owns it, is always an indispensable tool of production. Collective organization of production is followed therefore by the paralysis of production since, by eliminating from the productive mechanism the incentive of individual interest, the product becomes rarer and more costly. Socialism then, as experience has shown, leads to increase in consumption, to the dispersion of capital and therefore to poverty. Of what avail is it, then, to build a social machine which will more justly distribute wealth if this very wealth is destroyed by the construction of this machine? Socialism committed an irreparable error when it made of private property a matter of justice while in truth it is a problem of social utility. The recognition of individual property rights, then, is a part of the Fascist doctrine not because of its individual bearing but because of its social utility.

We must reject, therefore, the socialistic solution but we cannot allow the problem raised by the Socialists to remain unsolved, not only because justice demands a solution but also because the persistence of this problem in liberal and democratic régimes has been a menace to public order and to the authority of the state. Unlimited and unrestrained class self-defense, evinced by strikes and lockouts, by boycotts and sabotage, leads inevitably to anarchy. The Fascist doctrine, enacting justice among the classes in compliance with a fundamental necessity of modern life, does away with class self-defense, which, like individual self-defense in the days of barbarism, is a source of disorder and of civil war.

Having reduced the problem to these terms, only one solution is possible, the realization of justice among the classes by and through the state. Centuries ago the state, as the specific organ of justice, abolished personal self-defense in individual controversies and substituted for it state justice. The time has now come when class self-defense also must be replaced by state justice. To facilitate the change Fascism has created its own syndicalism. The suppression of class self-defense does not mean the suppression of class defense which is an inalienable necessity of modern economic life. Class organization is a fact which cannot be ignored but it must be controlled, disciplined, and subordinated by the state. The syndicate, instead of being, as formerly, an organ of extra-legal defense, must be turned into an organ of legal defense which will become judicial defense as soon as labor conflicts become a matter of judicial settlement. Fascism therefore has transformed the syndicate, that old revolutionary instrument of syndicalistic socialists, into an instrument of legal defense of the classes both within and without the law courts. This solution may encounter obstacles in its development; the obstacles of malevolence, of suspicion of the untried, of erroneous calculation, etc., but it is destined to triumph even though it must advance through progressive stages.

(*b*) *The Duties of Italian Prefects*[9]

"Now that the number of provinces has increased, and the general political situation is absolutely quiet, I desire further to specify the rules which must govern Prefects in the delicate and important office which they hold. I desire again to affirm emphatically that the Prefect is the highest authority of the State in the Provinces. He is the direct representative of the central Executive Power.

"All citizens, and especially those who have the privilege and the honor of serving in the Fascist ranks, owe respect and obedience to the highest representative of the Fascist Régime, and must collaborate with a proper sense of organization (*subordinatamente*) so as to render his task easy. Where necessary, the Prefect must stimulate and harmonize the activities of the Party in the latter's various manifestations. It must, however, be clearly understood that authority cannot be exercised on a fifty-fifty basis (*a mezzadria*). Neither is any shifting of authority or responsibility tolerable. Authority is one and indivisible (*unitaria*). If this were not so, the State would again fall into disorganization and gradual disintegration. One of the fundamental principles of Fascist doctrine would be destroyed, and one of the principal reasons for the success of Fascist action would be negated. The very purpose of that action is to give cohesion, authority, prestige to the State, to make the State that intangible unity which the Fascist State is and must be. The Party, and its various ranks from the highest to the lowest is, once the revolution has been accomplished, nothing but a conscious instrument of the will of the State, and this not so much at the center of Government as in the branches of Government.

"The Prefect must with every diligence defend the Régime against attempts to weaken or undermine it. All parenthetic agnosticism in this matter is harmful. The Prefects must have speedy and intelligent initiative in the struggle against the irreconcilable enemies of the Fascist régime. I say speedy, but I also say intelligent, because it is not useful to elevate harmless and unimportant individuals to a sometimes hoped-for martyrdom.

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[9] A circular letter sent by Benito Mussolini on January 5, 1927, in his capacity as Minister of Internal Affairs, to all Prefects of the Italian Kingdom.

"The new police laws together with the provisions for the defense of the State, allow Prefects to act with the necessary rigor, in the eventuality, which seems every day more remote, of renewed antifascist activities.

"Now that the State has at its disposal every means of prevention and repression, we must see that the 'residues' of revolution entirely disappear, not only in that form which develops under the pressure of petty local ambitions, harmful to the Régime, against which they cause resentment, but also and particularly in the form of illegal acts which ensue on events of a serious character. We must bear in mind that whatever has happened or may happen to me, the time for reprisals, for devastation, for violence, is past. Whatever may happen in general or may happen to me in particular, the Prefects must prevent, with every means available, even simple attempts to stage demonstrations or to suggest violent action against the seats of foreign representatives. The relations among peoples are too delicate and too important for us to allow them to be put in jeopardy by acts of irresponsible enthusiasts or by agitators who are seeking every opportunity to do us irreparable damage.

"It is needless to add that Prefects must always report the truth, the whole truth to the Government and particularly when such truth may seem unpleasant.

"Public order must not be disturbed, for it indicates the calm and profitable development of all national activities.

"The military and police forces serving the State, the growing endorsement of the people, the syndicalistic organization of the masses, have prevented during these five years and will further prevent disorders on any large or dangerous scale.

"In any case, the Fascist Prefect must foresee and exert his vigilance so as to prevent disorder by eliminating its cause. Timely prevention avoids costly and painful repression.

"The Fascist Prefect will not only devote his attention to 'public order' (the enforcement of which devolves especially upon the police), but also to 'moral order'; he will, that is, be an agent of conciliation, of equilibrium, of peace, of justice, so that the establishment of 'moral order' will became the best insurance and guarantor of 'public order'.

"Those who enforce the law upon antisocial elements, often at the risk of their lives, deserve consideration and respect. (R. Carabineers Police Force, Fascist Militia.)

"An authoritative and totalitarian government, such as the Fascist

Government, must use every diligence and act with all conscientiousness in administering public funds.

"It is necessary, therefore, that all matters of financial administration, from the Municipalities down to the Confederations, be the object of constant supervision and vigilant attention. The Prefect must keep in close touch with the Podestas. All those who administer public funds must be known for their integrity.

"Especially in Southern Italy, the Prefect of the Fascist Government must enforce absolute administrative morality, resolutely breaking up remnants of that electoral and 'camoristic' dishonesty which weighed on the old form of government. While exercising his supervision, as dictated by the laws of the Régime, the Fascist Prefect must proceed to the eliminations necessary in the minor offices, and he must report such elements as either are harmful or can be dispensed with.

"The Prefect must see to it that all professional wire pullers, whether fakers or otherwise, all incompetent backbiters, climbers—in short all discordant elements—as well as those whose standard of living is not explained by the salaries they receive, be eliminated from all the offices maintained by the Régime.

"With more success than other countries, Italy has been able to safeguard within her Veterans Association the incomparable moral patrimony of her victory in the war. These organizations bring to the Régime the sincere and disinterested support of millions of Italians. Their members are of those Italians who gave hundreds of thousands of lives for the good cause. These are the men who fought and suffered for forty months and among whom many bear the marks of sacrifice and duty. The Prefects of the Fascist Régime must hold these organizations in reverent consideration, help them in their work and support them by sympathetic coöperation.

"The Fascist Prefect is not the Prefect of liberal democratic days, when his function was primarily that of an electoral agent.

"Elections are now a thing of the past and the Prefect, therefore, changes aspect and style. He must take the initiative in all that can be useful to the Régime and increase its strength and prestige, in social as well as in intellectual spheres.

"The problems which at certain times confront the population, such as housing or high cost of living, must be dealt with by the Prefect. The Prefect must see that the orders given by the Government, for social improvements and public works, be not hindered by local interests. Within the new administrative and corporative organization of the country, the Prefect becomes the head of the whole Province and it is from him that the Province must receive its impetus, its coördination, and its leadership.

"The Prefect must meet the demands and needs of the population even before they are made manifest by the formation of organizations and the passing of resolutions. He must seek out deficiencies, and sufferings that be concealed, so that as far as possible, he may help the moral and political reclamation of the people, and demonstrate that the Fascist State is not a State of greed and selfishness. We must give aid to the deserving without arousing a servile spirit and without using demagogic methods—this especially in the case of the younger generations which are being gradually organized within the ranks of the *Balilli* and *Avanguardisti.* We must remember that these young people represent Italy's greatest hope and promise.

"These are my instructions. I know that you all are faithful representatives of the Fascist State, and that you will, therefore, carry them out with intelligence, diligence and faith."

"The Head of the Government,
Minister of the Interior,
MUSSOLINI."

(*c*) *The New Election Law and the Grand Council*

In 1928 Italy passed a law reforming the Chamber of Deputies. The number was fixed at 400 chosen from a list of about 1,000 prepared by Fascist organizations. Eight hundred nominees are selected by the National Confederations of Syndicates from the following organizations in the numbers indicated:

		No. of Members in Its Genl. Council	*No. of Nominees*
National Confederation of Agriculture......	Employers	200	96
	Workers	550	96
National Confederation of Industry.........	Employers	500	80
	Workers	6,500	80
National Confederation of Commerce	Employers	113	48
	Employees	1,000	48
National Confederation of Maritime and Aerial Enterprises and Transport.........	Employers	50	40
	Employees	100	40
National Confederation of Land Transport and Inner Navigation	Employers	21	32
	Employees	700	32
National Banking Corporation		50	24
National Confederation of Banking Officials.		100	24
National Confederation of Professional Men and Artists		250	160
Total			800

It is interesting to note that 250 associations applied for leave to submit nominations but only 23 were granted the right.[10]

Italy is predominantly agricultural. Three-fourths of the economic activities of the country are rural, but the agriculturalists nominate less than one-fourth of the total. Mussolini has described the system by saying that "Capital and labor shall have equal rights and duties as brothers in the Fascist family." Actually, the Federation of Workers in industry with 1,206,586 members nominate the same number as do the employers with a membership of 60,000. The 450 employers in maritime transport nominate the same number as do 49,000 employees. However, the nominations make small difference because from this list the Grand Council of the Fascist Party need only choose 200 names, although it also nominates and selects an additional 200 of its own choice.

The final list of 400 is then submitted to the voters with this question: "Do you approve the list of deputies designated by the Fascist Grand National Council?" If a majority answers "yes" the list is declared elected. If a majority declares "no" a new election takes place. At the new election all Fascist associations and organizations that have 5,000 members regularly inscribed on the voting lists can nominate candidates. In the new election all who receive a majority are elected and provision is made for some minority representation.

The provision for a second election is largely a matter of form. It is not likely that any such election will ever be held, even if sentiment should be violently opposed to the list as made up. The Fascists take good care that the overwhelming majority of votes are favorable. In fact one of the important Fascist leaders, Signor Forges-Davanzati, has admitted as much in *Tribuna* for February 21, 1928: "There is no interest in the alternative system of elections; these provisions have been introduced as a merely formal hypothesis."

All those over twenty-one have the right to vote and those over eighteen who are married and have children. At the present time Italy does not have universal suffrage. The electoral lists in 1929 totaled 9,460,727. These were divided as follows:

Persons paying union contributions	6,922,807
" contributing to direct taxes.................	1,653,016
Employees and wage-earners in public institutions....	829,198
Members of the Catholic clergy and other sects.......	55,706

According to the most recent census, the total number of adult male citizens is about eleven millions. Therefore as a result of the abolition of universal suffrage, in the neighborhood of one and one-half million voters were debarred.[11] Even the Fascist Party is now closed to new adult members. In the future its new recruits will be chosen wholly from the young who have been trained in the Fascist faith. In the first voting which took place under this new law the result was 8,576,000 for the list and 136,198 against it. Most neutral observers were surprised at the number which voted against the list in view of the extreme danger in doing so. For anyone who voted against the list was a marked man. All the "aye" ballots were printed in the national colors, red, white, and green. The "no" ballot was printed on plain white paper. After voting the ballot had to be signed by the returning officer. In advance of the election thousands of leaflets were handed out which read as follows:

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[10] *Industrial and Labor Information,* International Labor Office of League of Nations, Vol. XXIX, No. 5, Feb. 4, 1929.

"THE TEN COMMANDMENTS OF THE ITALIAN VOTER

"1. Thou shalt vote for an idea, for a régime, not for men.
"2. Thou shalt believe only in the Duce.
"3. Thou shalt place in the ballot box the paper bearing the colors of our flag.
"4. Victory must be complete, a deliberate conquest, not a facile result.
"5. The tricolor paper is the strongest and the finest.
"6. Thou shalt not heed evil counsellors who are the foes of the country.
"7. Thou shalt not ask advice of friends but shalt heed the imperative 'yea' of thine own conscience.
"8. Thou shalt not discuss nor give ear to murmurs, the weapons of the cowardly.
"9. Not reasoning, but a deed of faith is required of thee.
"10. Go to vote."

A foreign observer who was present at one of the voting booths and who is known to Wickham Steed, editor of the English *Review of Reviews,* reported:

> In a suburban polling station the first ten electors all voted "no" and got away quickly. The Fascist returning officer made a sign to the Black Shirts who were standing at the entrance. The next three electors were so smartly thrashed that there were no more "noes."

It is obvious that to vote "no" in Italy requires real courage.

On December 10, 1929, the Fascist Grand Council was also made legal under the title "Grand Council of the Nation and of the State." The new law divides all proposed bills into constitutional and otherwise. The constitutional are those which deal with the Vatican, international treaties, changes in national or colonial territory, prerogatives as well as attributes of the crown, the Grand Council, Parliament, the Prime Minister and Secretary of State, the authority of the executive power to issue judicial decrees, and syndical and coöperative organizations. All constitutional measures must be introduced in the Grand Council and receive its approval before being considered in Parliament.

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[11] *Industrial and Labour Information,* International Labour Office, March 4, 1929, p. 271.

The Grand Council suggests the names of persons qualified to take the reins of government in case of a vacancy. The President of the Grand Council is by law Head of the Government, Prime Minister and Secretary of State. Article 14 states that the secretaries and other members of the directorate of the Fascist Party can be dismissed by the Head of the Government after consultation with the Grand Council. The Secretary of the Fascist Party has the right, at the suggestion of the Head of the Government, to take part in all meetings of the Council of the Ministers.

There are three categories of members of the Grand Council. (1) Those who belong for an unlimited period. (2) Those whose office carries with it membership such as the heads of the militia and National Fascist Party, the head of the Fascist Institute of Culture, the head of the Balilla (Italian Boy Scouts), et al. (3) Those appointed for a limited period.

Side by side with the Grand Council there is a Senate. It is composed one-fifth of generals, one-fifth of high officials, one-fifth of large landowners, one-fifth of big industrialists and bankers, and one-fifth of university professors and Fascist intellectuals. The Senators are appointed by the Prime Minister—Mussolini—through the King, and since the former can always name more, there is no danger of a hostile vote.

Mussolini also has the right to modify any existing law or to make new laws by royal decree, provided that he secures parliamentary sanction within two years. It can thus be seen that Italy passes entirely away from a democratic political structure. Complete control of government is in the hands of the Fascists. Virtually there is election by the Fascist Grand National Council.

Fascism and the Italian Government are one and the same thing. In Italy at present there is a dictatorship of Mussolini backed by a Fascist party. Anyone can be expelled from the party at the wish of Mussolini and no one can be admitted except on the agreement of the present membership. It is not so different from the self-perpetuating boards which control many of our philanthropic foundations. New members are voted in by the old members. To be sure everyone in Italy has the right to vote, but as long as the nominations and candidates are rigidly controlled by the Fascists, it means little or nothing to have that right.

Mussolini has organized his government on a somewhat similar basis to a business corporation in which one man controls a majority of the voting stock. Others may have the vote but it is largely perfunctory and ineffective. In reality Mussolini has an absolute dictatorship—a direct antithesis of democracy.

(*d*) *The Fascist Corporative State*[12]

Both in the language of literature and in current speech, the word "corporation" possessed, until recently, a meaning clear and precise—at least in Italy. It was an equivalent for the English word "guild," and signified the organization of arts and crafts on which the power of democratic communes was based in the Middle Ages. By way of indicating the degree of political power which, in that distant era, Italian guilds had acquired, Italian municipalities were said to have been organized in a "corporative" form.

Fascism has dug out these old names, but has professed to give them a new meaning. It has used them to baptize, and to present to the international public, its own economico-political contrivances. Therefore it is important to define at the outset what these Fascist institutions really mean, and to see how they are constituted and how they work, since they have attracted the attention of not a few political men and students alike.

. . . .

A close network of professional and trade unions, or "syndicates," forms the politico-economic basis of the Fascist order. A law, dated April 3, 1926, allows only those unions which are legally recognized to undertake the protection of the economic and moral interests of the various classes of producers, and to conclude collective bargains. But, thanks to the strict enforcement of a clause in this Law which ordains that only one association, syndicate, or union, can be recognized for each class of workers and employers; thanks also to the right which the Law confers upon the Government to grant legal recognition to unions or syndicates which do not include the majority of the persons belonging to a given class of producers, none save Fascist unions were legally recognized. Yet, by virtue of the Law, these Fascist unions represent all the workers and all the employers, even those not belonging to the Fascist unions. The Fascist unions are given besides power to compel all workmen and employers to pay the union subscriptions, of which the amounts are fixed by official Fascist decree; and all producers, workmen and employers alike, are bound by the terms of the collective bargains concluded by the Fascist unions, whether they dissent from them or not.

It follows that there is to-day in Italy no worker by hand or by brain, no landed proprietor or industrialist, who does not depend, even against his will, upon a professional union or organization. Nor is there any professional union or organization of workmen, industrialists or contractors, that does not depend directly upon one of the great national confederations which are managed and controlled by members of the Fascist party. What the Fascists call the "Syndical regimentation of the productive forces of the nation" is, in this mechanical form, complete and absolute. The free will of individuals is wholly suppressed. The law gives only to the "collective" will, as represented by Fascist organizations, the right to express itself and to claim legal status.

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[12] From a special article by Francesco Luigi Ferrari in *The Review of Reviews* (English), June 15, 1929, pp. 487-491.

If these syndical unions or associations, to which the law concedes powers so extensive over individuals, were entitled to give effect to their own will, the economico-political organization of Fascism might be admitted to possess a totally new character. A State which should ignore individuals and take account only of organizations of producers might, it is true, be called "Syndical" rather than "Corporative"; it might be accused of being founded upon a materialistic conception of life; but, were the organizations of producers free to promote the economic interests of their members, nobody could deny that Fascism had essayed the boldest and the most radical reform in the organization of modern States.

They are not free. Neither in fact nor in law do the syndical unions or associations possess internal or external freedom. All-powerful in dealing with individuals who are, always and ever, compelled to obey their commands, they depend in their turn upon the organs of the Fascist party and the State Administration which control their slightest acts and decide their conduct in every particular. By law, all persons must be excluded from the Fascist unions or syndicates who cannot prove that they have to their credit "good political conduct from the national standpoint"; and the directors of such unions, even if elected by a general assembly, cannot take office unless it is also conferred upon them by Government decree, a decree that may be revoked at any moment.

Thus in their entire dependence upon the executive power, the unions become instruments of the economic and political actions of the State. This was clearly shown in 1927, when Mussolini, for reasons of prestige, mobilized all the economic and political forces of the nation for the purpose of revalorizing the currency, no matter at what cost. Had he not been able to dispose of a syndical organization strictly controlled by the executive power, his attempt would have failed lamentably. Thanks to its compulsory support, he succeeded in neutralizing the opposition of industrialists by promising them that workmen would be compelled to accept a reduction of wages: and he was able at the same time to place upon the working and lower middle classes the formidable burden of an ill-conceived financial operation. Not only were the advantages which the working class had gained by long years of effort suddenly annulled at a hint from the Dictator, but collective bargains, recently concluded with employers, were rescinded; and—supreme irony—their rescission was styled "spontaneous renunciation" on the part of the wage-earning masses!

Later on, when it looked as though Signor Edmondo Rossoni, the formerly omnipotent President of the Confederation of Fascist Unions, was dreaming of becoming a rival to Mussolini himself, a simple executive decree sufficed to crush him. On November 22, 1928, the legal recognition of this Confederation was withdrawn; and, in December, the six national federations that had been subordinated to the Confederation were raised, together with the Federation of Intellectual Workers, to the rank of Confederations on their own account. Thus, at a single stroke, Rossoni's power was broken, and the wage-earning masses which had, until then, been included in one great national organization, were split up into seven Confederations incapable of exerting decisive influence upon the policy of the State. Even the mythical "proletarian unity," which Fascism formerly boasted of having brought about by its corporative system, was sacrificed to the security of the dominant oligarchy.

These proceedings were the more remarkable because Mussolini had declared (at the Congress of the Confederation of Fascist Unions on May 6, 1928) that the economico-political order established by Fascism "was still in the syndical phase," and that this phase would not be of short duration, since the syndical system needed to be perfected "in point of regimentation, management and organic construction." Hardly six months passed before care for the security of the Fascist dictatorship itself obliged him to hasten the march of events and boldly to enter upon the "corporative phase." In fact, the Fascist Grand Council decided, on March 7, 1919, to transfer the inter-syndical Committees, which had been set up in every province under the presidency of the local secretaries of the Fascist party, into "provincial corporations" charged with the control of all local syndicates or unions, and to institute at the same time a National Council of Corporations, directly dependent upon the Government and entrusted with the unification of the syndical movement. Thanks to this decision, the Fascist Corporative State possesses, at last, "corporations" properly so called: and the creation of these corporations, dependent upon the Government and upon the Fascist party, has brought about complete nationalization of all professional and trade union organizations.

. . . .

The real position of these organizations becomes clearer if their political powers, and the actual conditions governing the exercise of those powers are carefully considered.

According to the Fascist electoral law, the Councils of the National Confederations, thirteen in number, must "put forward" the names of 800 candidates for membership of the "corporative Parliament." But this right to propose candidates is, in reality, a mere formality, designed to cloak the choice of candidates already made by the Government, as is sufficiently shown by the official reports of the Councils' proceedings before the recent "plebiscite," and by the fact that all the lists, with Mussolini's name at the head of them, were "carried unanimously or by acclamation."

From the list thus "put forward" by the Confederations, the Fascist Grand Council chooses the members of Parliament, with power to add the names of whatever persons may be thought worthy of a seat in the Legislative Assembly, even if these persons have not been "proposed" by the Confederations. Finally, the electorate is not called upon to choose its own representatives from the list thus formed by the Grand Council, but only to approve of the choice which the Grand Council has made; and of the 9 millions of registered electors, only 3½ millions are workmen or employers belonging to the confederated Fascist unions.

Therefore, the new Fascist order of things hardly deserves the name of "corporative." The true organ of the "Fascist Corporative State" is a political body, the Fascist Grand Council, which in reality elects the Legislative Assembly. And it is the Fascist Grand Council which, by laying down the economic policy of the régime, directs the action of the "syndical organizations" in the same way as it controls the action of all other administrative organs of the State.

Now this Fascist Council is by no means an expression of the "corporative organization" of the nation. Though the big Confederations are represented on it, their directors are merely the nominees of the Dictator instructed to manage the Confederations according to his personal will. Besides, these "representatives" of the Confederations number only thirteen of the fifty-two members of the Grand Council; and, were they ever to become the nucleus of a dissentient majority in the Council, Mussolini could always increase the number of his own partizans by exercising his right to appoint to the Grand Council "all those persons" whom he may judge to have "deserved well of the nation and of the cause of the Fascist Revolution."

In a new form, adapted to modern industrial economy, the Fascist Corporative State merely reproduces the absolute organization of power which prevailed in all European countries before the introduction of representative systems of government. The will of the Dictator, and that of the limited oligarchy of his partizans, form the only law. There is no check upon him. Only yesterday, Mussolini, hoping to bolster up his position, which had been shaken by an economic crisis of three years' duration, was able to impose upon a Fascist Grand Council consisting almost entirely of free-thinkers, a Concordat with the Roman Catholic Church. With the secret aim of subordinating religious institutions to the control of the Fascist State, this Concordat restores certain features of the pre-liberal period. Similarly, nothing could prevent him—if he thought it expedient for the preservation of his power—from replacing the monarchy by a republic, or from establishing a communist system in Italy by "royal" decree. This state of things gives the measure of the stability of institutions dependent upon the will of one man and of his clan of partizans. . . .

In Italy, "corporativism," unhampered by serious resistance, has been able freely to reveal its true essence, and to draw economic and political conclusions from its premises. With what result? Under the pretext of regarding human beings as *producers* rather than as *citizens,* individuals have been subordinated to the omnipotence of the State, their rights denied by treating them as so many revocable concessions which the sovereign State has granted, and their personal liberties annulled by being made subject to the arbitrary action of organizations that are subject, in their turn, to the good pleasure of the Government. Under the pretense of replacing democratic individualism by an organic order of society, individuals have been forced into a framework arbitrarily arranged by those who hold power. All freedom of opinion has been suppressed. Personality is no longer looked upon as anything but a mechanical factor in collective prosperity. In such a state of things the vaunted "corporation" is conceived only as an economic and political organ which permits the State to dominate without let or hindrance the whole spiritual and material activity of an entire people, and to subject citizens to a clan which, claiming a new divine right, pretends to speak in the name of the nation.

IV. PROBLEMS AND CONSEQUENCES

The results of Fascism, as is true of most contemporary movements, are highly controversial. Yet from the opposing statements of protagonists and opponents a certain consensus is discernible.

I. "FACING FACTS" [13]

. . . My discourse is divided into three parts: first an examination of the situation of the Italian people from the standpoint of physical health and of the race; second, an examination of the administrative organization of the Nation; third, general directing policies of the State, both present and future.

Physical Health of the Italian People

Health measures.—Some one, in former times, affirmed that the State should not preoccupy itself with the physical health of the people, that the doctrine of "laissez faire," non-interference, should apply even here.

This theory is suicidal.

It is evident that in a well ordered state the care of the people's physical health ought to be of prime importance.

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[13] Address delivered by Benito Mussolini, Head of the Government, before the Chamber of Deputies, May 26, 1927, and sent by him for inclusion in this volume.

How do we stand upon this question? What is the situation? Is the Italian race, the Italian people in its physical expression, in a period of splendor, or are there symptoms of decadence? If the movement is retrogressive, what are the possibilities for the future?

These questions are important not only to the medical profession, or to those who profess the doctrines of sociology, but above all to the government.

As regards this question, the situation is disheartening enough.

The figures which are reported to me by the General Department of Health, directed by the illustrious Professor Messea who does his work with ninety-one fewer employees than would have been allowed him by the administration are about normal.

The social diseases are on the increase, and there are symptoms upon which it is timely to cause you to reflect and to cause the attention of those who have a sense of responsibility to be focussed, as much upon the core as upon the surface.

The so-called social diseases are showing signs of recrudescence. We must concern ourselves with them, and do so in time.

Meanwhile, what has the General Department of Health done? A great many things, which I am going to read to you, were it only to furnish the necessary documentation.

It has, first of all, strengthened the sanitary defenses on the frontiers of the Nation, both land and maritime. Under the direct surveillance of the public health forces nine thousand vessels have been de-ratted, that is, those rodents have been killed which carry to us contagious diseases from the Orient: that Orient from which come to us many lovely things, yellow fever, and Bolshevism. . . . (*Laughter.*) We have occupied ourselves with the sanitary profession, with sanitary aid, with scholastic hygiene, with anti-tubercular services, with the fight against malignant tumors, with the inspection of foodstuffs and beverages, with hygienic works, aqueducts and sewer-building, with narcotics, with patent medicines, and finally, with the provincial anti-tubercular societies.

All this, probably, tells you nothing whatever. But let us pass on to the figures, which are always interesting. To begin with, it can to-day be said that a social disease which has weighed heavily upon the people of Italy for at least forty years has completely disappeared. I am speaking of pellagra. In absolute figures, 198 died of pellagra in 1922; decreasing to 108 in 1925. In Venetia, which was the region most affected, the figure is 1.3 dead per 100,000 inhabitants. To-day it can thus be said that the Italian Nation has decisively won this battle.

But not as much can be said for tuberculosis. This is still greatly on the increase. The figures are terrible, and should cause reflection. They advance from a minimum of 52,293 in 1922 to 59,000 in 1925. The region which suffers most is Julian Venetia; the one least affected is Basilicata.

Likewise noteworthy is the number of those who are stricken with infirmities due to malignant tumors. Here the region most affected is Tuscany; the least stricken, fortunately, is Sardinia, which pays, however, a tribute most sorrowful and numerous to malaria.

The absolute figures for deaths by malaria are not great and show a diminution. They go from 4,085 in 1922 to 3,588 in 1925. Here Sardinia has first place: 99 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants.

Another question to which it is necessary to attract the attention of well informed citizens is that of the mortality due to alcoholism. The organizers of the recent Anti-Prohibitionist Convention need fear nothing from what I am going to say about this question.

Not only am I not a believer in absolute abstention; rather I think that if reasonable doses of alcohol had been able to do much harm to the human race, humanity by this time would have been wiped out, or very nearly so, for fermented liquids have been drunk ever since prehistoric times. On the other hand, there is no doubt that in Italy people are beginning to drink too egregiously. (*Hilarity.*)

Mortara, in his *Prospettive Economiche,* informs us that Italy has three million hectares devoted to vineyards: one million more than have France and Spain, which are, as you know, world producers of wine.

The number of deaths of alcoholism is not excessive: it ranges from 664 in 1922 to 1,315 in 1925.

We wished to reduce the sales, which were very great since there were 187,000 taverns in Italy! We have closed 25,000 of them, and will proceed energetically in this direction because we are able to do so. Since we shall probably not have further occasion to solicit votes from the owners and from their clients (*Hilarity*) as happened during the liberal, democratic Middle Ages (*Laughter*), we can allow ourselves the luxury of closing these bargain counters of ruinous felicity.

The mortality by insanity is also on the increase, as is the number of suicides.

You see from these figures that the situation, though not dark and tragic, merits rigorous attention.

It is necessary, therefore, to watch seriously over the destiny of the race, and to care for the race, beginning with maternity and infancy. This is the purpose of the National Institute for the protection of maternity and infancy. . . .

There exist in this country 7,500 institutions which attend to maternity and infancy, but they have not sufficient funds. As a result we have the tax on bachelors, to which in a not distant future might perhaps be added the tax on childless marriages. (*Approbation.*)

This tax yields from 40 to 50 millions, but do you really think that I wanted it only on this account? I used this tax to give the Nation a demographic scourging.

This may surprise you, and some one of you may say: but why? was there any need?

There is need.

Some unintelligent man says: we are too many. The intelligent reply: we are too few! (*Approbation.*)

Demographic Power of the Nation

I assert that the datum, not fundamental, but prejudicial to the political power and hence the economic and moral power of nations, is their man power.

Let us speak to the point: What are forty million Italians compared to ninety million Germans and to two hundred million Slavs? Let us turn to the west: what are forty million Italians compared to forty million French in addition to ninety million colonial inhabitants, or compared to forty-six million English in addition to the four hundred and fifty million colonials?

Gentlemen, Italy, to count for anything, should appear on the threshold of the second half of this century with a population of not less than sixty millions. (*Approbation.*)

You may say: How will they exist in the territory? The same reasoning was very likely brought forward in 1815, when there were living in Italy but sixteen million inhabitants. Perhaps at that time it was also thought impossible that in the same territory could be found, on an infinitely higher standard of living, food and lodging for the forty million Italians of to-day.

For five years we have been going about saying that the Italian population is overflowing. It is not true! The river no longer overflows; rapidly enough it is again entering its channel.

All nations and empires have felt the bite of their decadence when they have seen their birth rates decline. . . .

Administrative Arrangement of the Country

Creation of new provinces.—Why have I created seventeen new provinces? The better to distribute the population: because these provincial centers when left to themselves produced people who finally grew weary and drifted toward the large cities, where there are all those pleasant and stupid things to enchant those looking at life with the eyes of youth.

There were, at the time of the march on Rome, 69 provinces in the Kingdom. The population had increased by 15 millions, but no one had ever dared to touch this problem and to penetrate this *terra ignota,* because in the old régime the idea or hypothesis of diminishing or increasing a province, of taking a fraction from a commune, or, for example, the children's asylum from a fraction of a commune, was so great a problem as to force the severest ministerial crises.

We are freer in this matter, and from the time of our coming into office we have modified the more absurd historical and geographical incongruencies of the administrative arrangement of the Italian state. . . .

The creation of these provinces has been accomplished without any pressure from the interested parties; it was perfectly logical for the federal secretaries to be wined and dined, but they didn't know anything about it! (*Laughter.*) . . .

Scarcely was the list of new provinces published in the newspapers when demands arose. Some cities, which held themselves worthy of this honor, asked for it. But I replied with a telegram to the notables of Caltagirone saying that until 1932 that would not be thought of. Why in 1932? Because in 1932 the census which we have just set about preparing will be finished. We need four years. But I have decided that within six months the result of the 1931 census ought to be known. Then, very probably, there will be a new arrangement of the Italian provinces, there will be cities which will become provinces, if the people have been industrious, disciplined, prolific. (*Applause.*)

Municipal organization and administrative reforms.—In the interim we have instituted city managers (podestà) [14] in all the communes of the Kingdom.

When the institution of the "podestà" was mentioned, not a few shed tears over the old system of elections which disappeared in the administrative competitions.

Well, the appointment of magistrates has been changed in all of Italy without those incidents and disorders which certain ones prophesied. A few disturbances, slight, and limited to small towns. And it is understood that, in the question of the first magistrate from the citizens of a town, the first incumbent of the series, there might be strife to see which of the candidates is endowed with the superior virtues. This is only human, it is natural. But the fact is that all the magistrates installed, or almost all, are functioning with the full and often the enthusiastic coöperation of the people.

I ought to say a word from this rostrum to the "podestà" of Italy: Go slowly on expenditures!

I understand perfectly that the first "podestà" of the series wishes to do something to make people say: This is the Coliseum (*laughter*). . . . This is the fountain, the school, etc.

But slowly; everything must be in keeping with the policy of the Government, for otherwise we shall have disproportion and the communes will go into debt. They will not be able to pay the debts, will lay taxes and turn to the State which will levy other taxes, because the Fascist State does not want to issue new paper money.

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[14] Translator's note—*Podestà*—Mayor appointed by the Government with absolute powers.

Slowly, then, with the municipalizations. This is a left-over of the old administrative socialism. (*Applause.*)

Slowly also with ceremonies, banquets, and displays (*Applause and Approbation*), possibly even with speeches. (*Hilarity.*)

However, we shall proceed gradually to the reordering of municipal boundaries: nine thousand communes in Italy are too many. There are some that have 200, 300, 400 inhabitants. They cannot exist, they must resign themselves to dissolution and fusion into greater centers.

One service has given excellent results: the inspection service. As you know, there are in the prefectures functionaries whose duty it is to inspect the municipal administrative managements. Let us see the results: inspections which have discovered serious irregularities, which have brought about the adoption of special provisions, 238; inspections which have revealed a few book-keeping errors and without any practical consequence, 2,041; inspections which have verified the regular administrative functioning, 176. Total of inspections: 2,455. From this you see that the service is functioning and is absolutely necessary. . . .

The forces of public safety.—We come to the police. Fortunately the Italians are freeing themselves from the residua left in their minds by the memories of foreign domination—Hapsburg, Bourbon, Grand-Ducal—by reason of which the police represented an odious, abominable function, one to be avoided.

Gentlemen: we may now say that the police should not only be respected, but honored. (*Approbation.*) Gentlemen: we may say that man, before feeling the need of culture, felt the need of order. In a certain sense it might be said that historically the cop preceded the professor (*hilarity*), for if there is no arm dangling salutary handcuffs, the laws remain a dead letter and worthless.

Naturally it requires Fascist courage to speak in these terms. The Honorable Mr. Federzoni left a law of public safety which is almost perfect. But it was necessary, after the law, to create the forces of public safety. We have in Italy sixty thousand *carabinieri,* fifteen thousand policemen, five thousand metropolitan, ten thousand belonging, so to speak, to the technical militia: railway, harbor, telegraph, traffic, all militia and police who accomplish a regular and useful service. Then we have the border guards and finally the Forestry Service.

I calculate that the Administration has a force of a hundred thousand men on police duty. It is an imposing number. It was necessary to reform the police, especially the plain clothes men. I did not want to add to the number of men in uniform, that is, I did not want the fifteen thousand plain clothes men to wear a uniform. No, those are officers. It is useless always to bell the cat! (*Hilarity.*) Too many uniforms, no uniforms. But when a police force is in plain clothes and not controllable through the uniform, it should be picked; that is, it should be composed of blameless, zealous, and taciturn citizens.

All those who have not these attributes, I dismiss without compunction. Thus during these months I have removed seven questors, four vice-questors, twenty commissioners, six special commissioners, five vice-commissioners, and have given a hasty cleaning, a stroke of the broom, to that Police Department in Milan which I never liked. (*Hilarity.*) There are now fifty-two other officers in process of being retired and thirty-seven employees of Group C. But this is the beginning of the cleaning up. It will have to be continued.

Then it was necessary to give means to the police. Modern crime is very far advanced, like progress: (*Comments*) it is acquainted with chemistry, physics, ballistics, it uses all the swiftest means. The Italian police still had old automobiles which by the noise of their loose machinery warned criminals from a distance, giving them time to flee. (*Hilarity.*)

We have brought the automobiles of the Police Department from 161 to 611. All the legion commands of the *carabinieri* have automobiles. As much may be said for all the legion commands of the voluntary militia. The police to-day, then, make use of 774 automobiles, 290 trucks, 198 motorcycles, and 48 boats both powered and not powered, as well as 12,000 bicycles.

From a police force so reformed, so organized, and so equipped, I expect many things. And they are being done.

Three functions of the Italian police.—I shall speak to you of three tasks accomplished by the Italian police: the fight against counterfeiters, the fight against the "jungle" gangs, the fight against the Mafia.

The fight against counterfeiters is a fight against spurious coinage (*Signs of attention*), a crime for which 824 people were arrested during the past year.

It is dangerous to counterfeit the money of the Fascist State! (*Approbation.*)

We come to the "jungles"; these are a tract between the provinces of Rome and Naples, formerly Caserta: marshy, bare, malarial, inhabited by a population which since Roman times has had a bad reputation, and was called a population of *latrones.* (*Laughter.*)

I will give you an idea of the law breaking in this territory: in the five years between 1922 and 1926 the following major crimes were committed, passing over the minor: outrages to public authority, 171; arson, 378; homicide, 169; assault, 918; theft and rapine, 2,082; damage, 404.

This is one part of this section. Let us look at the other part, Aversano: outrages, 81; arson, 161; homicide, 194; assault, 410; theft and rapine, 702; damage, 193.

I dispatched a major of *carabinieri* with these orders: Free me from this crime with fire and sword! (*Approbation.*)

This major went to work in good earnest. In fact, from December until now, there have been arrested for crimes actually committed and for a preventive measure in the territory of the "jungles" 1,699 gangsters, and in the district of Aversa, 1,268.

The "podestà" of that region are exultant, the police likewise, I have here a packet of telegrams, letters, resolutions, documents in which the healthy portion of that population thanks the constituted authorities, the authorities of the Fascist Administration, for the necessary work of hygiene, which will be carried to completion.

We come to the Mafia.

Deputies! Here also shall I speak clearly: it does not matter to me in the least if tomorrow all the newspapers in the world appropriate my figures. The press of the world must, however, admit that Fascist surgery is truly heroic treatment, is truly timely. (*Approbation.*)

From time to time doubtful voices reach my ear which try to give the impression that the situation in Sicily is really exaggerated, that an entire region is being mortified, that a shadow is being thrown on an island of noblest traditions. Disdainfully I dismiss these voices, which can issue from none save disreputable sources. (*Loudest approbation.*)

Gentlemen, it is time for me to expose the Mafia. But first of all, first of all, I wish to strip this brigandish association of every last scrap of poetic charm, which it does not in the least deserve. (*Loud applause.*) Let us not speak of the nobility and chivalry of the Mafia, if we do not wish truly to insult all Sicily! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*) . . .

Some one will ask me: When will the struggle against the Mafia end? It will end when there are not only none of its members left, but when the memory of the Mafia shall have been definitely wiped from the recollection of the Sicilians. (*Good!*)

Border police.—Let us speak of the border police.

You know that the border is watched by the black shirts, by the *carabinieri,* agents, and revenue guards, in this proportion: 55 officials, 294 agents, 1,626 *carabinieri,* 2,806 black shirts, and, 4,417 revenue guards. Why do I give these figures? For a very simple reason: to clear the minds of those beyond the frontier. (*Good!*)

When the black shirts arrived at the western frontier, some one heard the tread of the legions which went beyond the hill of Argentera, the pass of Tenda, into foreign territory. That is ridiculous. On the whole western frontier there are only 900 black shirts, whose business, alas, is only with the bad Italians who want to leave and with the bad Italians who want to enter.

Political Action of the Fascist State

The revolution against the anti-revolution.—I come to the third part of my discourse: the political action of the Fascist State.

You recall in what circumstances I assumed the office of Minister of the Interior. Recall the great day of October 31 at Bologna: an incomparable and unrivalled spectacle which will never be forgotten by any who saw and were in it. You recall the negligible incident of that evening. There was deep feeling in Italy, and it was necessary to act. The revolution had to confront the anti-revolution.

It was then that on this sheet of paper written by my hand, in pencil, as you see, I dictated the measures that had to be taken: the recall and revision of all foreign passports; the order to fire without warning on any one surprised in the act of secretly crossing the frontier; the suppression of all daily and periodical anti-fascist publications; the dissolution of all associations, organizations, and groups, either anti-fascist or suspected of anti-fascism; the deportation of all those who were suspected of anti-fascism or who showed any counter-revolutionary activity whatever, and of all who abusively wore the black shirt; the creation of a special police in all the territories, and the creation of police officers for investigation and of a special tribunal.

The Honorable Mr. Federzoni, who is a soldier faithful to orders, wished to return to the Colonial Ministry; but he desired, before doing so, to elaborate these measures and bring them with his elaborations before the Council of Ministers. This should be noted and remembered.

These measures have been applied. They have been applied with intelligence, for it is necessary to be very intelligent in carrying out a work of repression.

All the opposition newspapers have been suppressed; all the anti-fascist factions have been dissolved; there has been created the special police of the legions which is already rendering signal service; there have been created the political offices for investigation; there has been created the special tribunal, which functions efficiently and has not caused any trouble, and will never do so, especially if the measure is adopted to exclude from its sittings the feminine elements (*Comments, Approbation and Laughter*), which often brings into serious affairs the incorrigible sign of its frivolity (*Laughter*); the punishment of confinement within given boundaries has been applied.

Why have I said that in this work it is necessary to be intelligent? Because the opposition in Italy must not be exaggerated, as perhaps has been done. It has been more slapstick (*Laughter*) than anything else: it has spilled much ink, but in reality during these five years of Fascist administration there has only been the collective demonstration over the so-called "soldino," and the appearance of a few armored cars between Messina and Palermo was enough to bring that to an end. Then there was the great Aventine carnival-party, in the latter part of 1924; but the opposition never left its journalistic entrenchments and besides I would have been waiting for them in the other trenches. Then there was the annoying series of attempts on my life, annoying for you.

How many of these men under detention are there? It is time to say, in view of the fact that abroad there are rumors of 200,000 banished (*Comments and Laughter*) and in Milan alone 26,000 are supposed to have been raked up. It is both stupid and despicable. Meanwhile let us divide them into their two categories: the common and the political.

I hope that no one will be moved to compassion for the common exiles. They are, in general, true rabble, thieves, procurers, dope peddlers, loan sharks, etc., who ought to be swiftly removed from circulation. (*Applause.*) Perhaps the categories of the common exiles will be increased. These common exiles number in all 1,527.

Voices. Is that all!

MUSSOLINI, *Head of the Government, Prime Minister, Minister of the Interior.* Banishment has been in practice scarcely five months. (*Laughter.*)

Let us proceed to the political prisoners. There were warned 1,541 individuals, 959 were admonished, and 698 are on the Islands. I defy any one to contradict the significance of these figures, which as you see are modest. But not one of these exiles wishes to be anti-fascist and some seem to be fascist. In fact, up to the 21st of May of the current year, of 698 held in detention, 61 have declared that they had shown no political activity whatever; 286, that they had ceased long since all political activity; 185, that they had not shown subversive activity; 182, that they ceased long since subversive activity; 59, that they had not belonged to a political party; 69, that they had resigned long since from political parties; 29, that they had submitted to the government; 21, that they stood fast in their own political ideas; 52, that they had not made a declaration of a political character.

But here is an interesting correspondence from the human standpoint. I shall not give the names of those who have sent me these letters, which are interesting. The fact that almost all the prisoners have addressed themselves to me ought to be considered as one of the greatest successes of the Fascist Administration; first of all, because none of those fellows wanted to have the reproach of being anti-fascist, and in the second place, because all, notwithstanding their past records, knew that they could turn to me if they merited justice. *"I believe,"* says one, *"that my having professed Maximalist ideas and my having exercised the parliamentary mandate within the bounds of the laws in force can not constitute a legitimate reason for proceedings against me"; "I was active in the Communist Party until yesterday, since the party is no longer recognized as a political body in the State, I resign."* (*Hilarity.*)

Mr. X *"declares having decided to renounce all political activity";* Mr.

Y writes that *"having followed unorthodox political idealism does not clear* sic et simpliciter *the way to the adoption of so grave a measure as that in my case"*; another promises *"to abandon all forms of political activity and to retire to S. Margherita Ligure."* It is an excellent place! (*Much hilarity.*)

"I preached Marxism," says another, *"according to the law of evolution understood dialectically."* (*Hilarity.*)

Mr. Z *"had tried as hard as he could to make the party change its tactics."* Without success! (*Hilarity.*) . . . *"I reaffirm my heritage of ideals but I retired long since to private life."* . . . *"It was only in these latter days that the corporate order which has clarified my ideas has taken form."* (*Hilarity.*)

Here is another one who loves suspense and says that he will suspend all activity during the entire time of the Fascist Régime! (*Loud hilarity.*)

These documents have an acute interest from the humanitarian point of view. Now, these exiles are certainly not in a brilliant position, but let us not exaggerate! They receive in the meantime ten revaluated lire a day (*Hilarity.*) They have been separated from the common prisoners, they have been concentrated on only two islands. Some have spoken of amnesty. No, gentlemen, no amnesty; amnesty will not be spoken of until 1932, and it will be spoken of in 1933, if, as I hope, it will not be necessary to continue the application of the special laws. But the refusal of collective amnesty does not prevent the granting of individual clemency, especially when they are recommended by Fascisti and sometimes even by whole Fascist directorates! (*Comments.*)

Upon what basis do I proceed in the matter of pardoning? First of all I take into account the war service record of the exile. Obviously, if the man has been wounded, decorated, or is an ex-service man, he has a better right than the others; then I take into account the conditions of family and health; then I consider also the declarations which the petitioner makes.

National prophylaxis.—Is this, gentlemen, a Terror? No, it is not Terror, it is scarcely rigor. Terrorism? Not at all; it is social hygiene, national prophylaxis. (*Comments.*) These individuals are being removed from circulation as a doctor quarantines an infected person.

But then, who are those who impute to the most humane of revolutions terror? But here people no longer have any idea of what terror is! The terror of other revolutions, for example the terror of that revolution from which sprung the so-called immortal principles! But what terror was that which guillotined an average of twenty heads each morning in the Place de la Madeleine? But what terror was that which drowned thousands of people in rivers, which slaughtered thousands of people in prison, which sent to the guillotine a chemist like Lavoisier, a poet like Chenier, dozens of jurists, which destroyed whole regions, which sowed everywhere terror and death, which respected neither youths, nor old men, nor women, nor babies, nor civilians, nor priests, which had the motto that to have a revolution it is necessary to lop off many heads? It is necessary for me to give you the bibliography of the Terror? No, you know it, but I advise you to read this book; it is a *"vient de paraître,"* and is entitled: *Le suppliziate del terrore.* It is the history of the 2,000 guillotined women, often the mother together with the daughters, often the entire family, and often, which is more striking, it was not a question of aristocrats, but of poor people discovered with a crucifix in their bosoms.

Whited sepulchers, sepulchers filled with corruption, do not speak of terror when the Fascist revolution does simply its duty: defends itself! (*Very loud, vibrant, prolonged applause. The deputies rise clapping, to their feet; applause even from the tribunes.*)

It has chanced that some lawyer's study has been wrecked, or some professor's library: I deplore it. But between 1789 and 1793 (mind that I do not want to make a ridiculous case against the French Revolution; I document only the historical period, because history always justifies itself) there was a hunting down of ability. Condorcet in his sketch of a constitution had said that free people know no merits deserving preference other than ability and virtue: Delbois, one of Robespierre's collaborators, replied to this article and said that only intriguers still speak of ability; Carrier, at Nantes, promised to kill all men of ability; in the clubs of Paris, any one who had written a book was distrusted!

It is certain that since then all opposition in Italy is overthrown, dispersed, finished: dust. An important group, like that of the Azione Cattolica, has given its adherence to the Régime. Then there was the movement of the confederalists. Let us speak of this episode. The import of this happening has been exaggerated. When the circular was published under Rigola's signature, I asked the newspapers not to headline it, to accept it at its face value, because we obviously do not want to hang all men to their past. There would be too many hooks around. It had to be interpreted as a sign of the times, as a sign of the adhesive force of the Administration; and so it is in reality. We may doubt some of those individuals who surround Rigola, but Rigola is a man of honor, at least, and he is certainly a man of ability and culture, and the declaration contained things well worth knowing, even from the Fascist point of view.

Opposition not necessary.—Here arises the problem: how manage to exist without an opposition? The opposition is necessary, because it looks well in the picture.

We reject in the most perfect and disdainful manner this method of reasoning. Opposition is not necessary to the functioning of a sound political régime. Opposition is stupid; superfluous in a unanimous administration like the Fascist régime. The opposition is useful in normal times, as was the case before the War, when they debated in the Camera if, how, and when Socialism should be realized, and a debate took place, which evidently was not serious, in spite of the men who participated in it. But opposition we have within our own numbers, my friends. We are not old nags that have to be spurred. We control ourselves severely. Opposition we find always in affairs, in the objective difficulties of life, which gives us a huge mountain of opposition, which could exhaust minds even superior to my own.

Therefore let no one hope that after this discourse anti-fascist newspapers will be seen, no! nor that the resurrection of anti-fascist groups will be allowed: never! Let us now go back to my speech delivered before the revolution in a little ward club of Milan, the "Antonio Sciesa"; in Italy there is no room for anti-fascisti; there is room only for FASCISTI, and for a Fascisti when they are upright and exemplary citizens. (*Applause.*)

It must not now be thought that the fascist revolution—seeing that now even our fiercest enemies are convinced that we are re-forming Italy from top to bottom, and we have scarcely started—can come to terms with the counter-revolution. What will happen? It will follow that the light of the anti-fascisti will be reduced to a small glimmer; they will live on sainted memories; they cannot do otherwise. Do you know that until 1914 there was a Bourbon group in Naples? (*Comments.*) Do you know that until 1914 there was even printed a newspaper called the *Neo-Guelfo*? (*Hilarity.*) Who were they? They were old functionaries of the Bourbon epoch, who, every time they saw the *crachats* of the decorations, or the papyri of their régime, were moved to tears. At last came the War, they met, placed a grave-stone on the club, and never spoke of it again. (*Laughter.*) So it will be with all anti-fascisti; some time or other they will realize that it is stupid to butt their heads against the stone wall.

Fascist prefects.—I come to another point: régime, prefects, party.

Those who remember the Grand Council, the first Grand Council, which was held at the *Grand Hotel* on January 11, 1923, and which was most important because it created the Grand Council and the Militia, will recall that I said to the Party: give me 76 fascist prefects and 76 questors. It seems a heresy to be a prefect and even more so to be a questor. It appeared that I had made an obscene proposal. (*Laughter.*) Anyway, there were some heroes who consented to be prefects, leaving the party, and two of these among the others have functioned especially well. I speak of Devita, who is at Turin, and of Guerresi, who is immovable at Cosenza.

Therefore it is not true that only in November are prefects taken from the party. The experiment was made before, only with a reduced aliquot.

I must say that the prefects taken from the party are functioning splendidly. (*Approbation.*) I add that when I decide to have a reassignment of the prefects, and by this time you have noticed that movements are rare and infrequent because prefects must not travel continually in post to post transfers, for otherwise they will end by no longer knowing anything about the provincial situation; when I decide, as I was saying, to have a change of prefects, I shall call on the party for another aliquot of Fascist prefects, from the first members possibly.

The circular letter to the prefects.[15]—The circular to the prefects is a fundamental document because it has established the exact position of the Party in the Régime in a manner which will not allow further equivocation. I say quickly that from the conferences which I have had with at least 90 prefects, I have learned that only in about ten provinces, gentlemen, was the situation not clear, that is, there was what I call sliding of authority, metayage of power. But in all the other provinces I must solemnly declare that all the federal secretaries were, as they should be, subordinate to the Head of the province.

Just as at the center the Hon. Mr. Turati comes to me every morning for orders, likewise it is logical, and not simply formal analogy, that in the provinces the same should hold true.

The position thus cleared up, there can still be frictions, for human nature is not easily tamed, but these frictions will diminish, and in any event, I will never give the head of a prefect to any federal secretary (*Approbation*) especially if this prefect comes from the National Fascist Party, and if he is, as he ought to be, an upright functionary, devoted servant of the Régime. (*Applause.*)

Furthermore, in this circular I occupied myself with another phenomenon. At the present time this discourse has a value purely retrospective, for many of these phenomena are on the road to exhaustion and definite disappearance. I attended to squadism, which has been a great thing as an instrument of fascist activity, but it is simply absurd, ridiculous, and stupid to make it something by itself. Squadism is derived from squad; thus we might make also battalionism and regimentism. Can a simple tactical formation of battle furnish the motive for an order, for a theory? No. And furthermore, gentlemen, there has been squadism in only one part of Italy. The true great heroic squadism extends from Turin to Trieste, in the Valle Padana, in Tuscany, and in Umbria; farther south there was none (*Approbation*) save in the Puglie or in a few other centers.

Tardy squadism is therefore simply absurd. Fascisti ought to be up to the minute. I cannot stand physically those who suffer from nostalgia, who every minute are heaving from their chests sighs and deep breaths: the good old times! All that is simply idiotic! (*Applause.*) Life goes on, gentlemen, and continually we have before us the living reality.

Squadism when it wears the gray-green color, is an army which must fight. (*Applause.*)

And there is a profound difference as to what relates to lawlessness. Here again the discourse has a retrospective value. I have apologized for violence nearly all my life long (*Approbation*); I did so when I was at the head of Italian socialism, and at that time I made weak with fear the bellies, sometimes redundant, of my political associates with many warlike previsions: the bath of blood, the historic days!

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[15] See p. 467 for this circular, "The Duties of Italian Prefects."

I wanted to test the fighting spirit of that mythical, intangible entity which was called the Italian proletariat. But I have always distinguished violence from violence since the congress of Udine, since the speeches in the ward clubs, and I have always said that there is the timely chivalrous violence of man to man, noble, better than compromise and conciliation. But acts of violence which serve personal interests, these are not Fascism. (*Loud applause.*) And they have been done away with from the time that the Régime reassumed to itself all power, and to one person alone, all authority.

The régime is judged by its champions.—Another point of retrospective character: when a régime, when a party has assumed the terrible and grave responsibility of power, then it is responsible *in toto,* and even the last private in the last Fascio in Italy has his share of responsibility. The Régime is judged by him as it is judged by me, and the people have a perfect right to judge the Régime by the champions which it offers them. (*Applause.*) And if these champions are not up to the situation, the people have the right to manifest their severe judgment. Why? Because we are, and we boast that we are, an authoritive Régime, and no one ought to think, not even doubt, that we have adopted this severe discipline simply to hide something which is not of the purest and clearest. (*Loud applause.*)

But there was besides a distinction full of doctrine and full of life in that circular: the distinction between the moral order and the public order. They are not the same thing. There can be a perfect public order and there can be a profound moral disorder. (*Comments.*)

Moral order and public order.—We ought to preoccupy ourselves with the moral order, not with the public order, because for the public order, in the police sense of the word, we have forces enough: we ought instead to preoccupy ourselves with the moral order, and we ought to desire, working at the bottom, that the contact between the masses and the Régime may be always more widespread, always more firm, always more conscious. (*Applause.*)

But meanwhile what has been the result of this policy? A sense of peace diffused throughout the country. The small local arrogances are ended, the illegalities as well. All the party elements are organized; at any rate, when they are not, I strike them. Let no one deceive himself into thinking that I do not know what is happening in the country down to the last village in Italy. I will know a little late, but at last I know it, and then comes my sword, as happened recently in a large city, where I severed the fascisti who work, and who show how they work, from those who can not make that brilliant, that necessary demonstration. (*Applause.*)

I told you that in these first four months of 1927 the incidents followed by casualties have numbered eleven in all Italy. In four months last year, they were 99. This shows that the sense of discipline and order are now diffused among all classes of citizens.

Honorable colleagues, we are now at the end of the fifth year of the Régime. You know that I am always a little discontented, yet if I look around me, if I look at what we have accomplished in these five years, I have some reason for satisfaction. I shall tell you shortly what is the deeper reason for my satisfaction; you perhaps do not guess it at this moment.

The forces of the Régime.—The forces of the Régime are compact, firm, indestructible. What are these forces? In the first place, the Government. There are still some idle men who at every Council of ministers sin again with the old sins, for the force of habit sometimes is most dangerous, and speak of reorganization. (*Hilarity.*) And my ear ought to be hurt by that terminology, which reminds me of the time of Charlemagne. No, the Government is compact, solid, attuned; and you ought to consider that in the Fascist Government all the ministers and all the sub-secretaries of State are soldiers; they go where their Head says that they must go, and they remain when I tell them to stay. There is nothing of that which recalls the old cookery of former times! There is instead the rigid martial discipline of the Fascist Régime.

Next to the Government, the Party. The Party has bettered its membership in these latter times: it has closed the doors; those who were fascisti in 1925, 1924, 1923, very well; now one can no longer become a fascist.

So much the worse for those who were late: our trains do not wait for them!

But how shall we nourish the party with vital lymphs? With youth.

I hope that you have reflected on the extraordinarily symbolical and profoundly vital significance of the ceremony of March 28; that conscription in mass of the youth which enters the Party and receives a card, as it receives a musket, which is infinitely more.

Thus the party renews itself in ten years: thus at a certain time there will be a Council of ministers in which the President may be from 28 to 30 years old. For it is not true that it is necessary to be old or, for instance, in the second childhood to be able to govern: No. There have been ministers in England 20, 21 years old, and they have governed brilliantly what was and is the most powerful empire in the world.

People ought to feel also—I hope to teach it to Italians—the pudicity of old age.

Next to the Party, the Militia: the Militia, which in these latter times has become a body even more important than it was, and which meanwhile has had the satisfaction of having the guardianship of the frontier, of giving its officials to the special Tribunal, of establishing the political Offices of Investigation, of obtaining six thousand muskets every month.

The legions have been supplied with the necessary means. They are being studied for use in case of war, since the problem of the Militia is an organic problem. Meanwhile to those over 40 years old will be given the anti-aircraft defense and the coast defense.

But above all the Militia has had the premilitary education which has given superb results. Thus is the fascist army made: from the bottom; thus are made warrior generations! Not only of soldiers who obey because commanded, but generations of soldiers who fight because such is their desire! (*Approbation.*) Because this is their passion for they feel that they carry an idea!

The armies which have conquered have been the armies which bore on their banner an idea. And we to-day carry the idea of order, of hierarchy, of the authority of the State against the suicidal theory of disorder, undiscipline, irresponsibility.

The syndicates are doing well. Especially those which consist of the faithful solid rural masses. One should not have, however, too many illusions about that which concerns the so-called specifically industrial proletariat: it is largely still distant and, if no longer contrary as at one time, absent.

It is evident that we shall have to be aided also by the fatal laws of life. The generation of irreducibles, those who have not understood the War and do not know anything about Fascism, will some time or other be eliminated by natural laws. Youths will come up, there will come up the workmen and peasants whom we are recruiting in the "Young Fascisti" and the "Junior Fascisti": powerful institutions, powerful organisms which give us a means of controlling the life of the nation between the ages of six and sixty, and to create the new Italia, the Fascist Italia.

Then, next to the syndicates, we have to-day all the live forces of culture, of intellect, of economy, of the banks. The Régime comprises all, but it is the Régime with the largest popular support in history. What support have the other régimes? How is their Government formed? By a majority vote. But how is the majority created? By an electoral consultation. I shall speak in a little while of electoral consultations.

This Régime, instead, is a Régime which rests upon a party of a million individuals, upon another million youths, upon millions and millions of Italians, who go on perfecting themselves, refining themselves, organizing themselves. No other government in any other part of the world has a more vast and profound foundation than that of the Italian Government.

Popular support and formation of a directing class.—A problem. We have popular support. In fact the opposition is reduced to some vociferative effort (*Laughter*), but so fantastic and idiotic that the people itself disposes of it summarily. The directing class is beginning to exist. There are, in fact, 9 thousand "podestà," 20 thousand officials of the Militia, thousands of Fascist organizers, who to-morrow could assume an office of command.

Sometimes I thought that after five years I should see a large part of my task completed. Gentlemen, I am convinced that it is not so. I realize it, as I realize that this is a book (in my hand). I neither like it nor dislike it. I am convinced that, in spite of the fact that there is a directing class in the process of formation, in spite of the fact that there is a discipline of the people ever more conscious, I must take to myself the task of governing the Italian Nation for ten or fifteen years more. It is necessary. My successor is not yet born. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

And why? But is it, then, a lust for power which holds me? No. I truly believe that no Italian thinks this: not even my worst enemy. It is a duty. A duty to the revolution and to Italy.

We still have great tasks, very great tasks. I mention three of them to you. They are fundamental: the conditioning of all the armed forces of the State; the economic-financial battle; the constitutional reform. (*Approbation.*)

Conditioning of armed forces.—You recall that I went to Locarno. Locarno is a city located on Lake Maggiore. (*Laughter.*) I went because it was a question of accomplishing a political and diplomatic act of fundamental importance.

Note that I do not wish to make a digression on foreign politics; I shall speak on foreign politics in the Senate, but at some later time, for I should consider myself dishonored forever if I were to inflict two discourses on the Nation in the same month.

The architecture of Locarno is as follows: France and Germany make an agreement reciprocally not to attack each other, and there are, aside, watching to see that the agreement is not broken, England and Italy. It was important that Italy at that moment should place itself on the same footing with England and make itself a guarantor of that peace on the Rhine which is in reality the peace of Europe.

But at Locarno something more and better was done: it performed an operation of pure chemistry, of distillation; it manufactured the spirit of Locarno. Gentlemen, the spirit of Locarno to-day, after scarcely two years, is extraordinarily discolored. (*Hilarity.*)

I assert it here, without any polemical intention; it gives me the impression of the similarity which can be detected between the murmur which is heard in a sea shell placed close to the ear and the roar of the ocean. It is not the same thing, obviously.

What has happened? It has happened that the Locarnist nations, to call them thus, are arming themselves furiously by land and by sea; it has happened that in some of these nations people have even dared to speak of a war of doctrine which ought to be incited by democracy, by the immortal principles, against this irreducible Fascist Italy, anti-democratic, anti-liberal, anti-socialist, and anti-Masonic. (*Applause.*)

Then, there have been manifestations to which it would be criminal to close our eyes, inasmuch as what I reproach democracy with is this: that it forms a type of man or people, and really believes that this man or people exists. From this the atrocious disillusionments, tragedies, and slaughters of history.

Gentlemen, there was the other day the great Berlin parade of the spiked helmets. They numbered 120 thousand, and this might interest us very mildly; but one of their banners bore this motto: "From Trieste to Riga." Insane, paradoxical, *gaffeuse,* if you wish, but it is a fact. Then? Then the unmistakable, fundamental, prejudicial duty of Fascist Italy is to condition all her armed forces of land, of sea, and of air. (*Repeated and prolonged applause.*)

We must be able to mobilize five million men at a given time and be able to arm them; we must strengthen our navy, and our air forces, in which my belief grows ever stronger, must be so numerous and so powerful that the roar of their motors will drown out any other sound in the peninsula and the covering of their wings obscure the sun above our land. To-morrow, then, we shall be able, when between 1935 and 1940 we have newly reached a point which I might call crucial in European history, we shall be able to make our voice heard and see our rights recognized at last. (*Very loud reiterated applause.*) This preparation still requires some years.

The economic and financial battle.—And there is, besides, the economic and financial battle.

I do not wish to anticipate the discourse which my friend and colleague Volpi will give next Thursday in this assembly; but all the same it is necessary that I say something. And here my polemics will become pungent, and here I shall play in six sharps, violin key, of course. (*Laughter.*)

You remember that last summer, when the pound sterling (let us speak of the pound as being at parity with the dollar, for so England desires, as do all the strong nations) went to 140 and to 150, there were sweet smiles all about. All the anti-fascisti seemed to have a word of common order: fine thing, Fascism; great man, the Duce; however, nobody knows how, look at the rate of exchange: the pound sterling is at 140! Something more, gentlemen, is needed than your dictatorship. The bankers of Wall Street and of the City cannot be given castor oil. (*Laughter.*) The policeman's club does not raise the thermometer of exchange!

Well, there followed my discourse at Pesaro. My discourse at Pesaro, which was impromptu, naturally. I will have to say, however, that I had thought it over for three months and that on August 8 I gave notice of it to the Minister of Finance in a letter at least sixteen pages long. My improvisations are of that nature! (*Approbation.*)

What did I say? That the Fascist Régime could not accept defeat in the field of finance. It may endure it, if to-morrow its strength will be greater than its desire, but certainly it cannot submit to it. (*Approbation.*)

And then, since my discourse at Pesaro (which I gave at Pesaro simply because I happened to be passing through there in the afternoon (*Laughter*), because it is a pleasant town which I like, but which I could have given also at Sassoferrato, for I have never thought that to make an interesting speech one must mount a brilliant rostrum), the ironic and sarcastic smiles have disappeared.

But now, what is happening? When the other day the pound sterling, to my very great pleasure, went to 85, it seemed that there was in sight a national catastrophe. All around were seen even grayer faces, as if it were a question of establishing everywhere branch offices of Raveggi. (*Loud hilarity.*) "But it is ruin! But it is a national catastrophe!" Thus the Stock Exchange element bemoaned itself, thus the manipulators of securities and of exchange.

I hold these men in fairly high esteem, but sometimes, when I see them with their distinguishing mark in their buttonhole, they nauseate me. (*Loud applause.*) And that is not easy, considering my diet. (*Laughter.*)

But where, then, is this catastrophe, gentlemen? Do not cry too soon! Do not bandage your heads before you have bumped them! (*Laughter.*) Slowly! Be calm, you calamity-howlers at the rise, who previously howled at the fall.

As far as I am concerned, the history begins in October, 1922. If you take the high point of the pound sterling, then yes, we have a gain of 60 points; but if you take the average quotation of 120, the gain is reduced to 30 points, and if you turn to the quotation at the time of the March on Rome the gain is reduced to 15, for at the time of the March on Rome the pound was at 105 and 110. But then, gentlemen, we had a balance showing a deficit, we had unpaid foreign debts, a régime which was just starting and which thus could not even be supposed to last; we had a passive balance of payments. What is this gain of 15 points, now that we have systematized the national debt and the foreign debt, now that we have struck a balance and have a surplus, now that we have limited the circulation? This is the prize, the modest prize which the Italian people has merited after five years during which it has worked like a nigger, or, if you wish, like a hero and like a saint. (*Loud applause.*)

However, let these preoccupations be calmed; we have not gained anything; we have retaken the positions which we held in 1922. We will call them "quota 90" and on this quota let us await the whole strength of the army. We will remain here the necessary and sufficient time for all the economic forces to level themselves at this quota; which forces, however, did level themselves rapidly and willingly when the rate of exchange, going down, made kangaroo jumps. (*Applause.*) To-day they find insurmountable difficulties because we are proceeding toward amelioration with the gait of a grasshopper. All that is miserable! (*Loud applause.*)

The corporate State. The institutional problem of Parliament.

We have created the corporate State. This corporate State places before us the institutional problem of Parliament. What is happening to this Camera? Meanwhile this Camera, which has notably, nobly, and constantly served the cause of the Régime, will continue for its normal period.

All those who wished to dissolve and suppress it, as if in punishment, will certainly be deluded.

But it is evident that the chamber of to-morrow cannot resemble the chamber of to-day. On this day, May 26th, we solemnly bury the false conception of a democratic, universal suffrage.

But what is this universal suffrage? We have seen it put to the test Out of 11 million citizens who had the right to vote, there were 6 million who periodically made light of it.

And the others, what value can they have, when the vote is given to the citizen simply because he has reached the age of 21, and thus, the discriminative criterion of the capacity of the citizen is bound to a question of chronology or of simple civil status?

To-morrow there will be a Camera, but this Camera will be elected through the corporative organizations of the State. Many of you will return in this Camera, many of you will find your natural places in the Senate, some in the Council of State, some in the prefectures, in the diplomatic and consular career, where the Régime can be notably served, some others will retire to private life. (*Hilarity.*)

It cannot be thought that all may be hierarchs; men are needed also in the ranks. Besides, does the Nation perhaps feel the electoral need? It has forgotten it, and is it very necessary for us to have, by means of a vote, the declaration of the consensus of the people? Let me think that this is not absolutely necessary. Toward the end of this year or in the coming year we will establish the forms by which will be elected the corporate Camera of the Italian State.

Fascism has created the Italian State, based on unity, but meanwhile I come to an essential point of my discourse, perhaps the most important. What have we accomplished, Fascisti, in these five years? We have accomplished an enormous, secular, monumental thing. What? We have created the unified Italian State. Consider that from the time of the Empire on, Italy was no longer a united State. We here solemnly reaffirm our doctrine concerning the State; here I reaffirm not less emphatically my formula from the speech in the "Scala" at Milan: all within the State, nothing against the State, nothing outside the State. I can in no manner conceive of an individual in the Twentieth Century able to exist outside the State, save in a state of barbarism, in a state of savagery.

It is the State alone which gives self-consciousness to peoples. If the people is organized, the people is a State, otherwise it is a population which will be at the mercy of the first group of adventurers within or of whatever horde of invaders may come from without. For, gentlemen, only the State, with its juridical organization, with its military force prepared in time, can defend the national collectivity; but if the human collectivity is broken up and reduced to the mere nucleus of the family, a few Normans will suffice to conquer Puglia. (*Applause.*)

What was that State which we took over as it was breathing its last, gnawed by constitutional crises, debased by its organic impotence? The State which we conquered at the time of the March on Rome was the one which has been handed down from *1860* on. It was not a State, but a system of badly organized prefectures, in which the prefect had but one preoccupation, that of being an efficient electoral errand boy.

In that State, until 1922, the proletariat—what shall I say? the whole nation—was absent, refractory, hostile.

To-day we announce to the world the creation of the powerful unified Italian State from the Alps to Sicily. This State expresses itself in a centralized, organized, authoritative democracy in which the people move about at will, because, gentlemen, either you place the people within the citadel of the State, and it will defend it; or it will be outside, and will assault it. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen! A discourse like this will not bear perorations! I only say to you that within ten years Italy, our Italy, will be unrecognizable to herself and to foreigners, for we shall have radically transformed her in appearance, but even more in soul! (*Very loud, general, prolonged, reiterated applause in which the tribunes join. The President, the ministers, and the deputies rise to their feet in acclamation. Repeated and enthusiastic cries of* Viva il Duce!).

2. PARTY, NATION, AND STATE[16]

. . . Of the 40 million who form the Italian population to-day, the 10 million adult males—no need to speak of women in a community of warriors—fall into two categories: those who, as members of legally recognized organizations, count as citizens of the Corporative State, and those who are left beyond its pale.

These latter have neither political freedom nor personal rights; they are excluded from certain professions (journalism, diplomacy, etc.) or tolerated in others (public officials, barristers, etc.) as long as they do not openly put themselves in opposition to the party in power. If they are working men, they are employed only when members of the legal unions are all in work. They pay local and national taxes; they pay their annual contribution to the legally recognized organizations of their trade, as determined by the Government; they perform the obligatory military service, and are legally entitled—will they be actually allowed?—to say 'yes' or 'no' to the list of 400 candidates for the Chamber, drawn up by the Grand Council of Fascism. The correspondent of the *Morning Post,* April 28, 1926, writes:

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[16] By G. Salvemini. (Taken by permission from a book not yet published.)

> "Either a man swallows Fascism whole or he is considered a political pariah."

How many are citizens of the "Corporative State" and how many the pariahs?

The statistics of the New Era, as we have frequently observed, are singularly wayward. In his interview with the *Daily Express,* January 24, 1927, Mussolini stated the membership of the legally recognized organizations to be 20 million.

> "More than 20 millions of Italians—he declared—are members of our syndicates. Fascism rests on the broad foundation of the free will of 20 millions of Italian workers who are members of our corporations."

Franco Sacchetti, an Italian story-teller of the 14th century, narrates that Bernabò Visconti, the Tyrant of Milan, demanded to be told how far it is from the earth to heaven, how much water is in the sea and various other things useful and pleasant to know. A miller answered him: "From here to heaven is 36,854,072½ miles and 22 paces; have it measured out and if it is not so, have me hanged; in the sea there are 25,982,000 tuns, 7 barrels, 12 bottles, 2 glasses of water; let it be measured and if it is not so, have me quartered." Mussolini's statistics are something like those of the miller.

Signor Villari is more moderate. In the *Times,* November 28, 1927, he wrote:

> "The organisations of workers and employers already comprise from six to seven million members, and are increasing day by day."

But this figure represents almost the whole mass of employers and employees who pay the compulsory contributions through tax-collectors, not those who have been admitted to membership. Mussolini, four months earlier than the *Daily Express* interview, i.e., in a speech of October 5, 1926, fired off the round figure of 3 million: "Let them be measured, and if it is not so, have me quartered." In June, 1927, Signor Rossoni, President of the General Confederation of Fascist Unions, in a speech at the International Labor Office Conference, gave the same figure of 3 million, stating it to include "not only industrials and agricultural workers but also commercial employees and intellectual workers."[17] In March, 1928, the number of Fascist Trade Unionists was given as 2,809,641.[18]

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[17] Report of International Labor Conference, Geneva, 1927, pp. 218-219.

[18] I give this figure without swearing that it is not invented. Signor Bottai (Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Labour), in his speech of March 15, 1928, gives the membership of employers in land transport as 22,500, and that of the employees as 247,334; a day later in a speech of March 16, 1928, Signor Marchi, President of the National Confederation of employers in land transport gave the whole number of persons, employers and employees, engaged in land transport as 112,754, of whom 18,366 are employers and 94,987 employees. (*Popolo d'Italia,* March 17, 1928.) The clash between Signor Bottai's and Signor Marchi's figures is evident.

The number of employers organized in the Fascist associations was given as 885,968. . . .

These 3.7 million citizens must be divided again into two classes: those who are members only of the legally recognized organizations,and those who are also members of the Fascist Party. The first enjoy the privileges pertaining to the legal organizations but in them they have no other function than to carry out the orders of their officials. They are passive, not active citizens.

Active citizenship is bestowed only on those who are members of the Fascist Party, which controls the whole population. It exercises this control through the following bodies of officials:—

(a) the civil servants and local officials, who are eligible for employment only if they are members of the Party, or only remain in office as long as they do nothing in their official capacity or otherwise, which brings them into opposition with the Party;

(b) the Presidents, secretaries, and lesser officials of the legally recognized organizations of Employers, Employees, Professional Men and Public Officials, who must be members of the Party, and can be dismissed the moment the Party ceases to trust them;

(c) the officers and men of the Militia, who must all be members of the Party.

Through the public officials, maintained at the taxpayer's expense, the Party controls all the activities of the country, which fall within the field of public administration, both central and local; through the officials of the Fascist organizations, maintained by compulsory contributions from all producers, whether organized or not, the Party controls the economic life of the country; and through the Militia, maintained at the taxpayer's expense, the Party controls the political life of the country and suppresses by force any attempt at opposition. . . .

> "The Party—writes the Neapolitan paper, *Lo Stato,* February 5-6, 1928—is the living aristocracy of the revolution, on whom the Duce has bestowed the high honour of providing the State with the men who are to rule the community."

At Fascist manifestations, Mussolini has the habit of putting to his followers the question: "To whom must Italy be given?" and the followers respond: "To us."

In short, the present political constitution of Italy may be defined as the dictatorship of the Fascist Party over the entire population of 40 million.

In this respect the Fascist régime is twin brother to Bolshevism. A systematic comparison of Fascist laws with Bolshevist laws will presumably lead to the conclusion that most Fascist laws correspond to, and are of later date than, some Bolshevist laws, i.e., are a mere imitation of Muscovite models. The dictatorship of the Fascist Party is even more absolute than that exercised by the Communist Party in Russia. In Russia the control of the Communist Party tightens as one passes from the rural communes to the cities, from municipal administrations to the provincial governments, and from these to the central government; in rural communes, the peasants retain the right of electing the local administrators who retain a large measure of initiative. In Italy, the Fascists have abolished self-government, even in the smallest rural communes, thus setting up the most rigid administrative centralization that history has ever known.

What is the membership of the Fascist Party? Even here the figures have been subject to wide fluctuations until 1927, as the following table shows:—

1925	February	Enrolled in the Fascist Party........	250,000[19]
“	March 31	“ “ “ “ “	365,000[20]
“	September	“ “ “ “ “	700,000[21]
1926	February 27	“ “ “ “ “	425,000[22]
“	March 30	“ “ “ “ “	637,000[23]
“	April 1	“ “ “ “ “	700,000[24]
“	April	“ “ “ “ “	800,000[25]
“	“	“ “ “ “ “	545,000[26]
“	June	“ “ “ “ “	915,562[27]
“	August	“ “ “ “ “ about...	1,000,000[28]
“	October	“ “ “ “ “	1,000,000[29]

In 1927 the figures become coherent:[30]

1927	January	Enrolled in the Fascist Party........	940,000[31]
“	July	“ “ “ “ “	960,000[32]
“	September	“ “ “ “ “	1,000,052[33]
“	November	“ “ “ “ “	1,024,546[34]

[19] *Popolo d'Italia,* 27th February, 1926.

[20] *Popolo d'Italia,* 6th April, 1926.

[21] Villari, *Fascist Experiment,* p. 54.

[22] *Popolo d'Italia,* 27th February, 1926.

[23] *Popolo d'Italia,* 6th April, 1926.

[24] Proclamation of the General Secretary of the Party, Signor Turati. *Popolo d'Italia,* April 2, 1926.

[25] Villari, *Fascist Experiment,* p. 54.

[26] Statement by Signor Farinacci, General Secretary of the Fascist Party, in April 1926; *Regime Fascista,* Aug. 30, 1926. (Reproduced in the *Voce Repubblicana* the following day.)

[27] *Il Lavoro d'Italia,* Aug. 3, 1926.

[28] Statement by Signor Farinacci, *Regime Fascista,* Aug. 30, 1926.

[29] Mussolini's speech, Oct. 5, 1926.

[30] The membership according to data supplied by the Italian Embassy at Washington, D. C., was 1,040,508 men and 106,756 women on July 31, 1930.

[31] *Corriere della Sera,* Jan. 9, 1927.

[32] *Corriere della Sera,* July 7, 1927.

[33] *Times,* Sept. 7, 1927.

[34] *Corriere della Sera,* Nov. 9, 1927.

If we credulously swallow this last figure, we can state the Fascist régime to be the dictatorship of one million men over a country of forty million.

But even this figure does not go to the heart of the system. Among this million men, we must distinguish the leaders from the rank and file. The rank and file enjoy privileges compared to the passive citizens and the pariahs, but must submit blindly to the will of the leaders. These, not the rank and file, exercise the real political power and are therefore the ruling class in the "Corporative State."

How many are these leaders? The Officers of the Militia number twenty thousand; the Officials of the legally recognized organizations can be estimated at twenty thousand; the Podestà in charge of the Communes, the Secretaries of provincial Federations and of local branches of the Party, the editors of influential daily papers and weekly reviews, and the deputies may be estimated at twenty thousand. In all, we may count that the country is controlled by an oligarchy of not more than sixty thousand people.

This oligarchy in turn is organized in a rigidly centralized system, in which the lower ranks are appointed by their superiors, and owe them blind obedience. The General Secretary of the Fascist Party appoints the Provincial Secretaries; these, in their turn, appoint their own executives and the secretaries of the local branches. And these again appoint the local executives.[35] Therefore the central nucleus of the oligarchy, termed the true "government" of the country, is composed of the very small number who form the "Grand Council of Fascism." This was set up in January, 1923, shortly after the "March on Rome," and as explained, it is composed of the Central Executive of the Fascist Party, of the Ministers in Mussolini's cabinet, and any others whom Mussolini invites to attend the sittings: on an average, twenty to twenty-five persons.

At the head of the Grand Council is Mussolini. The Grand Council has no power of decision; it discusses and gives opinions. The Dictator accepts or rejects these; he does not even ask for them unless he thinks necessary. His decisions immediately become law for the Party, the Militia and the legally recognized organizations. In the case of public servants and local officials, Mussolini can appoint whom he will after consultation with the Council.

In the Party all members take an oath of allegiance to Mussolini, as Duce of the Party: he has power to expel and degrade to the rank of pariahs any member who does not show himself sufficiently loyal. In the Militia, officers and men take a special oath of allegiance to Mussolini as General-Commander: he nominates, promotes, rewards, punishes and dismisses officers and men. As Head of the Government he controls public administration through the Ministers, whom he nominates and dismisses.

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[35] See the Statutes of the Party in the *Stapma,* Oct. 12, 1926.

As Home Secretary and Minister of Labor he directly controls the economic life of the country through the legally recognized organizations.

This, in conclusion, is the constitution of Fascistized Italy; a population of forty million which is controlled by a Party of one million men, which is ruled by an oligarchy of sixty thousand, which is governed by a camarilla of twenty-five which is presided over by a single man.

In Dostoevski's novel, *The Possessed,* written in 1871, Shigalëvo develops his program for the society of the future:

> "I must first point out that my system is not yet completed, not yet entirely worked out. For I have got entangled in my own arguments: my final conclusion is diametrically opposed to my original idea. Although I started from the notion of unrestricted freedom, I arrived in the end at absolute despotism. I may add, however, that there can be no possible solution but mine."

Another member of the meeting explains Shigalëvo's program in the following terms:

> "He proposes to divide mankind into two unequal parts: only the smaller part, about a tenth of the whole, will enjoy personal freedom and unrestricted power over the other nine-tenths. These nine-tenths must entirely renounce all personality and become, so to speak, a herd, in order, through absolute obedience, by a series of regenerations, to regain their original innocence, almost like the old Garden of Eden, although, as may be remarked in passing, they will have to work. The measures proposed for depriving nine-tenths of humanity of their personal will and for turning them into a herd by means of a new education during whole generations, are uncommonly remarkable, and are in addition based on the facts of nature and are highly logical."[36]

To Fascism even better than to Bolshevism can apply the above prophetic passage from Dostoevski's *The Possessed.*

In the Fascist doctrine this system is justified by the axiom: "The Fascist Party is the State and the Nation," which is for Fascist Italy what the axiom: "Things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another" is for Euclidean geometry.

In the terminology of the "Old Era," the Nation is a group of men having a common civilization, who consider a given territory as their country, and possess, or aspire to possess a common political organization; the State is the network of the governing bodies who control a given territory, which may be inhabited by different nations. Parties are political organizations into which the citizens range themselves with the object of directing the governing bodies (i.e., the State) according to the ideals cherished by each party. Louis XIV could say *"L'état, c'est moi"* because, as an absolute monarch he alone was presumed to control the governing bodies of his realm: the existence of parties was inconceivable. Under oligarchic rule, that privileged section of the population which controlled the governing bodies was regarded as the State, while the rest of the population, having no political rights, remained outside the State: the oligarchy might split up into parties. Under democratic rule, in which political rights were enjoyed by all citizens, the word State was loaded with two different meanings: the network of the governing bodies and the community as a whole, *"l'ensemble des citoyens considéré come un corps politique";* the division of citizens into different parties was regarded as an essential feature of the system.

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[36] Quoted by René Fülop-Miller, *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism* (London, George Putnam's Sons, 1927), p. 288.

In the Fascist doctrine the ideas Nation, State and Party are all merged into one single notion. Signor Maraviglia, one of the chieftains of the Party, in a speech made at the Fascist National Congress of June 22, 1925, demonstrated, as surely as two and two make four, that in the new Corporative State, the three ideas, like three equal triangles, coincide in all respects.

> "Many difficulties arise from the ambiguity of applying the epithet 'party' to the Fascist movement. The name 'party' has to be retained for historical reasons, because it is as a party that our régime fought and conquered. But, the democratic conception of party should be rejected by Fascism. Fascism is the nation, inasmuch as it includes and unifies the whole national community. This notion is contrary to the idea of party. Party is the reverse of universal. In the Fascist State, the party is simply a militia in the service of the State. It can only be conceived in this way. It is not a party struggling against other parties to defend and seize the power. It holds the power in its own right, inasmuch as it defends the State." (*Cheers.*)

The semi-official Fascist organ, *Tribuna,* December 2, 1926, writes:

> "The old free State was based on two conditions: political freedom and the party system. All parties were recognised and tolerated under free rule. To-day Fascism has entirely superseded this theory and practice. Not only have all other parties ceased to exist, but, what is more important, Fascist rule is universally recognised as being the necessary condition for the life of the Nation. Fascism has achieved perfect coincidence between State and Nation."

No law has yet officially proclaimed the Fascist Party to be the Nation and the State. But in the "New Era," practice always precedes theory, and jurisprudence preludes legislation. For instance, the general secretary of the party, has, as we have already seen, the power to decree that wages must be cut throughout the country. He modifies by circulars of his own the regulations issued by Ministers.[37] He receives the Prefects of the provinces and confers with them on the situation in their provinces,[38] as if he were Home Secretary. In Court ceremonies he ranks among the highest personages of the realm and is on the same footing with the President of the Supreme Court, the ambassadors, et al.[39] Officials of the Fascist Party must be regarded as public officials, as a ruling of the Judge of Turin, in June, 1927, declared, and in consequence the internal affairs of the Fascist Party enjoy the same privilege of secrecy as the public service.

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[37] In February, 1928, he authorized the provincial Joint Committees of Employers and Employees (*Comitati Intersindacali*) to take into account, in compiling the indices of the cost of living, certain products, such as eggs, potatoes, wine, meat, etc., which the Ministry of Economics had left out of its calculations.

> "The laws concerning the interests of the community—this judge declared—can not be interpreted apart from the political conditions of the moment. Art. 248 of the Code of Penal Procedure, according to which public officials can not be forced to give evidence, does not apply only to Government officials. In the said article 'Government' is equivalent to 'State.' The hierarchy of the Fascist Party, being an organ of the State, must enjoy the same treatment as the organs of the Government. With Fascism, for the first time in the history of modern nations, the reduction of political parties to a single one has become complete. Therefore, we have the absolute identity of the State with the party in power. The State is Fascism and vice-versa. The organization of Fascism is the central part of that organization of the State which permits of the effectual political existence of the Nation and renders sane and practical government possible. In conclusion, the same necessity which justifies the application of art. 248 to the civil service, also justifies its application to Fascism, i.e., the State."[40]

Had the confusion between the ideas of Nation, State and Party stopped at this point, the consequences would already have been far-reaching. But it does not stop there. The Fascist State is not only that particular political and administrative organization through which the Fascist Party to-day controls the Italian Nation; it is optimum Government; it is the culmination of history from the age of the cave-men to October 30, 1922, when Mussolini marched on Rome in a sleeping car. The Italian Nation is the Chosen People, destined to announce to mankind the end of the liberal, democratic era, and the beginning of a new civilization, the Fascist civilization. The Italian Fascist Party is the torch-bearer of this new civilization, the salt of the earth.

Signor Bodrero, Under-Secretary for Education in Mussolini's Cabinet, gave at Milan in February, 1928, a historico-philosophical address, in which he develops the following theme:

> "Every great civilisation has produced a type of man who seems the embodiment of the characteristic features of the whole race at a given moment of its history. Greece gave to the world the type of manly beauty and goodness. Rome created the type of the strong and wise man. We have had to wait for the twentieth century before the Fascist appeared; the miraculous man, who

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[38] *Stampa,* Sept. 3, 1927.

[39] *Corriere della Sera,* Dec. 18 and 21, 1927.

[40] *Corriere della Sera,* December 3, 1927.

> seems to embody the history of our race throughout the centuries, the type worthy of the new Italy, the imperial type to whom will be entrusted the task of restoring to our country her leadership in the world."[41]

All the ideas, semi-ideas and non-ideas with which the term "state" is weighted in Hegelian philosophy: the divine idea on earth, the State, the spirit becoming conscious of itself, the State its own end, the State having supreme rights over the individual, whose supreme duty is to be a member of the State, etc., etc., etc. These sonorous vacuities are the daily bread of all who read the political literature of Italy to-day.

The thinkers of the "Third Rome" (the First Rome was the Rome of the Cæsars, the Second Rome the Rome of the Popes, the Third Rome is the Rome of Mussolini) are captained by the titular philosopher of the Régime, Professor Gentile. Professor Gentile's brain is a system of inverted filters: ideas enter it clear and come out clouded. Words which in common use are full of straightforward meaning, become in his philosophy, emptied of all concrete significance, abstract but deep-sounding. They, therefore, exercise an irresistible fascination, especially over young people who have not yet reached the age of discretion. In case I am suspected of making a caricature, I reproduce a passage in which Professor Gentile explains what is, according to the Fascist theory, the State, and in what respects the Fascist State differs from the Nationalist State. Before imperiling my readers' sanity, I ask them to realize that the Italo-Teutonic thought of Professor Gentile is put before them in an English translation, in other words, it reaches them after passing through a fresh filter, the English tongue, which cannot help forcing even the cloudiest and most abstract ideas to assume a certain clarity and significance. After this warning the readers may begin:—

> "The politic of Fascism revolves wholly about the concept of the national State; and accordingly it has points of contact with nationalist doctrines, along with distinction from the latter which it is important to bear in mind. Both Fascism and nationalism regard the State as the foundation of all rights and the source of all values in the individuals composing it. For the one as for the other the State is not a consequence—it is a principle. But in the case of nationalism, the relation which individualistic liberalism, and for that matter socialism also, assumed between individual and State is inverted. Since the State is a principle, the individual becomes a consequence—he is something which finds an antecedent in the State; the State limits him and determines his manner of existence, restricting his freedom, binding him to a piece of ground whereon he was born, whereon he must live and will die. In the case of Fascism, State and individual are one and the same thing, or rather, they are inseparable terms of a necessary synthesis. Nationalism, in fact, founds the State on the concept of nation, the nation being an entity which transcends the will and the life of the individual because it is conceived as objectively existing apart from the

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[41] *Popolo d'Italia,* February 14, 1928.

consciousness of individuals, existing even if the individual does nothing to bring it into being. For the Nationalist, the nation exists not by virtue of the citizen's will, but as datum, a fact of nature. For Fascism, on the contrary, the State is a wholly spiritual creation. It is a national State because from the Fascist point of view, the nation itself is a creation of the mind and is not a material presupposition, is not a datum of nature. The nation, says the Fascist, is never really made; neither, therefore, can the State attain an absolute form, since it is merely the nation in the latter's concrete, political manifestation. For the Fascist, the State is always *in fieri*. It is in our hands, wholly; whence our very serious responsibility towards it. But this State of the Fascists which is created by the consciousness and the will of the citizens, and is not a force descending on the citizen from above or from without, can not have toward the mass of the population the relationship which was presumed by Nationalism. Nationalism identified State with Nation, and made of the Nation an entity preëxisting, which needed not to be created but merely to be recognised or known. The Nationalists, therefore, required a ruling class of intellectual character, which was conscious of the nation and could understand, appreciate and exalt it. The authority of the State, furthermore, was not a product but a presupposition. It could not depend on the people—rather the people depended on the State and on the State's authority as the source of the life which they lived and apart from which they could not live. The nationalistic State was, therefore, an aristocratic State, enforcing itself upon the masses through the power conferred upon it by its origins. The Fascist State, on the contrary, is a people's state, and, as such, the democratic State *par excellence*. The relationship between State and citizen (not this or that citizen, but all citizens) is accordingly so intimate that the State exists only as, and in so far as, the citizen causes it to exist. Its formation therefore is the formation of a consciousness of it in individuals, in the masses. Hence the need of the Party, and of all the instruments of propaganda and education which Fascism uses to make the thought and will of the Duce the thought and will of the masses. Hence the enormous task which Fascism sets itself in trying to bring the whole mass of the people, beginning with the little children, inside the fold of the Party."[42]

The reader—if his reason has stood this strain—can imagine what happens to these ideas in the heads of the lesser thinkers who march in serried ranks behind Professor Gentile: the magistrates who, by extolling Mussolini at official ceremonies, hope to supplant their colleagues in advancement or to become Senators; the lawyers who have had the premises of their anti-Fascist rivals destroyed, and have taken over their clients, and advertise themselves by Fascist speeches at political meetings; the manufacturers of philosophic by-products of the Gentilian system who aspire to a university chair or at least to a post in a secondary school; the journalists who must earn their bread by selling printed paper every day, and who would have to shut up shop if they did not provide a constant supply of enthusiasm; the deputies, the podestà, the local "Rasses," the secretaries of the legally recognized organizations of employers, employees, professional classes, and public officials, who must continually sing the greatness and the glory of the régime. . . .

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[42] Gentile, *The Philosophic Basis of Fascism,* in New York *Foreign Affairs,* January, 1928, pp. 301-303.

An example of the havoc wrought by Hegelian-Gentilian philosophy is Mlle. Lion's book, the *Pedigree of Fascism.* This is how Mlle. Lion explains the difference between the Fascist State and Nationalist State:—

> "There we touch what really distinguishes the Fascists from the Nationalists, for whom the State belongs to material reality, is transcendent in its relations to the individual, and negatively conceived in its relations to other states, where it appears one amongst many. It is a great engine that needs the coöperation of all the citizens to make it work, but it *does* exist independently of the citizens. Philosophically this conception belongs to the eighteenth century. For the Fascists, the State is not transcendent in its relation to the citizens; it is immanent; it is their own spiritual and economic life in its political summing up. In its relation to other states it is not negatively conceived as one among many; for its citizens, it is their national self, whilst the other nations are constitutive of their national non-self. The positiveness of the State for its citizens implies, therefore, for them, the negativeness of the other states. The task of the government is to raise the level and increase the value of the citizen . . . in order to have always the most intimate fusion of state and citizens. The empirical self requires that the peasant should plough his field. This he is bound to do to satisfy his material needs. Fascism says to the peasant: 'Thou shalt no longer plough, sow, reap for thyself, that is to say exclusively for thy material self, but for the State, which is that same empirical self plus its transcendental complement.' "[43]

No wonder the Italian peasants do not take kindly to this State, in which behind the staff of philosophic fog-makers marches the army of militiamen, "dagger in mouth and bomb in hand" as Mussolini put it in his speech of February 1, 1928, ready to ram it down their throats with the bludgeon.

In this Hegelian delirium-tremens which divinizes the Nation-State-Party as a mystical entity, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, infallible, the "relations between the individual and the State—declares Commendatore Appiani, Attorney General of the Supreme Court—are no longer those of yesterday.

> "Yesterday, the individual was regarded as the end, and the State as the means. To-day the State exists for the Race and the Nation, to which the fate of the individual is subordinated."[44]

The results of this conception were described by a special correspondent of the *Times,* August, 1927, in the following words:—

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[43] *Pedigree of Fascism,* pp. 34-36.

[44] Speech, January 5, 1927: *Corriere della Sera,* January 6, 1927.

"The Corporative State amalgamates companies, fixes prices, wages and hours of labour, determines the number of men that ought to be employed by this or that master, and, if necessary, takes upon itself the direct management of the factories. (Article 9 of the Labour Charter.) Both economically and politically the State is everything; it absorbs everything; it does everything. The State is always after you. When you are born and taken to the Register Office, the Corporative State reserves to itself the right of deciding the name your parents are to give you. Not all names are acceptable and accepted. Some may be intentionally anti-Fascist. The new Rocco Law forbids all names 'which sound as an offence to the present institutions.' After you have taken the name the State allows you, you pass to the nursery, the school, the workshop, the office. Everywhere the hand of the ogre lies heavy upon you. All your actions are watched, directed, and controlled by the State. At the age of 25 years, if still a batchelor, you are seized by the ear and led to the collector to pay a new tax—the 100th of the heavy taxes which form one of the charms of the new régime. In order to lighten the burden, one day you marry, and hope to be left alone for the rest of your life and to enjoy some peace within the walls of your home. Poor man! The ogre of the South peeps in again through your window and has another commandment for you—children, children, children! Twenty million new Italians are wanted in 25 years' time—all producers, of course."

Mussolini himself had described this State in the *Popolo d'Italia,* as early as April 6, 1920. The Government had introduced a daylight saving bill. The Communists protested that they did not intend to submit to this new method of counting the hours invented by the "bourgeoisie" to render even more pitiless the sweating of the proletarian. In some Turin workshops there were strikes in protest against the daylight saving bill. Mussolini was at that time playing the part of anarchist. He applauded all strikes; he found the Italian State as it then was—a wretched, free, democratic State in which people struck even against the daylight saving bill!—too active, too oppressive, altogether intolerable.

"I too"—he wrote—"am against the daylight saving bill because it represents another form of State intervention and coercion. The State with its enormous bureaucracy induces a feeling of suffocation. The State was tolerable to the individual so long as it contented itself with being soldier and policeman, but to-day the State is everything; banker, money-lender, gambler, sailor, procurer, insurance agent, postman, railway official, impresario, manufacturer, schoolmaster, professor, tobacconist, and a great number of other things, besides being, as always, policeman, judge, gaoler and tax collector. The State—this Moloch of fearsome aspect—does everything, controls everything, and sends everything to perdition. Every state undertaking is a calamity. State art, State schools, State postal services, State shipping, State trading, alike are disastrous—the litany could go on to infinity. The future prospects are terrifying. Socialism is merely an amplification, multiplication and perfection of the State. The bourgeois State now controls nine-tenths of your life and of your activities; tomorrow the Socialist State will control your every moment, your every deed

> or movement. To-day you are obliged to declare the number of your children, but tomorrow you will be forced to declare the exact number of your amorous adventures. Under the socialist régime, even love will be standardised, tailored, and mapped out for the use, convenience and pleasure of the hundred thousand socialist officials who will spring up under State socialism. If men had even a vague apprehension of the abyss which awaits them, the number of suicides would be increased. We are approaching the complete destruction of human personality. This State is the gigantic machine which swallows living men, and casts them forth again as dead ciphers. Human life has no longer any privacy or intimacy, either material or spiritual; all corners are explored, all movements timed, every man is pigeonholed on his particular 'shelf,' and numbered like a convict. The great curse which fell upon the human race in the misty beginnings of its history and has pursued it through the centuries has been to build up the State and to be perpetually crushed by the State!"

Nowadays Mussolini is continually repeating: "Everything in the State, nothing against the State, nothing outside the State," with the conviction of a Saint Paul writing: "In whom we live and move and have our being." If in this slogan, State stood for nation, the meaning would, with reservations, be acceptable. But in the "New Era" State means Party. The result is that an opponent of the Fascist Party must be destroyed as an enemy to the Italian State, and a traitor to the Italian Nation: *adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas esto*. Not only active opposition, but dissent in the innermost precincts of consciousness, is a crime deserving punishment. The General Secretary of the Fascist Party, Signor Augusto Turati, on September 19, 1926, addressed the following exhortation to the opponents of Fascism:—

> "Adversaries, if you still retain the slightest scrap of good faith in the bottom of your hearts, pause a moment to look at the magnificent spectacle of the new Italy, and afterwards persist, if you dare, in your opposition. But remember that, from to-morrow onwards, we can no longer show leniency. From to-morrow, we must take upon ourselves the terrible duty of penetrating into your very brains. And if necessary, we shall make a clearance of you by summary methods."

3. FASCISM AND RELIGION

(*a*) *Fascist Religion*[45]

Culturally, if not politically, Fascism's strongest rival is the Catholic Church. No secular force of any kind has ever begun to compete with the Church in controlling the daily life and imagination of the Italian people. For centuries the Church has impinged on every aspect of Italian social and private life. We need say nothing of the long periods during which the Church was also the State in many of the Italian provinces. Its control is much more direct and powerful than any political control can be. The whole intellectual frame-work of life is supplied by the Church. The supernatural world above this perishable material world, the salvation of the soul from the bonds of the flesh, the protection by the saints against disease, misfortune and death, the divine favor and intercession of the Virgin in all the personal issues of domestic and agricultural life, the religious care of the happiness of the members of the family both living and dead, these are the fundamental themes which still dominate the minds of the vast majority of Italians. This theological world dominates not merely in the sense that it is believed implicitly, but in the more practical sense that its moral technique is familiar. Divine protection and punishment are much more real and more conspicuous than their modern political equivalents. For every peasant and very child knows exactly how to govern himself according to divine law. The rather simple, at least intellectually simple, technique of penitence, confession, absolution, alms, indulgences, prayer and worship constitute the moral life of the people.

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[45] *Making the Fascist State,* Chapter V, pp. 216-219, by Herbert W. Schneider. Oxford University Press, New York, 1928.

What is politically even more important is that the Church has organized public life and social functions around this moral world. The calendar is made by the Church, and even the daily routine is governed by the ringing of the church bell. The Church takes the place of theater, opera and city hall. In addition to the imposing gilt, the lights and shadows and the sacred images which fill the churches, and in addition to the daily miracle of the mass, the Church has supplied abundant holidays and feasts, when the whole community gathers to celebrate the season. Cardinals and bishops, gay silks and velvets and brocades, gold and silver, candles and torches, fireworks and rubber balloons, confections and drinks! If you can imagine how a combined Christmas, New Year's Eve, County Fair, and Fourth of July (old style) would affect an American boy's mind and body, you may approximate a sense of the power which these celebrations have in an Italian community. And this happens not once a year, nor for miscellaneous political reasons, but with every season of the calendar and in celebration of some vital theme in the moral life of the individual and in the traditions of the Church. Add to this the treasure of art which centers in the Church, the intellectual and social prestige which it enjoys, its numerous charitable and educational institutions, its systematic care of the deceased, and you may understand why the Church has more of a hold on the masses than has the state.

In comparison the Italian state is hopelessly bare and empty. Being of recent date, headed by a half French royal house and conducted by a very prosaic Parliament, having only occasional military celebrations and still more occasional visits of the King to make it impressive, represented continually by boyish policemen, petty officials, and busy tax-collectors, it is comparatively quite remote and unattractive. Ever since the invention of expensive armaments, the Church costs less than the state, and yet offers infinitely more: festivals in this life and salvation in the next.

Hence the state has no chance whatsoever with the masses. Among the bourgeoisie, of course, all this is different. Corrupted by rationalism, indifferent to sensual display, or else given over to secular forms of sensuality and sensuousness, less worried about its sins, more worried about its prosperity, the bourgeoisie has turned to the state. Religion for the masses, politics for the rich—that is the traditional compromise.

A Sicilian priest named Don Sturzo upset it. In 1918 he got the idea of capitalizing the Church for political purposes, or politics for Church purposes—it is hard to tell which. He met the initial opposition of the Pope, who saw no reason why he should soil his hands on the state. But Don Sturzo persisted and soon persuaded the Pope by a few practical experiments. The result was that within two or three years Don Sturzo and his Popular Party succeeded in completely ruining Italian politics. All through the spring and summer of 1922, the veteran bourgeois statesmen tried to dislodge the Sicilian priest from his "dictatorship." But it was useless; the old game was up.

At first Fascism tried to take the Church by storm. Born in the years of bolshevist revolt, when even the industrial proletariat had temporarily turned anti-clerical, Fascism hoped to gain general favor by a violent attack. The futurist wing of the movement was naturally a sworn foe to this most *"passéist"* of all institutions. The ex-socialists, like Mussolini, were also anti-religious, as well as anti-clerical. The bourgeois liberals and republicans who joined the fascist ranks were the traditional political foes of the Church. Hence during the first year or two of the movement the fascist program was violently anti-clerical. As late as April 3, 1921, Mussolini spoke at Bologna as follows: "Fascism is the strongest of all the heresies that strike at the doors of the churches. Tell the priests, who are more or less whimpering old maids: away with these temples that are doomed to destruction; for our triumphant heresy is destined to illuminate all brains and hearts. Make way for the youth of Italy, whose faith and passion are demanding expression."

Events soon forced Fascism out of this position, two events especially: the evident strength of the Popularist Party which no one seemed able to dislodge and the influx into Fascism of the nationalists, who were modernist Catholics of the *Action Française* type. Mussolini therefore suddenly turned his back on the futurists and anti-clericals, as he did on the republicans, and made his peace with the Church. He became a defender of the religious exercises of women and children who were being persecuted in their public worship by barbarous bolsheviks. He revived the Mazzinian formula *Dio e popolo*. He preached the doctrine of the synthesis of the two Romes. He supported Rocca's position at the Fascist Congress in November, 1921, to the effect that "it is necessary to have a dogma for social life: the dogma, namely, that unity and power lay in Rome, in the Church there is the Catholic God, and in the modern State there is the *Patria*." Thus he finally persuaded the popularists into a coalition.

But when, shortly after his accession to power, the popularists abandoned the régime, it looked as though the *Fascisti* would be forced back into their former hostility to the church, and would have to declare open warfare. This would have been disastrous, of course. Instead they played a subtler, safer game.

They came to terms directly with the Church and not *via* the Popular Party. Mussolini promised immediately on his accession to protect the Church and religion and this news was headlined in all the Church papers. The Pope adopted a benevolent attitude toward the "Fascist peace" and the "end of civil strife." In December a Papal Encyclical came out as follows: "Though the Church does not condemn the democratic form of government, yet it is a well-known fact that this system of government is especially adapted to party strife." Soon after, by the joint action of the Church and government, Don Sturzo was kicked out of politics, his local organizations and syndicates were destroyed, and in the 1924 elections the clergy were required by the Pope to maintain absolute neutrality. Thus the old compromise was reëstablished: Religion for the people and politics for the bourgeoisie, spiritual authority and temporal authority, a "free church in a free state." The Pope was as content with this arrangement as a "prisoner of the Vatican" might reasonably be expected to be, and was ready to go back to the old status he had enjoyed for several decades before the ambitious Sicilian priest had upset normalcy. . . .

It is probable that Fascism will maintain its own list of martyrs and saints and continue to build up its own mythology. The elements of the new religion are already present in abundance.[46] First of all, the *Fascisti* lay much stress on their mysticism. Their political faith, they say, cannot be expressed in a consistent program, because it is mystical. Their love of violence is said to be a mystical devotion to a new faith, and an immediate intuition of a profound truth, which they were unable to define until *after* they had acted upon their vision. Hence they regard themselves as men of faith, spiritual to the core, and it is one of their commonplaces that Fascism has reëstablished idealism in a world of skepticism, and has asserted the duty of fighting for transcendent values against the current doctrine of waging class conflicts to protect one's own rights. Furthermore Fascism has revived the primitive Christian joy of martyrdom. A true Fascist thinks only of his duty, and regards any sacrifice which he may be called upon to make in the performance of it a privilege. This is the inner driving force of the new religion.

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[46] An amusing, sacrilegious, and of course unofficial Fascist parody on the Creed is reprinted in Ludovic Nadeau: *L'Italie fasciste ou l'autre danger*, pp. 132-4.

Thus Fascism represents a religious revival. Not in that it proposes to found a new religion and develop its own theology, but in that it has given to thousands of Italian youths an ideal for which they are ready to sacrifice all. A number of *Fascisti* have confessed to me, quite privately, that they would not willingly die for their Christian faith, nor for democracy, nor for socialism, nor even for their King, but for Mussolini—gladly and unhesitatingly. They claim that Fascism represents more than merely one faith among many. They will not admit that the socialist "Martyrs" are on an equally ideal plane; for, they say, in the first place, Fascism has superseded other faiths, has won the allegiance of the very men who formerly professed less satisfying faiths; and, in the second place, it has made its appeal in the name of sacrifice or to a transcendent, non-personal good, not in the name of class interests or salvation of one's soul, or defense of one's rights or any other selfish motive.

(*b*) *Catholicism and Fascism*

One would rather expect that an opportunist ruler would endeavor to come to terms with the very considerable power of the Catholic Church, particularly if his rule needed all the support it could secure. Thus it is not strange that as an atheist in 1909 Mussolini could declare, "Fellow workers! If within five minutes God does not strike me down, I have demonstrated to you that God does not exist," and yet in 1929 he could recognize the spiritual independence of the Pope and acknowledge his own allegiance to him.

In his early years of dictatorship Mussolini insisted that the Catholic Church had nothing to do with education, that it was solely the prerogative of the Fascist State. At that time he suppressed the Catholic boy scouts and declared that the State was over all and above all. In 1929 Mussolini could sign an agreement with the Pope and settle all differences. It must therefore be recognized that at the moment Fascism is trying to secure the support and prestige which agreement with the Catholic Church may bring. In order to understand what this agreement between the Pope and Mussolini means, let us recall the historical setting.

Up to 1870, the Pope was not only the Supreme Head of the Church but ruler of the states belonging to the Church, which included several petty principalities. When Napoleon removed the French garrison in 1870, Victor Emmanuel took the city. In 1871 the Italian Government enacted a law covering the "prerogatives of the Supreme Pontiff" which was called the Law of Guarantees, but Pope Pius IX refused to accept it, and he as well as succeeding Popes have remained voluntary prisoners in the Vatican.

Now in 1929 Mussolini reaches an agreement with the Pope and ends this period. The settlement is divided into three parts, a treaty which has international value and affects the Universal Church, a concordat which governs the relations between the Vatican and the Italian State alone, and a financial agreement. To begin with the last item, Italy promises to pay the Holy See 750,000,000 lire or about $80,000,000 and also to give 5 per cent negotiable Italian State Bonds to the nominal value of one billion lire. This money is some compensation for the property of the Catholic Church seized since 1870.

In the international treaty the sovereignty of the Holy See over Vatican City is recognized, which thus becomes the smallest independent entity with an international status in the world. Catholics regard this as advantageous because it proves preposterous the charge that the Pope is really seeking a temporal rather than a spiritual government.

The treaty vests all power in the hands of the Pope. Any supplies coming from abroad to the Vatican have absolute freedom of entry without custom duties or taxes.

The Concordat which governs the relations between the Vatican and the Italian State recognizes the validity of marriages performed in the Church without any civil ceremony. It also recognizes that the teaching of religion shall be compulsory in the Italian schools and that teachers and text-books on religion shall be approved by the Pope. Children, however, whose parents do not desire them to have religious instruction in the public school need not attend such exercises. Bishops named by the Pope can be vetoed by the State, if they are objectionable on political grounds. Every Bishop, before installation in a particular diocese, has to take an oath at the hands of the Premier swearing to uphold the welfare and the interest of the Italian State. Naturally it is recognized that religious organizations have the right to own property.

The new constitution of the State of Vatican City came into force on June 10, 1929. On May 13th and 25th Mussolini made speeches before the Italian Chamber and Senate, justifying his agreement with the Pope. In the course of this defense Mussolini said that Christianity might have died out had it not moved its headquarters to Rome. In reply the Pope says: "What of all things we least expected were expressions that are heretical, worse than heretical, regarding the very essence of Christianity and of Catholicism." The Pope also objected to many other things which Mussolini said, as well as to his attempt to reassure the Italian Parliament that the State had renounced nothing to the church and had lost no control. The Pope says:

> "We are displeased and if there were any animosity or bitterness in our soul, we would say we are offended by those not infrequent expressions that nothing has been renounced by the State to the Church, that no control has been lost, that the means have been preserved for exercising vigilance over her, over the clergy, regular and secular, as if to say the least, it was a question of a suspicious people; as if the Church had ever attempted a true and real usurpation or spoliation to the injury of the State, whereas history proves and it is well known that the contrary is true in Italy and abroad; as if the Church ever had demanded that the State give up the right and authority which truly belonged to the State, whereas she is recognized to be the defender of both especially in times of crisis and difficulty; whereas the Church has never demanded nor does she now demand from the State anything but the right to just and orderly coöperation for the common good, and that that coöperation be in accordance with justice and adapted to the ends proposed."

The Pope also disliked Mussolini's comments on education and showed it plainly by the following:

> "Logic further requires that it be recognized that the full and perfect mission to teach does not belong to the State but to the Church, and that the State may not prevent nor interfere with her in the exercise and fulfillment of that mission, not even to the extent of restricting the teaching of the Church exclusively to the teaching of religious truths."

Shortly after the Pope had written this letter, the Italian Government on July 8th sequestered the Catholic publication *Youthful Life* on the ground that it tended to draw "Italian Catholic youth away from the legitimate authority of the Italian State."

It can thus be seen that while Mussolini has made peace with the Vatican under terms which have significance for the entire world, this does not at all mean that the Pope endorses or approves of Mussolini or Fascism.

From a sociological standpoint it is apparent that Mussolini is trying to secure the advantages of associating with Fascism the authority, prestige, and social control of the Church. In some measure he has no doubt achieved this result through the Treaty and Concordat. On the other hand, this support hangs by a slender thread and, as can be seen, the Pope will tolerate no interference with what he considers his religious rights.

V. SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES

I. AMERICA AND FASCISM

Americans have not perhaps realized that the Fascists themselves believe that the whole world will turn to Fascism. They, scarcely less than the Bolsheviks, believe that they have a universal panacea for the ills of the world. In fact Count Giovanni Elia, speaking at the Williamstown Conference, August 5, 1929, said:

> "We believe that little by little as the mental, political, and social forms of the past throughout the world approach a definite and fatal decadence, the world will turn in its perplexity for a new fount of knowledge and life to that which is a new and original creation of Italian genius."

American sentiment has, on the whole, been friendly to Fascism and violently opposed to Bolshevism. Many of our newspapers and periodicals, including the *Saturday Evening Post,* praise Fascism and Mussolini. They look on the Duce, his technique, his power psychology, as a great example for the rest of the world. In Boston some of the wealthy have framed portraits of Mussolini in their drawing rooms. Our captains of finance and our ambassadors return from Italy glorifying the Italian dictator. The United States Government goes out of its way to reduce its debt to Italy; on the other hand, for a long period of years it refuses even to recognize a Soviet government. What is the reason for this difference in treatment?

One wonders if it is not because Fascism more closely resembles America as she now is. Does it not have much in common with our dominant business culture? At any rate, Mussolini told the representatives of the American press that he found more parallels for Fascism in the United States than in any other country. Mussolini also believes that we manage to continue democracy in America because we really do not have it. In part this is because wealth exerts an influence and in part because we still have only two parties. He has said:

> "When the sheep lead the shepherd; when the soldiers of an army can conduct a better campaign than an experienced and technically trained general; when the sailors can command a battleship in action, then democracy will be accepted as an efficient form of government. You point to the United States Government as efficient, and think that proves the worth of democracy. But you are efficient just in proportion as you have grown away from democracy. . . . Can the President be called before your Congress? Do his ministers have to appear before any body whatsoever to defend their acts? Not at all. . . . If you like to call that democracy, very well, but it seems to me more like autocracy limited to a fixed term in office. Another thing—your Congress is now efficient—fairly so—because it has in it but two parties. Just as soon as you get three regularly constituted parties its efficiency will disappear and a people like yours, used to swiftness and certainty of action, will not tolerate the resultant chaos." [47]

A moment's reflection will convince one of the partial validity of this statement. Fascism is a bulwark of capitalism. It protects private property and champions profits. Richard Washburn Child, in lauding Mussolini, says that the heart of his program for Italy is "Work and Discipline." Fascism emphasizes achievement and efficiency. It tests a creed not by its philosophy but by its action. "Deeds, not words," is a motto both of American business and of Fascism. Fascism believes in 100 per cent nationalism and so does the American patriot. Mussolini bases his right to seize the power on the theory that "the end justifies the means." According to James Truslow Adams, one of the most distinguished historians in America, the winner of the Pulitzer prize of 1922 and until 1912 a member of the New York Stock Exchange, America has become a business culture with a business philosophy not unlike that of Mussolini. He says that the business man demands a free hand to gather wealth and absolute state protection once he has it: "He may steal the water resources of a dozen states, but once they are stolen, he is a defender of the Constitution and the sanctity of contract."[48]

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[47] Abbott, Willis J., *Mussolini,* Italian Historical Society Pamphlet No. 2.

Perhaps the closest analogous movement in America to Fascism is the Ku Klux Klan. To be sure, the Klan craze in the United States did not continue as long as Fascism has in Italy; but then it never controlled the United States government, suppressing all opposition parties and denying to opponents freedom of speech and of the press. Let us consider some of the parallels between the Ku Klux Klan and Fascism.

The Klan believes in white supremacy; so does Fascism. The Klan was attractive because of its mysterious power—it inflicted secret whippings at night on those who opposed its tenets. Similarly, Fascism has had its strong-armed squads, its whippings, and its castor-oil treatments. The Klan parades, sallies, and midnight parties provided an outlet for the average American's love of excitement and adventure midst the drab monotony of small town life. Similarly, Fascism provided excitement, adventure, and the spectacular to soldiers who had returned from a "glorious" war. The Klan undoubtedly furnished compensation to those suffering from an inferiority complex. A great many Americans feel that the full measure of their hopes of achievement has not been fulfilled. The Klan gave them an opportunity to be important, to belong to an organization that was ruling and helping, so they thought, to make America a better place to live in. It provided an outlet for egoism and the sense of importance. Now Fascism undoubtedly plays a similar rôle in Italy.

In that country every one is supposed to be like-minded in support of the Duce and Fascism. In fact Fascism demands like-mindedness. The Klan in America demanded that all should hold the same views about

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[48] *Harper's Monthly,* July, 1929.

America, that all should build mental stereotypes of a particular kind. Thus it traded on the traditional hates and prejudices of white America. The individual by himself might feel ashamed to insult a Catholic, but acting through an organization which plays up exaggerated propaganda about the rule of the Pope he gives free rein to hates and prejudices. So it is in Italy. Of course the Fascists have not the same prejudice against Catholicism and the Pope, since that is the dominant religion there; but Fascism matches the Klan in persecuting Bolsheviks, socialists and other critics of the *status quo.*

It seems probable that this attitude was enormously stimulated by the war spirit. During the War a great deal of anti-German propaganda had been circulated and fear had been aroused of spies and other foes of the native land. Now both the Klan and Fascism could play on the fears thus excited and their supporters could give full expression to those fears.

Unlike Bolshevism, Fascism can never become a unified international force, because its egoistic national spirit cannot cross state borders. Nevertheless the spirit of Fascism can exist anywhere, disguised in the nationalistic dress of each country. Both Fascism and the Klan foster a narrow nationalism and "one-hundred-percentism." The Klan said: "We must make America safe for the white race"; "America for the Americans; away with foreigners who criticize"; "Get out or get under—get out of the country or under the flag." Fascism says: "Italy is for the Italians; we must build again the empire that was Cæsar's."

The Klan has ceased to be of compelling force, but some form of Fascism is always a potentiality in America: it is so close to our temper and our prejudices. It might be said that Fascism is the counter-revolution of the middle and upper classes. If these groups should find their power seriously threatened, they would doubtless make use of powers similar to Fascism. Indeed we already have American brands of this movement: vigilance committees, "red"-baiting organizations, and patriotic heresy hunters are of the same genus. Fascism thus becomes a possible technique whenever democracy fails. Nor are symptoms lacking that democracy is not functioning well. Economic power, wealth, is becoming concentrated into fewer hands. Though democracy is talked about a great deal, it is not always practised.

One great safeguard against Fascism is universal free education. The most serious threat to democracy is the uninformed and unthinking average man. Italy has a large illiterate class; many of her people do not understand democracy. To the extent that America can train her people to think intelligently for themselves, we have a prophylactic against Fascism. As protection against Fascism we must be sure that we have freedom of thought, of the press, and of association. This is perhaps the most certain vaccine against the toxins of arbitrary power. Concretely, it means that in time of strike or national emergency we must preserve the full right of the minority to express itself. H. M. Kallen went to Italy looking for a renaissance of the arts. "But what I saw and heard and read left me with the feeling that where art and thought are concerned, Fascist Italy is not alive, but drugged or dead. Amid the superlative inheritances from the past, I could find among all the pictures that I saw and music that I heard, no present breath stirring."

This throttling of creative work in art is one sign of rigid censorship and the absence of freedom. Freedom is written into our constitution because we once fought and died for it. As Justice Holmes so cogently stated in his dissenting opinion in the Schwimmer case: "Some of her answers might excite popular prejudice, but if there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate."

America feels sympathetic towards Fascism because lately she has forgotten the heritage of the past. Apparently each generation has to learn again for itself the meaning and value of freedom and liberty. Having prospered mightily in material things, America sees no necessity for completely suppressing the free utterance of those who oppose private property and of those who advocate a new economic order. However, if such groups really threatened the present holders of political power, the latter would find the use of violence an easy and natural step. Yet, to impartial students of history, Fascism is an object lesson, proving once again the rigid necessity for the three-fold freedom: of speech, of the press, and of assembly.

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BOOK VI

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

QUESTIONS ON THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

1. Outline clearly the case against the present social order as brought by the Coöperative Movement. To what extent do you think this is or is not justified?
2. Trace the origin and the causes of the consumers' Coöperative Movement.
3. From the account of the leaders of the coöperative movement, what class do you think has been most active? Why are college students in America relatively so ignorant about the movement, and so uninterested?
4. State the fundamental principles of the genuine consumers' coöperative.
5. Which kind of coöperative do you feel is the most important to develop in the United States? Why? What is the difference between a credit union and a coöperative?
6. How would you go about organizing a coöperative society? List the successive steps you would take.
7. (a) Why have not consumers' coöperatives had more success in America? (List your reasons.) (b) Are the reasons any different in the case of the producers' coöperatives?
8. What is the difference between socialist and coöperative programs?
9. How far is the Coöperative Movement in accord with our American traditions—politically, legally, ethically?
10. Do you think the United States will have an extensive development of the Coöperative Movement in the future? Why? Why not?

QUESTIONS FOR THOUGHT

1. If you have a college coöperative, how is it organized? Are students represented on the board? How does it differ from the Rochdale coöperative, if at all? Does it attempt to serve the outside local community? Do you think it should or not?
2. Should the average citizen help organize coöperatives? Why or why not?

I. HISTORY AND CAUSES

WE TURN in this section to a movement which, although it is not without educational and social features, is primarily an effort to bring about greater economic justice to the consumer. It is also unique in refusing to bring about changes through political effort. Coöperation levels its attack chiefly against production and distribution for the profit of the few instead of the use of the many. We start this section with their indictment.

I. CRITICISM OF THE PRESENT ORDER[1]

The industrial revolution brought in the machine age, but also brought increasing misery to the workers. Once people got their own food in the fields, the forest, and the sea. They made their own things. In the course of time machines were invented that would supply the needs of more than one man. Presently it was found that a man or group of men could own a machine and have other men work with it. The workers made things with the machine, but the things they made belonged to the owner of the machine, who sold them to people who needed them. The idea of the men who owned the machine was to buy raw material and labor, put them together, and sell the product for more than it cost. They naturally paid the lowest price possible for materials and for labor, and sold the manfactured article for the highest price possible. The difference between these two prices—the cost price and the selling price—was the profit; and the more profit that could be made the more successful was the business. Profit making was its purpose.

This has now become the chief method of business, not only in production but also in trade and service.

When things are made for use there is every reason to make them good and serviceable. When things are made for profit's sake the owner of the machine has every reason to make them cost him as little as possible, to make them *look* good, and to make the consumer pay as much as possible.

The *profit motive* has grown so greatly during the last hundred years that now most everyone in industry works to make profits, either for himself or for his employer. Making things is secondary to making profits. This applies to the worker just the same as to the owner of the machine. The worker is working for wages. His chief interest is not to make something that is good and useful, but to get the most wages for the least work. The owner of the machine and the worker are doing quite the same thing and have quite the same motives. . . .

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[1] From James P. Warbasse, *What Is Coöperation?* (1927), pp. 1-6.

In order to make profits, selling prices must be kept up. Scarcity helps this. Thus there is every reason to keep things scarce. If there is too much of a commodity, its price can be kept up by destroying some of it. . . .

Along with all of this goes *the low purchasing power of the consumer.* In industrial countries, where things are made, the workers can not buy the things they produce. The selling price is so much above the wages the workers receive that if they go into the market and try to buy back what they have produced they can not do so. . . .

The dangers in the profit method of business are very great. Human life is sacrificed in its wars. Aeroplanes fall from the sky because some cheaper material was used in some important part. Railroads kill people because they are not run primarily to carry passengers but to make profits. Killing people is cheaper than putting in safety appliances. Buildings collapse. Mines cave in. In the United States, 2,500 miners are killed each year, largely as a tribute to the lack of safety devices. Vessels sink in the sea. Life preservers fail to hold the people up because they have been filled with something cheaper than cork. Foods are adulterated. Thousands of laws, police, courts and prisons, an army of inspectors and spies are employed by governments to protect the people from the dangers of profit business. This army is bribed and corrupted. . . .

There is a widespread recognition of the valuable features of the profit system, as well as of its deficiencies. Those who enjoy its advantages are the most powerful on the earth. They carry on propaganda in its favor—perhaps the most extensive and efficient propaganda in the world. It is the propaganda in favor of things as they are.

2. FIRST BEGINNINGS [2]

Surrounded as they were by an environment of bitter hardness, they regarded the situation with a practical eye, uncolored by the rosy dreams of the Utopians. They felt the pressure from two sides. On the one hand was the employer, the manufacturer, who ever sought to lower their wages. On the other hand was the storekeeper, who sold them the necessities of life, ever tending to raise the prices of the goods he sold them.

Against the employer they presented a purely defensive front: the trade-union. He was too powerful to attack. But the shopkeeper seemed not so formidable. To acquire collective control of the factory seemed hopeless. To acquire collective control of the distributing station, the store, seemed well within the realm of practical realization. Once they grasped the idea of collective ownership they applied it there, to the store. Thus they organized into consumers' societies and opened their own stores.

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[2] From Albert Sonnichsen, *Consumers' Coöperation,* pp. 12-27. The Macmillan Company.

According to William Maxwell, author of *The History of Coöperation in Scotland,* there were humble beginnings of this nature made before the close of the sixteenth century. The first one of which there is any record was initiated in a small village in Scotland, Fenwick, in 1769. It was the creation of a few poor weavers who saw in this associative effort nothing more than a means whereby they could expand the purchasing power of their scanty wages by a few pennies.

An enterprise differing in nature, but based on the same coöperative principle, was launched in Hull, England, in 1795. The harvest that year had been unusually bad and the price of wheat was higher than it had been for a generation back. Stirred up by these depressing conditions, the "poor inhabitants" of the city presented a petition to the mayor, as follows:

> "We, the poor inhabitants of the said town, have lately experienced much trouble and sorrow in ourselves and families on the occasion of an exorbitant price of flour; that, though the price is much reduced at present, yet we judge it needful to take every precaution to preserve ourselves from the invasion of coveteous and merciless men in the future. In consequence thereof, we have entered into a subscription, each subscriber to pay 1s 1d per week, for four weeks, and 6d per week, for four weeks more, which is 6s 4d each, for the purpose of building a mill which is to be the subscribers', their heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns forever, in order to supply them flour; but as we are conscious that this subscription will not be sufficient to bring about this purpose, we do hereby humbly beseech your Worship's advice and assistance in this great undertaking, that not only we but our children yet unborn may have cause to bless you."

Except that this latter undertaking sought and received outside aid, these two are each a representative type of a great number of coöperative enterprises found throughout Great Britain during Robert Owen's period. That there might be in them the germs of a mighty economic mass movement of the future the idealists never suspected; they could not see in grinding flour or selling groceries a road to the social millennium. On the other hand, the members of these small working-class societies themselves seemed equally unconscious of any social mission. . . .

In the early winter of 1843 a number of weavers in the town of Rochdale, in the North of England, came together to discuss ways and means of bettering their condition. There had recently been a strike in the flannel mills of the town followed by a lockout and general unemployment. Labor organization as a means of bettering the situation did not inspire them with much hope, after the experience they had gone through. There was little chance of raising wages then. But why not try to accomplish what would amount to the same thing through other means; raise their wages by lessening the cost of living through a coöperative store?

There had been a coöperative store in the town some years before, and it had failed. Nevertheless, they decided to try again. Just previously, Jacob Holyoake, an Owenite disciple, who, however, differed from his earlier colleagues and the master in that he attached some importance to the coöperative store, had delivered a lecture in the town and had urged them to make a beginning.

The weavers agitated the idea among themselves until they had increased their group to twenty-eight, each of whom agreed to subscribe one pound toward the initial capital required for the purpose of opening a grocery store. This money was paid up in weekly instalments of a few pennies, but finally the twenty-eight pounds had been accumulated and the now famous store was opened in a back street, Toad Lane, the members taking turns as salesmen during the evening hours the store was kept open.

Hundreds of just such stores had been opened before by just such groups of workingmen. There was, however, a special feature about the business system on which the little enterprise was founded, inscribed in the by-laws of the society, which has served to distinguish it in the history of the coöperative movement. As is known now, this feature had been practised by earlier societies, but the Rochdale weavers made it widely known through their success and so made the name of their town a household word in every civilized country of Europe.

The business plan on which the early societies had been operated had been various. In all of them the individual members subscribed certain fixed sums, usually one pound, toward the necessary capital. Some stores, among whose members idealists predominated, sold the goods at market prices, and allowed the profits to accumulate with the store's capital. Such societies rarely developed, for the reason that the majority of the people are not idealists and seek definite benefits, caring little for future promises. This was King's plan, pure and simple. It had to be slightly modified before it would work.

Other stores returned the profits to the shareholding members as dividends on shares, thus differing from ordinary joint-stock companies only in that the shares were scattered among a greater number of people. Other stores sold at cost price, or slightly above. These latter, naturally, had not within themselves the element of growth, and the slightest miscalculation easily resulted in a fatal loss.

The Rochdale coöperators formulated a plan which has ever since borne the name of their community; a method which was, in effect, a compromise between the idealism of King's proposal and the inherent selfishness of average human nature.

The peculiar clause in their by-laws provided that goods in their store were to be sold at regular market prices, such as prevailed in the private stores. At the end of each quarter the profits, after all expenses had been paid, and after a substantial appropriation had been made to a reserve fund, was given back to the purchasing members, to each in proportion to the amount of his purchases. Capital representing the shareholdings of the members, received only a fixed, minimum rate of interest, its rental, as it were, and was considered as an expense. Each member, man or woman, had one vote in directing the affairs of the society, regardless of the number of shares held, which was, however, usually only one.

Such, in brief, is the Rochdale plan, with such minor variations as paying half rebates to purchasers not members, allowing or not allowing, employees to become candidates for office, etc. The appropriation of a fixed proportion of the profits to education, or propaganda, was another Rochdale feature considered important in those days, before this function was largely taken over by a federative central body.

The Rochdale system of returning the profits of an enterprise to the purchasers in the form of rebates has generally been considered a revolutionary innovation, though it must be clear that not returning the profits to the purchasing members would be still more revolutionary, provided they were retained as collective capital, in conformity to King's ideas. It will also be clear that had it been practicable to follow the latter course, coöperative stores would have developed much more rapidly in that the profits would have augmented their capital. Thus the Rochdale plan is actually only a modification of the principle itself.

Yet even as it is practised, the Rochdale system abolishes private profit from industry, so far as it reaches. In the ordinary commercial sense, "profit" is that margin between buying and selling prices which the private merchant, or manufacturer, puts into his pocket. It is from this source that the great private fortunes of commerce are derived. It is to this tax, levied by Capitalism on the consuming public, that the Socialists attribute all the evils of capitalist industry. On this point the coöperators agree with the Socialists. Therefore, since this margin is derived from the consumers, they either return it to them or place it to their credit as collective capital, thereby abolishing private profit completely. In fact, it is no longer profit.

Is it just, some may ask, that his remuneration for services rendered should be taken from the merchant or the manufacturer?

But coöperation does not deprive the shopkeeper or the manufacturer, or what corresponds to these functionaries under the coöperative system, for remuneration for services rendered. Under the profit system the merchant or the manufacturer has largely the power to fix his own remuneration, this power being limited only by competition or the capacity of the public to pay his prices. Never does profit bear any relation to cost. This power of fixing his own remuneration, coöperation would take out of the hands of the merchant and place in the hands of the people, giving him, instead, a fixed salary, or wage, approximately in proportion to the value of his services. Thus the independent shopkeeper, or merchant, is transposed into the salaried store manager; the private manufacturer into the paid factory superintendent. Universally applied, this would mean that every one of us should become the paid servant of his fellows.

II. LEADERSHIP[3]

Experience shows that efficient individuals are essential to the success of any movement. The masses are not capable of originating, devising, and planning. They are capable only of approving, disapproving, following, or rejecting what some individual has planned or suggested. Behind the coöperative movement are people of understanding, executive capacity, and enthusiasm. In every country are the outstanding characters who have made coöperation possible. It is a fact that these people represent no one class. If they must be classified, it may be said that they belong to the aristocracy of intelligence, of vision, and of ability. They had the training and the command of their own time necessary for the task. The workers followed where these men guided and led.

In England, Dr. William King, a prosperous physician of Brighton, formulated the policies and put together the information of which the Rochdale Pioneers made use, and upon which they built their success. He was the father of coöperation. He was a man of a high degree of culture, and from 1822 to 1830 published a magazine, *The Coöperator,* in which he set forth the philosophy of coöperation and the methods necessary for success.

Robert Owen, a wealthy manufacturer of Lanark, added enthusiasm for the movement; but he was interested in the workers' organizing to control production, and never understood the consumers' movement. Then came Charles Kingsley, a clergyman and writer; John Stuart Mill, an eminent economist; E. Vansittart Neale, a lawyer; Thomas Hughes, a lawyer and statesman; Edward O. Greening and George J. Holyoake, writers and teachers. The two latter were the propagandists of the movement; they were members of the Liberal Party.

The present leaders in Great Britain are men who have come mostly from the ranks of labor. The movement has trained its own leaders. Several of these men have been knighted by the King.

M. Godin, a wealthy manufacturer, did for France what Owen did for England. He created enthusiasm for profit-sharing and social service among the workers and called it "coöperation." In the end, like Owen, he turned over his plant to the workers who made good capitalistic business of it. The French movement owes most to Professor Charles Gide, the eminent professor of political economy in the University of Paris. He is connected with no political party nor class.

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[3] See note on page 534.

In Germany, the conservative, Professor Victor A. Huber, a highly educated scientist, was the pioneer who explained, advocated, and promoted coöperation. Holyoake called him "the father of coöperation in Germany," and said of him: "He stood aloof from all parties. This has been a peculiarity of other eminent coöperators." A judge, Herman Schulze-Delitzsch, and a Prussian mayor, Frederick W. H. Raiffeisen, formulated, standardized, and established, after long years of hard work, the system of coöperative banking which was the beginning of the German movement. Heinrich Kaufmann, a school teacher, was the intellectual guide and organizing genius of the German movement during the period of its most substantial growth until his death in 1928.

The Hungarian movement owes most to Count Alexander Karolyi, one of the wealthiest men of the old Hungarian nobility.

A clergyman, the Rev. Hans Christian Sonne, started the first Rochdale store in Denmark, in 1866.

M. de Longuinine, a Russian landlord, who studied Schulze-Delitzsch, established the first coöperative bank in Russia in 1865. Banking was later promoted by Prince Vasseltchikov. Coöperative stores were first started by local mayors, intellectuals, and the well-to-do. Later, manufacturers started stores for the employées. All of these became coöperative in due time. The first stores in Russia were started by Germans. But there were no outstanding individuals promoting the early store movement.

The first coöperative institution in Italy was a bank founded by Signor Leone Wollemborg, philanthropic physician. The organization of stores followed. The greatest promoter of coöperative banks, and the outstanding figure in the movement, was Signor Luigi Luzzatti. He was an eminent political economist and Minister of the Treasury of Italy for many years. He was esteemed in all countries for his high services. He died in 1927—a Fascist.

The other outstanding leaders in Italy were socialists of the working class who committed a large part of the coöperative movement to socialism. Foremost among these is Signor Antonio Verganni.

In Belgium the first coöperative institution was a bank founded by a Catholic priest L'Abbé Melilaerts. The bakeries and distributive societies came later and were most encouraged by Cæsar De Paepe, Edmond Van Beveren, and Edward Anseele, socialist intellectuals. Anseele and socialists of the working class are the present leaders of the socialist-labor societies. Catholic priests are the leaders of many of the other societies.

In Poland, where coöperative banking is making remarkable progress, the most common type of leader is the parish Catholic priest, who is often the only man available with the necessary education to understand organization, accounting, and the intelligent keeping of books. The President of Poland elected in 1922, was Wojoischowski, who had been before his election professor of coöperation, author of many books, and the outstanding leader of the movement.

Professor Hanners Gebhard gave the inspiration and guidance necessary to the starting of consumers' coöperation in Finland. The most prominent figure in the Finnish coöperative movement in recent years has been Vaino Tanner, a social-democrat, now President of the Republic of Finland and President of the International Coöperative Alliance.

In Sweden, Anders Orne, a social-democrat, has been and is the prominent figure. Born of a long line of farmer ancestry, he took his degree in philosophy at the University of Upsala, and went into journalism. He has been a member of Parliament and has held various positions under the government; at present he is Minister of Post and Telegraph. He believes the general strike is futile, and regards coöperation as a far more practical form of organization than the State. He is President of the Stockholm Society, a director of the Swedish Union, and member of the Executive Committee of the International Coöperative Alliance. His recent book *Coöperative Ideals and Problems* is a notable contribution to economic philosophy.

Norway had a lawyer, O. Dehli, of Christiania, to promote the movement and give it his counsel. He worked for many years and bore the burdens of organizing coöperative societies, framing rules, and seeing the Norwegian movement well started. The present outstanding leader is A. Juell, Norwegian Minister of Public Welfare.

In Ireland, the movement owes most to Sir Horace Plunkett and Rev. T. A. Finlay, a Jesuit priest. George Russell, the Irish poet, artist, and economist, furnished the intellectual inspiration.

The coöperative banking movement in India, which has expanded so extensively and is doing so much to relieve the poverty of the working people, got its start from Sir David Hamilton and a number of British government officials.

Coöperative banking was started in America by Alphonse Desjardins, a Catholic official in Quebec. He introduced the credit union in the United States.[4]

The three outstanding leaders of the coöperative movement in America at present are: Dr. James P. Warbasse, President of The Coöperative League of the U. S. A., Agnes D. Warbasse, Educational Secretary, and Cedric Long, Secretary of the League.

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[4] To this point the treatment on leaders has been taken from *What Is Coöperation?* by J. P. Warbasse, pp. 159-163, with one or two minor changes.

Dr. Warbasse was made President of The Coöperative League soon after its formation and even before his retirement from active surgical practice in New York and Brooklyn. He has given all his energy and talents to the promotion of the movement for the past ten years.

Born in the State of New Jersey in 1866 and educated in the public schools, Dr. Warbasse took his medical degree at Columbia University and later studied at Goettingen (Germany) and Vienna (Austria). Beginning as an interne in a Brooklyn hospital in 1889, he gradually attained a position of preëminence as a surgeon. Author of several books on the sociology of medicine, his last and best known work on surgery is *Surgical Treatment,* published in 1919 in three large volumes and known throughout the medical world. During these active years, he was also editor of two medical journals and wrote voluminously on the subject for scores of papers and magazines.

During many of the later years of his surgical practice, Dr. Warbasse became increasingly interested in economic problems. Finally convinced that his interest in patching up the bodies of men and women who were being mutilated at an ever increasing rate by a wasteful economic system was becoming subordinated to his interest in seeing that system changed, he retired from surgery and threw himself into the coöperative movement in 1919.

The Coöperative League was a very small and struggling organization when Dr. Warbasse first joined it. Since those years it has grown and flourished under his leadership. As president and editor of *Coöperation,* its official organ, since 1919, he has traveled to all parts of the United States and has visited more than twenty of the countries of Europe to study the coöperative movement abroad. Six national coöperative congresses have been held in the United States under his leadership, and Dr. Warbasse has been a delegate to three of the International Coöperative Congresses in Europe (Basle, Ghent and Stockholm). The League now has a membership of almost two hundred coöperative societies, is actively promoting coöperative training, schools, district wholesales, uniform accounting systems and coöperative audits, and the subdivision of the country into district coöperative leagues.

Mrs. Warbasse, wife of the President of the League, is Educational Secretary. Although mother of six children and President of a women's social club in Brooklyn, N. Y., she devotes much of her time to coöperative work. On two occasions she has been a delegate to International Coöperative Congresses in Europe, representing The Coöperative League.

Mrs. Warbasse writes a great deal on coöperation for the magazines and papers in the United States. She has also assisted Dr. Warbasse in the preparation of his volume, *Coöperative Democracy*. Her special interest has been in coöperative housing.

Mr. Long first became actively interested in coöperation while working with the labor unions of the textile industry in 1919 and 1920. In 1921 he spent the summer working as a clerk in coöperative stores, and in the autumn of that year joined the staff of The Coöperative League where he has served ever since.

Born in Massachusetts in 1889, Mr. Long attended the public schools and Harvard University. After his college course he was employed two years in business and then went back to study at Union Theological Seminary, graduating in 1918 and taking the pastorate of a church in New Hampshire for six months.

In the early months of 1919 a strike broke out among the textile workers at Lawrence, Mass., and Mr. Long enlisted in the fight on the side of the workers, serving on their Central Strike Committee, on one occasion being severely beaten and jailed by the police. He later became manager of the local of the newly formed labor union. He remained with this union until the middle of 1920.

Mr. Long has written many articles on coöperation, has lectured on the subject in all parts of the United States, and has been Managing Editor of *"Coöperation,"* official organ of The League, for two years. He has also been editor of the *"Home Coöperator,"* family propaganda paper published by The League for distribution by societies. In 1923 he edited the American edition of Professor Gide's *Consumers' Coöperative Societies*. He travels considerably about the country giving technical aid and advice on problems of organization and administration of coöperative stores.

He is the Executive Secretary of the Eastern States (district) Coöperative League and Secretary of the Eastern Coöperative Wholesale Society.

III. THEORY

I. THE BASIC PRINCIPLES

For the most part, the American public is blissfully ignorant of the fundamental principles of coöperation and even unaware of just how it differs from capitalistic enterprise. Because of the confusion in the American mind about what a coöperative is and the gross ignorance of many of our otherwise most intelligent classes, the coöperative movement is severely handicapped. Only recently a majority of the United States Supreme Court failed to distinguish between a coöperative which issued stock and an ordinary capitalistic concern. It is only fair to say that Justices Brandeis, Stone and Holmes dissented. Justice Brandeis, who wrote the dissenting opinion, gave an admirable statement of the aims and purposes of coöperation in which he said,[5] "Their aim is economic democracy on lines of liberty, equality and fraternity. To accomplish these objectives coöperative coöperators provide for excluding capitalistic control."

Until the nineteenth century production was largely for use: for example, the guild member of the thirteenth century was proud of the quality of his workmanship. At the present time production is carried on largely for profits. The worker is not so much concerned with quality as with wages, the manufacturer is primarily interested in how much profit results and only secondarily in how the public is served.

The radically different theory of the coöperative movement is that production should be for use and not for profit. Service should be the basic motive in society. In order to make these principles again dominant the consumers themselves organize into democratic societies to supply their own wants. Since in buying an article a consumer is primarily interested in getting genuine use out of it, there is no danger in his stressing profits. Now every single man, woman, and child is a consumer—consequently the movement is completely democratic: it includes everybody. The coöperative method makes use of the fundamental sociological principle of mutual aid. It would revolutionize the economic life of man but it would do so by peaceful means. Coöperation grows slowly and within the existing fabric of society. As it succeeds it displaces little by little the capitalistic structure. As a matter of fact, since its inception in 1844 coöperation has had steady and persistent growth. It should be recognized, however, that the coöperative movement did not develop as the result of a carefully premeditated theoretical plan for the betterment of society. Neither was it initiated by the intellectuals of the upper classes. As we have seen, it sprang into being from below. No clear theories were formulated until after it had proved successful. A philosophy of the movement slowly evolved as a result of a practical doing. The pattern was achieved without intention. Indeed, the Rochdale workers dreamed of starting a producers' movement "to arrange the powers of production, distribution, education and government to create a self-supporting home colony." They failed of their purpose, but they created the coöperative movement which has swept over the world.

What is the motivation behind the movement? Undoubtedly there is no single motive. Some would help to change society towards an ideal brotherhood, others wish a fairer distribution of the good things of life to all, still others are primarily interested in bettering their own condition. Henry Ford was once asked why he reduced the price of his car. In reply he told of sliding on large bob-sleds in his boyhood days and of inviting any strange boy to jump on and slide downhill. "Why did we invite the extra boy?" Henry Ford asked. To this question his friend replied that undoubtedly he wanted to be friends with the other boy or give him a good time. "No," said Henry Ford, "it was so that the sled would go further." In much the same way it is a fundamental principle of sociology that through coöperation more can be achieved. Individually a man of small means cannot protect his family in the contingency of accident or death; organized with a sufficient number of others, he can be insured for a large sum.

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[5] See dissenting opinion Frost vs. Corporation Commissioner, State of Oklahoma, Feb. 18, 1929.

It thus comes about that when people who live together and know each other have common wants or needs there is a tendency to try to unite to meet their deficiency. One of the motives behind coöperation is a form of self-help which includes all one's neighbors. This can still be called selfishness by some but in that case it is the kind of selfishness we need. If society is dominated by a form of selfishness which includes the Golden Rule in its expression, it is a form of enlightened self-interest which ordinarily goes under the name of altruism. In the family group there usually springs up a common bond of mutual sharing and helpfulness. Coöperation is a form of the extension of this family spirit to include the entire community. We might define coöperation as a free union of consumers into a society controlled democratically, with membership open to all, for the purpose of supplying needs jointly. This, of course, is a definition of only one form of coöperation, that of the consumers' movement.

How does it differ from socialism? There is a likeness in that both socialism and coöperation are critical of our existing society and both demand that industry be reorganized on the basis of production for use instead of for profit. However, in the practical method of achieving this end coöperation differs radically from socialism. Coöperation recognizes the existence of a class struggle but does not participate in it. It will not outlaw the private producer, it will merely compete with him. It is quite possible that the coöperative will never supplant the private trader in certain specialized lines such as, for instance, distinctive and personal modes of apparel. Furthermore, coöperation is against state ownership. It desires the consumer to own the basic means of production and distribution. It does not favor guild socialism because it feels that goods and services should be owned by those who use them rather than by those who produce them. On the other hand, the coöperative movement is friendly to the trade unions.

In the course of time the consumers' coöperative movement has found that certain fundamental principles have helped to make the movement successful. The first three listed below are generally recognized to be absolutely essential, but the others are observed in the majority of successful coöperatives:

1. One member, one vote.
2. Legal rate of interest, only, on capital.
3. Surplus after fund for interest on capital stock, reserve and education is returned to members in proportion to patronage. In other words the organization is conducted on the basis of service to all its members, not for profits to the few.
4. Unrestricted membership, although each individual is expected to invest some money. If he has none his investment can be deducted from the surplus which would otherwise be returned to him.
5. Cash sales at the market value.
6. Constant education in the principles and aims of coöperation.
7. Federation as soon as possible with the nearest coöperative societies with the ultimate purpose of national and world coöperation.

The first principle is in striking contrast to that of a capitalistic enterprise, where the number of votes depends on the amount of money invested. The reason for this difference is that coöperation believes that human values are greater than property values. In our present society the dominance of property is widely evident. In Newport, Rhode Island, in 1929 an exclusive club is allowed to run wide open although it is notorious as a center for gambling and liquor. Being largely patronized by men and women of wealth, it has too great influence to be closed. Dillon, Read & Company buy up the Dodge Motor Company and after selling stock to the public so that they cleared millions on the transaction still retain complete control of the company. The common saying, "Money talks," is true. Coöperation is trying to go back to the ancient principle that humanity is of infinitely more worth than property. The principle of one vote per person is essential for the subordination of property to life. Under coöperation *humanics* becomes more important than *mechanics*. For the same reason, the coöperative movement does not allow those who invest their money in the business to secure speculative profits: all profits are returned to those who use the business. in proportion to their patronage. This prevents people from speculating in the stock of the coöperative movement. As Dr. Warbasse, the prominent coöperative leader in America, has well stated: "Coöperation treats capital the same as capital treats labor; it hires it at the cheapest price. The capitalist system makes labor the servant of capital; the coöperative system makes capital the servant of labor. In Great Britain before the War, the rate paid share-holders was from five per cent. down to two and one-half per cent. It is entirely conceivable, and would be in the nature of Coöperation, that interest be eliminated altogether. Interest is now paid because capitalistic business pays interest. In many coöperative societies of socially minded members no interest is paid."

The third principle (listed above) is undoubtedly the most important because it eliminates profit from business. Instead of profits going into the hands of the proprietor there are no profits. Virtually the customer has purchased the article at the point where no profit is made. Since that cannot be determined in advance and since money has to be deducted for expansion, the excess charge is returned at the expiration of a fixed period. When one buys something at a coöperative store he purchases what he has already paid for through his stock membership. He pays again in order that the article may be replaced. Actually he pays more than it takes to replace the article but this is later returned to him. In a capitalistic enterprise this excess "velvet" would go into the pockets of the owner of the store; under coöperation it goes into the pocket of the man who buys the goods.

It is just as if a man had been in the habit each week of purchasing on the newsstand a magazine for twenty cents. His wife suggests that they take out an annual subscription at five dollars but that each week the husband deposit in a box the twenty cents for the magazine. If this is done regularly, at the end of the year the box will contain ten dollars and forty cents. The family has made a saving of five dollars and forty cents. Capitalism permits the excess charges to go into the hands of the few. Coöperation eliminates this waste and organizes society on a non-profit basis.

The fourth principle prevents coöperation from degenerating into an exclusive profitable group for the few. The only reason why any one would be refused membership in a coöperative would be because he joined the society in order to harm or destroy it. In order to start the coöperative in the first instance, it is necessary to raise some capital, and members therefore have to deposit some money. It has been discovered that if every one is asked to keep a little money in the business it not only enables the society to expand faster and thus reduce expenses but it keeps up the interest of the individual member in the management and efficiency of the coöperative.

It has generally been found safer to sell goods at the market rather than cut prices immediately—although some coöperatives have been successful in following the other method. It has also proved advisable to keep constantly educating the membership on the aims and principles of coöperation. At best, it is usually a small minority that run any particular coöperative but they are the ones who are most deeply interested. Education stimulates an increasing number to become interested. Naturally, if federation with other societies can be achieved, it means ability to make purchases on more advantageous terms and it means a stronger organization.

The ordinary coöperative society has a board of directors elected by the membership, who serve without pay. Then there is usually a full-time salaried executive. In England, when a new executive is wanted, advertisements are often placed throughout the entire English-speaking coöperative world so that the best possible man can be secured.

Usually an educational committee is also appointed. This committee organizes evening classes, arranges popular lectures and instruction in the principles of coöperation. Sometimes the coöperative arranges technical courses in accounting.

As a concrete example of what one society is doing, consider the illustration Dr. Warbasse has cited in *What Is Coöperation?*

> "The United Coöperative Society of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, was started in 1910 with $1100 capital and less than a hundred members. Fitchburg has 43,000 population. They opened with a small grocery store. The turnover averaged about $1,500 a month the first year. Two years later a second store was opened. A third store was opened in the fourth year. In the seventh year a fourth grocery store was opened, a meat store, a shoe store, a men's furnishing store, a bakery, and milk department. Now the society has 580 members and $18,000 paid up capital. In 1925 its total turnover was $285,000, the surplus-savings were $12,000, and the reserve and undivided surplus savings $25,000. A coffee roastery has been added. Its creamery pasteurizes and bottles milk. This is a simple example of the business done by an average coöperative."

Perhaps the strongest argument in favor of coöperation is the ethical one. We are living in a social world. Each individual is more "other" than he is himself. He is the complex product of every influence which has made its register on his personality from the cradle to the grave. Life itself therefore becomes a great coöperative enterprise in which each one is molded and supplemented by many others. This is why it is impossible to live an ethical life apart from one's neighbors. A hermit can be highly moral in the desert wilderness but if he should isolate himself from contact with any other personality from the time he was born until he died, he would be living a highly immoral life. No one can be good wholly apart from his neighbors. So long as a single neighbor is suffering or starving, can we be genuinely happy?

In this world we can make adjustments through negative and positive techniques. It is theoretically possible to take and hold property for ourselves by fighting, by war, by exploitation. These are negative forces. Economic competition which involves the failure of even one individual or one business is to some extent an economic waste. Coöperation is a positive technique; it creates efficiency not by tearing down but by the united action of all for the benefit of all.

In the modern world we find, among others, two deep-seated urges: the desire for possession or for property, and the desire to serve or to help society. Coöperation satisfies both of these desires. Every coöperator helps not only to secure more of the good things of life for himself but for all. To-day, under capitalism, there is a tendency for men to get wealth at the expense of others. To the extent to which that is true, therefore, the more I get the less another has. Under coöperation, the more I have the more every one has: I succeed only in proportion as every one else succeeds.

It may be charged that coöperation is materialistic—that it is pure selfishness. The charge is that it is mainly providing men with food, clothing, housing, and material wants. Actually, however, the greatest thing with which it is concerned is human nature and human personality. Coöperation is built on the great spiritual values of friendship, service, trust, and brotherhood. Coöperation is for all and works with all; there are no barriers, no exploited classes. The beauty of coöperation is that it is not doing welfare work *for* some one else, it is a mutual inter-play of good-will, of positive coöperative achievement.

A boy once retorted to his father: "You say I should help others, but what does that leave for the others to do?" Henry Ford answers this question by saying that it is unnecessary for any one to help others provided each helps himself. Coöperation, on the other hand, says self-help is necessary but in team work: build a system where each helps himself by helping all.

A very great desideratum to-day is to substitute a higher motive than selfish economic gain. This, as we have seen, coöperation does. Nearly two thousand years ago Jesus promoted the most radical movement the world has ever seen. Coöperation helps to perpetuate the spiritual values of service and sacrifice, and at the same time it decreases poverty and enlarges the wealth of all. Here are a few of the things which it has accomplished. A coöperative coal company in a city of a million saves three hundred thousand dollars a year; all the coal dealers in the city have been compelled to reduce prices. A coöperative creamery in Minneapolis reduces the price of all the milk sold in the city and returns to its members $80,000. The British coöperators purchase American wheat and ship it to England and still secure their bread at about one-half what it costs the American worker.

It is small wonder that almost no careful, honest student of the subject can be found who will oppose the coöperative movement. It has been endorsed by Republican, Democrat, Socialist, and Communist parties in the United States as well as by the President of the United States, the bankers, and the labor unions. Is there any other movement that has received the united backing of radicals, extremists, and conservatives?

IV. CONSEQUENCES

1. KINDS OF COÖPERATIVES [6]

It is instructive to examine some of the other fields, outside of the distribution and production of commodities, in which the coöperative method is found in actual operation.

Housing

Housing is developed in three different ways. (1) Houses are built by landlords to sell or to rent to tenants. (2) Cities and towns build houses to rent to their citizens. (3) Individuals and societies build houses for their own use. The latter is the coöperative method.

In New York City more than 90 per cent. of the people live in somebody else's house, and most houses are not built to live in but to rent to tenants. In Europe the landlord business is about played out. There are very few houses being built by private individuals for their own residence or even to rent for profit. Most of the house building is done by municipalities, by corporations, and by coöperative societies.

The coöperative houses are of two kinds. Some are built by societies which conduct stores and other supply enterprises, and with some of their surplus-savings they build houses which they rent at cost to their members. The consumers' society of Hamburg, Germany, with 130,000 members, 275 retail stores, shops, factories, 1,600 acres of farm land, banking, insurance and many social activities, owns over 140 blocks of buildings containing over 1,200 dwellings. It has also groups of detached houses, with gardens, in the suburbs of Hamburg. Many German coöperative distributive societies thus go into housing. In fact the common name used by German distributive societies is "Konsum-, Spar-, und Bau Verein," indicating that they are organized for banking and house building as well as for distribution.

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[6] From *What Is Coöperation?* by James P. Warbasse (Vanguard Press, New York, 1927), pp. 37-72.

In Switzerland, Germany, and many other countries, coöperative societies are organized for the special purpose of house building and house owning for their members. Most German cities have such societies; there are 4,000 in Germany. This is the most efficient and perfectly organized form of housing.

Let us look at the Workingmen's Coöperative Building Society of Copenhagen, Denmark. This society builds blocks of houses containing about 215 apartments each, which embrace a whole city block, with a large and attractive court yard in the middle. It has also an attractive suburban village. It is a member of a Danish federation of housing societies. This Copenhagen society has over 3,000 members. It has already built over 2,000 homes in apartments and has over fifteen different groups of buildings. It owns many acres of land upon which to continue its further developments. These societies have their own bureau of architects, workers, door and window factory, brick kilns, cement works, paint shops, tile factory, and water pipe factory. Often such housing societies have a central steam heating plant for their detached houses.

In the suburbs of Berlin are many such societies with charming gardens and floral decorations.

Nuremberg has an especially beautiful housing development.

One of its societies has a "garden city" in the outskirts of Nuremberg. The society has 2,400 members and some 800 houses. There is always a large waiting list to demand more building. The payment of 200 marks entitles the member to a house. After that he pays about 40 marks monthly for a four or five room house with bath. The society owns a brick kiln and saw mill. The houses, with their gardens, are charming as well as comfortable, and vastly superior to those occupied by workmen of the same occupations in England, France, or America.

One of the interesting housing societies in Switzerland is at Basle. Here is a village, called Freidorf, with 150 attractive houses covering an area of twenty acres. The society owns everything including the park and streets. It has a central communal hall which contains meeting rooms, restaurant, school, theater, and gymnasium. Fruit, lime, and walnut trees border the streets. Each house has a garden.

Many such societies employ gardeners and florists. They also carry on banking in the interest of the members' credit needs.

A true coöperative housing society is a corporation which owns the buildings in which the members live. Houses or dwellings are rented to the members on long leases. Some rent for 99 years; some rent for 999 years. The lease is for so long a time that it practically is the same as ownership, only the property cannot be sold by the member.

In order to join a housing society one must put in some money to pay for shares. The amount varies in different countries. Usually it is the equivalent of the rental for a year. The rest of the money is borrowed or raised on mortgage on the property. In some countries, such as Germany, the land is often donated by the government. This makes it possible to have very low rentals. I have seen good coöperative houses rented to railroad workers in Germany for one-fifteenth of the workers' wages. In America, workers pay about one-fourth of their wages for houses not as good.

In European countries the housing societies usually have more members than dwellings, so that there are always members waiting for houses. If a member who has a house wishes to move away the society buys from him his shares at par and releases him from his unexpired lease. The property is then leased to another member.

Many housing societies also conduct stores in one of their buildings or rent space for stores to the local consumers' societies of which the tenants are members.

True coöperative housing is developing on a large scale in continental Europe. It is actually giving the people better houses than they ever had before. By building houses for use, the profits of construction and contractors are cut out. The problem of ground rents is solved. The individual cannot speculate in land. He rents the home from his society which holds title to it, and he may have it as long as he uses it.

It can easily be calculated that people who can afford to pay rent, and that means everybody, can afford to own their own home. People who can afford to live in a house, if they only knew it, can afford to own, on a coöperative basis, the house they occupy. In New York, the average tenant pays enough rent in ten years to equal the value of the house. This means that every ten years he buys the house from the landlord, and then makes the landlord a present of it.

There are all sorts of imitations, frauds, and substitutes for coöperative housing. In England coöperative societies build houses and sell them to their members. The members are then at liberty to speculate in real estate and the coöperative feature disappears. This may be called coöperative house building, but it is not coöperative housing. In most European countries the municipalities build houses which are rented to working people. Cities, such as Vienna, in which the socialists have a political majority, are found discouraging coöperative housing and building municipal houses. I have studied with interest the difference between these two classes of buildings in many cities. They are striking and characteristic.

A block of coöperative houses looks like homes occupied by the owners; and that is just what they are. The premises are cleaner, there are apt to be flower-boxes at the windows, and there is apt to be a brightness and pride in ownership and occupancy which is not seen in the city-owned houses. The city houses look like tenement houses; and as a matter of fact, that is what they are. The city is the landlord, and it is hard to make the tenant believe that as a citizen he is an owner. The complex political system, which stands between him and ownership of the house, convinces him that he has to deal with a landlord who is a long way from himself. As a practical fact the tenant acts as though he had no personal sense of ownership, which perhaps means that he has none. I know that I can tell a coöperative apartment house from a city-owned house a block away; and I think this means that there is a difference in the state of mind of the tenants.

The monthly "rental" paid in the coöperative house is apt to be less than in the city-owned house of the same type. In Copenhagen the coöperative society builds better houses at a lower cost and rents them at a lower price than the city.

In Italy the municipalities build houses for organized groups of workers, and sell them the houses outright. The individual buys a house or apartment by paying "rent" for about twenty years. Then the house becomes his own property. After that speculation becomes possible.

In America there is every sort of real estate development called "coöperative." Most commonly a real estate company builds apartments and sells each apartment to a separate owner.

Or a corporation of tenant-owners is formed. They then take long-term leases on apartments, which they may occupy, or sub-let for a profit. In some cases the stockholders of the corporation owning an apartment house occupy half of the apartments and rent the other apartments to non-stockholders at a profit sufficiently high to give the resident stockholders their rent free.

Still there are many genuine coöperative apartment houses in America. A difficulty which arises is that the value of the houses goes up and the members are tempted to take advantage of the situation and speculate. They sub-let at a profit or they sell at a profit, and the coöperative feature of the house is destroyed. In one case in New York the cost of an apartment in 1922 was $2,210 and the owner in 1926 refused an offer of $11,000 for the same apartment. The monthly carrying charge is $71 and the owner sub-lets it for $185. This is the sort of situation that is destructive of coöperation.

To preserve the coöperative principle seems difficult in a rising real estate market. The hunger for profits on the part of people, even though they start out as coöperators, destroys coöperation. In Europe this seems not to occur. In America it has caused coöperators to sell their property and put the profit in their pockets; and in some instances they have all sub-let their apartments and moved out. It can be prevented only by educating members in loyalty to the principle of coöperation, by providing in deeds and by-laws against speculation, or by having the property held by large coöperative societies having holdings extending over a considerable area and controlled by a diversity of members the majority of whom would not be benefited by speculative sale or rental of a single house. The society should be so organized that, if a property is sold for speculative reasons, the profit goes into the treasury of the society and a new dwelling is provided for the members who had occupied the property that was sold.

An example of coöperative housing that apparently has overcome these difficulties is that of the United Workers Coöperative Association in New York. This association began with a small membership which leased one floor in a private house. As the membership grew, they took the whole house. Then they added a restaurant, library, and music room. In 1924 they started a coöperative camp in the country for vacation recreation. The association grew. In 1925 they bought an entire city block of vacant land in New York City, facing one of the city's parks. Within two years they had added so many new members that they increased their purchases to six city blocks. Now an apartment house with 963 rooms has been built on one of these blocks and is occupied by 339 families, and work is well advanced on the second block of apartments. Most of these apartments contain three, four, or five rooms, including a kitchen and bath. There are 57 rooms furnished as bachelor apartments. In the basement are an assembly hall, dining hall, library, gymnasium, and electric laundries. The members maintain stores, a kindergarten, day nursery, and social organizations.

The total cost of this first block of apartments was $1,525,000. There is a first mortgage of $1,150,000. The tenant members paid in $250,000. The balance was raised by a bond issue. Tenants make an initial payment of $250 per room. Monthly charges, covering upkeep, capital charges, and amortization of mortgage amount to $13.50 per room. These are very high grade apartments, in a city with the highest rentals in the world.

To insure the success of a coöperative housing society requires that certain definite methods shall be followed. Economies in the purchase of the land and materials are important. The burden of initial high costs remains a burden forever. The capital should be borrowed on long term paper—twenty years if possible—with the privilege of earlier payment. Money is obtained by mortgage, by bond issue, by municipal loans, by stock issues, and by personal loans. The property must be owned wholly by the society in which the member owns shares, and from which he has his long term lease.

When a member wishes to withdraw from the society his shares must be bought back by the society and his lease terminated. For this reason the successful organizations always have more members than they have apartments so that there is a waiting list and an incentive to continue building and expanding.

If a society has not the money to buy back the shares, it may sublet the apartment for the member's benefit. If by the end of a year the society has not been able to pay for the shares, then the member should be privileged to sell the shares to some one acceptable to the society and who signifies his intention to occupy the property.

In all respects the Rochdale principles are observed except that savings returns are not usually paid back to members. A moderate rate of interest is paid on share capital. Each member has one vote.

A member gets a certificate of stock and a lease. He may transmit these to his heirs who may become members and continue to occupy the premises. If a member finds it necessary to sub-let his home he may be permitted to do so for a certain limited period of time to a tenant approved by the directors. But the member is responsible for the monthly payments. A non-member who thus rents an apartment from a member should pay the current commercial value as rental; but it is best that the member who sub-lets the apartment should not be permitted to make a profit. If there is profit it is best that it should go to the treasury of the society. This at least should be the case if the sub-letting is for any considerable time. Sub-letting coöperative houses at a profit to the individual member soon breaks up the society.

Housing societies are organized the same as other coöperatives. The members elect a board of directors. In the ordinary society no full time manager is required. The directors attend to the business and collect the monthly charges.

The monthly charges which the member pays for his coöperative apartment are not rent. They are made up of (1) running expenses and (2) payment on principal. The first (1) consist of interest on share capital, bonds, mortgages, notes and other obligations; taxes; fire and liability insurance; light, coal, and power; wages to janitor and other employees; repairs and supplies; to pay dues or to own shares in a federation of housing societies which perform various services for its members; and to carry on social activities. The second (2) is really capital investment and consists of money paid to amortize the mortgage or mortgages, to pay off the principal on the indebtedness, moneys placed in a fund for reserve and expansion, and a depreciation fund if necessary. The first group of costs is the ordinary expense which the private owner of a house would have to meet. The second group of charges comprises the payments which the private owner of a house would make as investments if he still owed money on his purchase. The total of all of these amounts is collected monthly. It is often called rent; but it is not rent. People do not rent from themselves what they have bought and for which they are paying. It should be called carrying charges.

The members of such a society can usually look forward and expect to see their monthly "rental" charges steadily grow less as principal and interest are reduced. Whereas the tenant who rents from a private landlord can usually look forward and expect the rents to increase.

It is customary to pay off 5 per cent. of the principal on the mortgage and other indebtedness each year. Thus at the end of twenty years all of the indebtedness is paid. As the capital indebtedness grows smaller the interest charges grow smaller. When all of the debts have been paid, the only costs remaining are the running expenses which any owner of a property has to meet.

A useful plan is to add to the expenses the cost of insurance of the members so that if a member is sick, out of work, or if he dies, there is a fund sufficient to meet his obligations for at least a year. This makes still further for permanence of abode.

If the monthly payments required from each tenant member should not be sufficient to meet all of the carrying charges, an assessment or an increase of the charges can be made at any time. It is best, however, to make plenty of allowance at the beginning in the original budget and provide for unexpected expenses.

There are certain expenses which are met by the individual member, such as the interior decoration, painting, etc. of the apartment which he occupies. A reserve fund is created to purchase the shares of members who must move away and leave the society.

The depreciation fund, to meet annual expenses from wear and decay, is usually 1 or 2 per cent.

In a small apartment the directors act as house committee and attend to all matters which naturally belong to a landlord. In a large group with a block of apartments or a village of houses, separate committees for special purposes are elected by the members at a members' meeting. They all serve without pay. Some societies employ a bonded real estate firm to collect the dues from members, hire employees, and make purchases. It is best for the members to do these things themselves.

The best housing societies have all of the members serving on some special committee. The following committees are found at work in different societies: social activities, drama and entertainment, education, gardening, play grounds, stores and bakery, central kitchen and restaurant, laundry, refrigerating plant, garage, nursery and dispensary, and servants. Joint arrangements may be made for part time services of maids, cleaners, seamstresses, nurses, kindergarten teachers, etc. When people begin doing things together there is no end to the things they can learn to do.

The social and educational committees play an important part. They hold meetings and provide lectures, debates and classes, and carry on activities to keep alive the feeling for coöperation.

New members are elected from a waiting list. In a large society, they are usually passed upon by the directors. In small societies the candidate must be approved by three-fourths of the membership as well as by the directors.

Provisions are made in the by-laws for dissolving the society when this becomes necessary. It is customary to sell the property and divide the proceeds among the members in proportion to their stockholdings. A society in New York is now going through this experience. Their property has increased greatly in value. The palms of the members itch to get hold of the money that is offered them. They are selling out and the society will disband. The increase in value really belongs to the community. If the society provided in its by-laws that if they sold out, the members should receive back with interest the money they had paid in, and the proceeds of the sale above that amount should be given to the community in the form of cash or a library, a playground, or park, coöperative housing societies would not be so tempted to break up housekeeping when prosperity overtakes them. The solution of this problem is the large society, with widely distributed and diversified ownership, or housing combined with other coöperative activities.

Coöperative Banking

Coöperative banking is banking for the service of the depositors and borrowers. In the United States are over 31,000 profit-making banks. The stockholders have invested in these banks about $2,500,000,000. But the depositors have in these same banks $36,700,000,000. This means that for every $1 that the stockholders have put in, the depositors have put in nearly $15. The banks do business and make their profits with $1 of stockholders' money and $15 of depositors' money, yet the stockholders are the fortunate ones who get the large profits made by the banking business. The depositors furnish the money; the stockholders use it for themselves. The coöperative system of banking, on the other hand, provides that the depositors and borrowers shall get the benefits. Stockholders are treated as depositors.

There are many kinds of coöperative banking. Much of it does not carry out fully the three Rochdale principles. But the speculative, profit-making idea is largely gotten rid of, and service is its chief aim. The best form of bank pays the depositor interest and lends money to the borrower at a somewhat higher rate. Both depositor and borrower are members and stockholders. The difference between the two rates of interest is used for overhead expenses and to build up a reserve. What is left over is net surplus-saving. This is divided as a savings-return, between the depositors and the borrowers in proportion to the interest they receive and pay. This return is based upon the amount of money and the time it is deposited or borrowed.

In coöperative practice there are exceptions to this method. Usually the bank actually makes profits and pays them in the form of dividends to the stockholders. The borrowers and depositors, however, in such banks usually have to be stockholders; and one vote for each member prevails.

Coöperative banking was founded by Schulze-Delitzsch, and Raiffeisen. By the banking methods which these men established, the German farmers were able to get out of the hands of the money lenders and lift themselves up from the dreadful poverty which swept through Europe after the wars of Napoleon in the first half of the nineteenth century. In Europe they are called "popular banks," "credit banks," and "peoples banks"; in the United States, "credit unions." Usually they begin in a small way. They have spread to every country. Germany has over 20,000 credit societies. Most of the farmers of Denmark do their banking business in these societies. Russia has over 25,000 such banks. The total number of these banking societies in the world is around 80,000 with a membership of 25,000,000 and an annual business of many millions.

A new kind of coöperative banking is now growing very large. It is done through the ordinary consumers' coöperative society, which organizes a banking department. Each store serves as a branch for the bank, where members make deposits and draw out money. Members are encouraged to allow their savings-returns to be placed to the credit of their account in the bank. In the coöperative stores of many European countries one sees the members drawing out money to make purchases and depositing what is left of the weekly wages after the family needs are supplied. The central national wholesale or union acts as the central bank. Thus, for example, the Banking Department of the English Wholesale Society in 1926 had a turnover in deposits and withdrawals of nearly three billion dollars.

A peculiarity of the Raiffeisen type of credit bank is that it lends money on character. A member who has no property at all to offer as security can borrow money. The losses among coöperative banks and the failures are less than among the capitalistic banks. This is true even in the United States where coöperation, in all forms, is backward. It is noteworthy also that people find banking not the complicated and difficult business it is supposed to be. Banking is neither difficult nor complicated, especially when it is used simply for the service of the people concerned. With sound bookkeeping and auditing, it succeeds in the hands of any group of people who are willing to use ordinary common sense. There is no mystery about it. In fact the average housewife, who takes her husband's wages and makes them feed, clothe, and house the family, solves difficult financial problems every day, which train her in the understanding of fiscal business.

Coöperative banking in the United States is largely in the form of the building and loan associations and credit unions. Building and loan associations are coöperative banks for the purpose of home-building.

There are in the United States more than 12,000 of these institutions, sometimes called also savings and loan associations. Their assets amount to more than five billion dollars, and their total membership about 10,000,000. They are non-profit organizations for the mutual advantage of their members. The first of these associations was started in 1831. Now there are one-third as many as there are commercial banks. Their failures have amounted to less than 1 per cent. while the failures of the commercial banks have amounted to 6 per cent. These organizations are not conscious of their coöperative character and have never connected themselves with the coöperative movement.

The credit union begins as a small coöperative bank. It is similar to the Raiffeisen banks of Europe, and is usually organized by some group already held together by some other organization or by people who have a common interest and acquaintance with one another. About half of the states in the United States have a credit union law under which such organizations are incorporated. Each member must subscribe for at least one share of stock and pay for the same in cash or in monthly or weekly installments. Twenty people with $5 each can start a credit union. In some states seven people are enough. The union is under the supervision of the state banking department, just the same as the big banks.

The par value of stock is usually $5 a share, which may be paid for at twenty-five cents a week. The purchase of this stock is the method by which the member makes his savings. If a member would save a dollar a week, for example, he subscribes for four shares and pays in twenty-five cents a week on each share. In most states with a credit union law the member may also have a deposit account in which he may deposit irregular amounts at irregular intervals. Dividends on shares are figured semi-annually or annually. Interest on deposits is usually figured monthly and added every three months. The interest rate is usually somewhat lower than the dividend rate. The member treats his deposit account as a fund for current use, but his dividend account is regarded as a more permanent saving.

Most of the surplus-savings of the credit union are paid back as dividends on stock. Since the stock really represents most of the capital and since borrowers have to be stockholders the borrowers and depositors thus get back the money that in capitalistic banking would constitute the profits for the stockholders who furnish but a minor part of the capital. The credit union is usually allowed to charge borrowers 1 per cent. a month interest, or 12 per cent. a year. After a union becomes established and strong it often reduces this rate. Twelve per cent. seems large. But it must be remembered that the credit union is for the small borrower who cannot get money from the commercial banks. Without the credit union he must go to the "loan shark" who charges him anywhere from 100 per cent. up to the sky. A recent investigation in Chicago shows "loan sharks" actually getting $1,080 interest on a loan of $30. One case disclosed an interest rate of 3,600 per cent. The Russell Sage Foundation reports a case of a man who paid $312 interest on a loan of $10 and was then sued for the principal! It is estimated that from 7 to 15 per cent. of the people of the United States are in a position to borrow money at the normal legal rates; the rest must go to the usurer. The credit union is organizing to take care of the working man who says: "I am out of work. The next season of work is six weeks off. My baby is sick. My wife needs clothes." This man by joining the credit union of his labor organization can borrow the money necessary to save his self-respect. . . .

In 1925 there were in the State of Massachusetts 86 credit unions with 55,000 members and assets of $8,679,700. At present there are over 300 with more than 87,000 members and $12,000,000 assets. There are also 220 building and loan associations with over $425,000,000 assets. The Telephone Workers' Credit Union, in Boston, has over 13,000 members and total assets of over a million dollars. About half of its members are borrowers and about half of its capital consists of deposits.

The Russell Sage Foundation in New York is active in promoting the credit union movement in New York. In 1924 the total membership in that state was 64,399 with assets of $10,543,076; in 1927 the membership was 69,820 and the assets $12,048,277.

These organizations are going a long way toward teaching the people how to take care of their credit needs.

Insurance

Insurance of almost every kind is provided by the coöperative method. The Joint Insurance Department of the English and Scottish Wholesale Societies, now known as the Coöperative Insurance Society, provides life, fire, accident, burglary, fidelity, employers' liability, live stock, plate glass, automobile, boiler, electric plant and other kinds of insurance. This society is steadily growing. Its last report (59th annual) shows income from premiums of over $17,000,000 per year. The amount of business and the number of policies continues to increase each year. The society has $30,000,000 in assets. The ordinary life section has 167,000 policies in force and the industrial section has 1,808,000 policies. The society has 169 district offices in various parts of the country with 2,481 full time employees. This insurance is carried on wholly in the interest of the insured. The surplus-savings are returned to the insured. "No portion of the profits has ever been distributed among the stockholders."

The Health Insurance Section of the English C.W.S. has a membership of over a quarter of a million. It provides free dental treatment, legal assistance for recovery of compensation, convalescent home benefits, benevolent grants, compensation during sickness, and maternity benefits.

The consumers' coöperative societies of England are more and more making use of the insurance of the Coöperative Insurance Society. One method is to insure whole societies without medical examination or formality. Every purchasing member of an insured society is thus insured without the payment of any premium by the individual. The retail society simply pays the Insurance Society one penny a year for every pound sterling of purchases made by its members. This system insures all the members. The amount paid to the widow, widower, or children is based on the average yearly purchases for the three years before the member's death. The needs of the family are thus judged by what it consumes. This insuranc scheme also promotes loyalty to the society.

The German societies have an especially efficient scheme for the insurance of employees. In the Scandinavian countries practically all of the members of coöperative societies are getting the benefits of insurance. In the United States coöperative insurance is found especially among the farmers. They have been particularly successful with life insurance. There are in the United States about 2,000 coöperative fire insurance societies among the farmers. They carry insurance of around $6,000,000,000, which costs the insured about one-half the rate charged by the profit-making companies.

The mutual insurance societies in the United States, with assets running into the billions, are a close approach to coöperation. They practise proxy voting and have centralized control, and thus fail to develop any movement toward democracy. They resemble coöperative societies in that they make no profits for stockholders. They are truly service organizations.

Insurance at cost, in the interest wholly of the insured, is proving to be practical, and if the insured can learn to take care of their own business, it presents advantages over insurance conducted in the interest of stockholders.

Recreations

Recreation is what most people are interested in, next to life and love. What to do with the leisure time is the big question. Coöperative societies are trying to find the answer. The "houses of the people" in Belgium are buildings of the coöperative societies for both education and recreation. There are found lectures, plays, motion pictures, concerts, and sports. Choirs and orchestras are organized in many societies. The society of Ghent has three bands and several choral groups. The United Coöperative Baking Society of Glasgow has bands and a children's chorus of several hundred voices. The Ripley, England, society has recently bought the new Victoria Theater.

In many countries farm houses and country mansions are owned for recreational purposes. The Calderwald castle of the Scottish Wholesale and the fine old mansion house of the Plymouth Society at Whympstone, with its 2,500 acres of grounds, are examples.

Motion picture shows are run by many societies. Coöperative films and dramas are multiplying. Coöperative opera houses and theaters are found in some countries. One of the best theaters in Berlin, the "Volksbühne," is owned by the consumers, the patrons. The Theater Guild in New York is coöperative except for the voting privilege which is based on stock.

A successful coöperative camp and vacation ground is owned by the United Workers' Coöperative Association in New York. The association owns a beautiful wooded slope of 250 acres overlooking the Hudson River. The houses and tents accommodate over 700 people. The dining hall accommodates 800 guests. During the last summer there were often more than 1,000 guests at a time. The costs are much lower than in other summer resorts, but still the association has accumulated a large surplus. Over $50,000 has been spent within the past year for new buildings, sewer system, and a great recreation hall. The most modern electrical appliances are used. Entertainments of every sort are held. Much attention is given to music. A well known composer has trained a chorus. This society also owns coöperative houses for its members in the city.

The "Elanto" society at Helsingfors owns a wooded island in the harbor which is wholly given over to recreational purposes.

Most coöperative recreational work is carried on by consumers' societies, but there are many special societies for special forms of recreation.

The Press

The press is usually owned and controlled in the interests of profit business. It serves those interests. A press owned and controlled by the printers will serve their interests. If the reader would have literature and news that are free from propaganda and bias that are opposed to his interests, then the reader must own and control the press that supplies him. Unless he does this, he may count with certainty upon having his hunger for literature and news exploited for somebody else's sake. The opportunity is too good not to be taken advantage of. It will be used just as surely as the merchant uses it to make profits out of the reader's need of goods, as the banker uses it against his need of credit, and as the tobacco business uses it to stimulate his hunger for cigarettes.

We should not make the mistake to think that a press run by a political government is for the consumers. It will be found carrying on propaganda and biased in the interest of the ruling political faction.

A true coöperative press is that which is owned by the consumers and which represents the consumers—the readers.

Of course, a coöperative press does not guarantee good literature; it only guarantees that such literature as is published shall be controlled by the readers and, presumably in their interest.

Coöperative publications are issued by distributive societies or by societies for the special purpose. In all countries with a well developed coöperative movement there is a coöperative press, publishing a good number of papers and magazines. The "Coöperative Year Book" gives a list of 78 national coöperative periodicals, but in addition to this are several thousand papers published by local societies. Among these are daily papers, weeklies, monthlies, and books. The Printing Society of German Consumers' Associations (Verlags Gesellschaft) has a printing plant in Hamburg with 700 employees. It uses two tons of paper a day in purely coöperative printing. The Coöperative Printing Society of England does an annual business of $1,250,000. During the past ten years it has paid back to its shareholder patrons over $90,000 in savings returns. Much of these businesses is commercial printing.

None of this contradicts the fact that there are many excellent publications, issued for profit or for the satisfaction of editors and publishers, which are, perhaps, superior to anything that the average readers, if organized, would create for themselves.

Baking

Baking is one of the fundamental needs that is met by the coöperative method. The Belgian coöperative movement began with bakeries. As the Belgians said: "We are bombarding the forts of capitalism with loaves of bread." In most countries the bakery appears early in coöperative development. There are hundreds of European cities, and some American, in which the coöperative bakery is the best equipped, the cleanest, the largest, and produces the best bread at the lowest cost to the consumer.

The largest bread bakery in Great Britain is that of the United Coöperative Baking Society of Glasgow, Scotland. It has 120 ovens, with the most modern machinery. One of its members is the Scottish Wholesale, from which it gets flour; and, since this latter society is a large producer of flour, its access to raw material is very close.

Most of the German societies have bakeries. The bakeries of the societies of Stockholm and Helsingfors are the best in Scandinavia. Some coöperative bakeries in America and Russia are not clean nor inviting; but such are exceptional.

The coöperative bakeries keep down the price of bread and improve its quality. The profit bakeries do not like them; they are called "a menace to the baking business."

Milk Distribution

Milk distribution has more recently been taken in hand by coöperative societies. They begin by first learning how to purchase and handle milk. Having gotten their customers they make a contract with the farmers to supply the society with so much milk of a certain quality. In Europe it is mostly distributed in bulk. In the United States, the coöperative societies establish a creamery where the milk is treated, pasteurized, bottled, etc. The Franklin Coöperative Association in Minneapolis is the largest milk business in that city. When it started in 1921, it had a small creamery and eighteen wagons. It began business by paying the farmers a cent a quart more for milk than they had been getting, distributing milk to the consumers at a cent a quart less than they had been paying, and distributing a better quality of milk—even better than the legal standard demanded. It has prospered.

Many societies in Europe now own their own farms and cattle and produce milk for their members. Such societies are found in England, Germany, and Switzerland. The society at Basle distributes more than half of the milk consumed in that Swiss city.

Restaurants

Restaurants are run by general distributive societies, and also by special restaurant societies. Many large societies have restaurants for their employees. The British Wholesale has a restaurant in Manchester in its office building, which feeds 1,000 people at a time. One can travel from one end of England to the other and eat each meal in a clean and satisfying coöperative restaurant. The Amsterdam Coöperative Kitchen sends out hot meals to the homes of its members and conducts also a restaurant.

Some consumers' societies in the United States have excellent restaurants. The Consumers' Coöperative Services in New York is a growing society which conducts six restaurants, a fancy bakery, and delicatessen stores. It does a business of $500,000 a year and gives much attention to education. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the members of this society have organized a coöperative bank (credit union), to show the natural tendency of expansion.

Laundries

Laundries are carried on by bakeries, factories, and other coöperative enterprises for their employees. There are special societies for only laundry purposes. Large laundries are also run by general distributive societies. Their number is constantly increasing.

The London Coöperative Society, for example, has two big laundries, each equipped with the best modern apparatus. One laundry has a single machine which irons 3,800 sheets a day. Another machine irons 6,000 collars a day. The laundries of coöperative societies take out of the home the work that the housewife once had to do and perform it as a communal enterprise.

Transportation

Transportation is carried on by many coöperative societies by means of motor omnibuses. Some societies own railroad cars for their own produce. The French Wholesale owns two hundred tank cars for carrying wine. The English Wholesale once owned two ocean steamboats, but discontinued them. The German Wholesale at its factories at Gröba has its own tracks and locomotives. Steamboats and ocean-going vessels are owned by many societies. Transportation is being slowly developed from small beginnings.

Road building is done by coöperative societies in Russia. But none of it approaches in magnitude the transportation and highways such as profit business and governments have developed. There are no railroad lines yet owned by the travelers and shippers.

Communication

Communication by post and electricity—that means the mail, telegraph, telephone, and radio—it seems, will sooner or later in all countries be run by the government as public services. This may be the best solution of this problem. But if there are objections to political control of utilities, it may be of interest to see what the people can do for themselves without the help of the political State. Already much has been done.

In the United States are more than 300 coöperative telephone societies among the farmers in the Western States. The farmers of a county or district incorporate as a non-profit concern. They put in a little money and buy instruments and wire. Often they put up the posts and wires themselves. Sometimes they use the top wire of barb-wire fences for the purpose. A farmer's house serves for the central station. The wife and daughter attend the switchboard. The service is very cheap and satisfactory. It teaches the farmers how to work together and makes better neighbors of them. These societies are very successful. Their fate often is that the big Bell company works an effective scheme and buys them out after they have proved their success. Then the coöperatives come to an end and the prices go up.

The mails in the United States were once carried by private companies. In Russia, coöperative societies have developed some postal service.

Power and Light

Power and light in most countries are developed as private or profit-making businesses or are run by the government for public service. But during the past few years coöperative societies have gone into this field. Some societies with factories and large industrial plants make their own electricity on a large scale. Some provide electric current for their members' use. In Russia, the Borovich-Valdai Coöperative Society, which covers a large district, has installed electric lights in most of the 400 villages of the district.

Over two hundred coöperative societies in Switzerland supply their members with electricity. They put a turbine wheel into a stream that comes tumbling down from the mountains, connect it with a dynamo, and send electricity into their houses for light, heat, and to run the sewing machines, churns, and grindstones. It seems not to be difficult for the people who use the electricity to make it for themselves.

In 1922, the French Coöperative Congress passed a resolution calling for the establishment wherever possible of coöperative societies for the supply of electricity, gas and water. Already a number of French societies provide these necessities for their members.

Fire Protection

Protection against fire is usually a municipal affair. But it is not beyond private enterprise. The Scottish Coöperative Wholesale Society, at its factories in Shieldhall, has a fire department which would do credit to any city. Often its engines and apparatus go to the service of the city of Glasgow when the city's apparatus cannot put out a fire. The Coöperative Society of Basle, Switzerland, owns many buildings and has its own fire department. This is so good that the reduction in fire insurance costs on the buildings is nearly enough to pay for the support of the fire department. There are many other coöperative examples of this sort.

Health Protection

Health protection, if it is to be of much use, has to be for everybody. Diseases are contagious—and so is health. To wait until somebody is sick and then send for a doctor, who is competing with the other doctors in caring for the sick, is a poor way to protect health.

No disease is wholly a medical affair. Poverty, for example, is more deadly than germs. As a matter of fact poverty is the great disease.

Health can be bought, if one has the money. Poverty is the stuff out of which thieves, strike-breakers, bums, and sick people are most easily made. Give people means to get the things they need and their mental and physical health is better.

The health of the families of the Rochdale Pioneers improved as their society succeeded. Many a coöperative society has been started because the people were aware that they were suffering from the adulterated foods the tradesmen were selling.

The Swiss Union has country estates which are used as convalescent resorts. The British coöperative societies buy farms and fine estates and use the houses for sanitariums. The English Wholesale Society, at its coal mines at Shilbottle, Northumberland, has houses for aged miners where they may live free of rent and taxes. The society of Ghent, Belgium, has similar homes for its aged members. The Hamburg Coöperative Society "Produktion" has an estate with a convalescent home for children on the shore of the Baltic Sea, which cost $250,000, and which accommodates over 1,000 children a year for a period of four weeks each. The societies of Berlin, Helsingfors, and of many other large cities have similar places of recreation.

The coöperative societies of many countries provide food for the members and pure milk for babies, give the members good homes at cost, send children on vacations to the country, furnish a six weeks' vacation for mothers before the baby is born, and give sick benefits and unemployment pensions to workers, free of extra charge. All of these things are for the protection of the health of the members, and are, perhaps, more important than medical treatment.

There are also all sorts of medical services furnished by coöperative societies. A good example is the society of The Hague, in Holland. It is a workingman's distributive society with a department for insurance against sickness and death. This medical department has about 50,000 members who pay from one to seven dollars a year for service. This is of a high class. More than thirty doctors are employed. These include specialists in the various departments of medicine. The society has a well-equipped clinic with laboratories and departments for every kind of examination and treatment. Three large drug stores supply medicines. A member who is sick receives medical and nursing care, free food from the stores, money in place of the wages he loses, and in case of death burial is provided and the family is paid life insurance.

Many cities have such societies. The results are good. The health of the members is improved. Sickness in most families is very expensive. Usually the doctor is not sent for till the patient is very ill. That is often too late. In these coöperative societies the members may consult the doctor at any time. They may go for examinations or advice whenever they wish before they become ill. The cost is no more. The doctors are employed to keep the people well. This is the scientific method. It seems to be good also for the doctors. Instead of competing in the market of the sick against one another for patients, the doctors in these societies are paid a fixed salary. For this all that is expected of them is to do whatever is best for the health of the members.

In Minneapolis is a coöperative society which uses some of its surplus-savings to conduct a children's clinic where free advice is given to mothers for the better care of their children. Some societies use a part of this surplus for medical care of the employees.

In India are coöperative societies organized for the extermination of mosquitoes. They dig ditches and drain swamps and do other things necessary to protect the members against the diseases carried by insects.

Courts of Justice

Courts of justice are supposed to be necessary government functions. But they can be carried on by the people without any help from the political system. Many societies have a "grievance committee" to hear disputes between members and the society. One American society has a "trial committee." This idea of a non-political court is not new. In China, for thousands of years, most disputes have been settled out of court by arbitration. Ireland had courts, in 1921, which had no connection with the British Government. The State of New York has a "lay court" which conducts all sorts of civil cases. There are no judges nor lawyers. The two parties to the case choose their referee. Each party conducts his own case and tells his own story. The Arbitration Society of America is promoting these non-political courts.

The people of India, in revolt against the British Government, have developed such non-political courts. These are juridical coöperative societies for the settlement of disputes by arbitration. They are steadily increasing in number. A committee hears and acts upon disputes. They have the power to call witnesses, administer oaths, require the production of documents, and issue orders regarding the payment of costs. In whole districts in India these court societies are federated to form a union which conducts a higher court of appeals, called the Provincial Court of Arbitration.

The results of these courts are reported to be highly satisfactory. The real power behind them is the public opinion in the villages. The people respect the courts so highly that a man does not want to disobey their decisions and get the bad opinion of the public.

It would seem possible for the coöperative movement to go on organizing independent courts. In a community or state, where most of the people are in the coöperative societies, they may have their own courts for all purposes.

Ideas

Ideas can be collected and distributed coöperatively as well as material and services. In the Teachers' College, Columbia University, is the headquarters of the Industrial Arts Coöperative Society, formed to supply ideas for teachers. New suggestions for presenting and making interesting every subject that is taught to children are collected, cataloged and made accessible for the members who need them in their teaching work. This society now has a membership scattered pretty much over the whole country.

As a Business Method

Coöperation is a simple business method. It is business with the profit taken out. That leaves service as the reason for carrying on the business. Profit-making makes business at least more complicated, if not more difficult. Coöperation enlarges the ownership of business to include the patrons. An ordinary profit corporation is owned by some stockholders —let us say, a shoe factory. The shoes are sold to other people for more than they cost and the stockholders get the profit. If now the stock should all be owned by the people who use the shoes; if the profits were given back to these stockholders in proportion to the money they spent for shoes, and not in proportion to the money they had invested in stock; if not more than a regular low rate of interest were paid for capital which the members had put into the business; if each member had one vote only, no matter how much stock he held; and if democratic control of the business were in the hands of the stockholders—then the corporation would be a coöperative society. Coöperative societies have sometimes developed in this way from profit corporations. Big public utility corporations, especially electric power and light companies, are striving for what they call "customer ownership." *The Wall Street Journal* estimates that the customers will furnish more than one-third of the capital necessary to supply the eight billion dollars for public utility expansion in the United States during the next ten years. Many economists now advocate the expansion of consumer ownership as a means to cheapen public necessities and to eliminate the manipulations by politics. It may be possible that the present enlarging distribution of stockownership of corporations in the United States might move in this direction. It might create a corporation that has as many stockholders as it has patrons, each class being composed of the members of the other.

If seven hundred people organize a coöperative society and each puts in $10, they have a capital of $7,000. If they run a store and do a business exclusively among themselves of $140,000 during the year, and charge current retail prices, they will have a net surplus-saving at the end of the year of say $5,500. This presupposes good management and other things necessary for success. Now what return have they made on the money they invested? In terms of profits, it would be $5,500 on $7,000 or 80 per cent. That is the profit advantage of their business. The savings-return paid on the total turnover, that is $5,500 paid on $140,000, would be only about 4 per cent. But the saving that they actually made, calculated on the money they had invested in the business, would be twenty times that. The average purchase of each member at the store was $200 for the year. He received back in cash $8. He had invested $10. That is 80 per cent return.

These figures are a fair average for coöperative societies. They are taken from actual experience. They show the possibilities of this sort of business from the financial standpoint. If each stockholder spent on an average $1,000 a year, that would mean that he spent $800 outside of the store. If his coöperative society took care of all of his needs then he would have spent $1,000 with the society, and his savings-return would have been $40 for the year or 400 per cent on his investment of $10.

People who are putting their money together and running successful coöperative societies are getting the advantage of these large returns on their investment. It is not income by saving; it is income by spending. The more they spend, the more they save. The average income that the capitalist receives on his investments is around 4 or 5 per cent. In Great Britain among the 1,300 societies connected with The Coöperative Union, during the hard times now prevalent, it is only 30 per cent. But still this is six or eight times better than the British capitalist gets.

The yearly wages paid British workers is £2,000,000,000. The total trade of the coöperative societies is only one-tenth of that sum. That means profit business gets nine-tenths of the workers' wages. If all of these wages were spent in the coöperative societies, the picture would be very different. Theoretically, by so doing, the workers would lift themselves into the position of the capitalists by the sheer amount of their savings.

The working people in the United States have some $15,000,000,000 lying in the banks drawing less than 4 per cent. interest. This money, invested in successful coöperative societies, would constitute a revolution greater than that which any country has ever seen.

It is interesting that coöperative societies are sometimes started without capital. Service societies often need little. A Pennsylvania society was started with a bag of corn meal. In some instances the members have given their labor and created the necessary capital by their own united efforts. They have thus put up buildings and equipped them without money. The £28 with which the British Movement began was, indeed, small capital when we realize that it has now grown to an investment of £90,000,000.

It would seem that the people can acquire the industries for their own service if they organize to do so. It is not done by the big purchase of industries, nor by having the State confiscate them. Possession can be had by getting it in the same way that the present owners got it. They began in a small way, made profits, and with the profits they bought more property. This went on slowly until the present great capitalistic ownership has been developed.

Coöperative ownership comes as the people begin, in a small way, to stop paying profits to capitalist business and to turn those profits to their own account. As soon as they begin collecting a surplus-saving in this way, it can be made to grow. The capitalist world is built upon profits. The Coöperative Society may be built upon savings.

2. PRODUCERS' COÖPERATION

Many students of society seem to feel that ignorance and shiftlessness are primarily responsible for most of our destitution. In a way this is a squirrel-in-a-cage philosophy, because we explain poverty on the basis of ignorance and ignorance on the basis of poverty and get nowhere. We are not sure which is cause and which is effect. It seems probable that poverty and ignorance are not the basic causes. Wherever a society has complete social justice and individuals secure adequate occupational remuneration there you will find a society in which ignorance and poverty are largely eliminated. There is danger that we shall ignore the fact that economic injustice is one of the primary causes of social maladjustment. As we have already seen, coöperation is valuable because it tends to remove a basic cause of suffering and poverty; it increases the size of the pay envelope. The word "coöperation," derived from the Latin, means literally a "working together." When it becomes a force in the nation's life all the people work together and thus secure their primary necessities at lower cost.

The British worker buys bread made from American wheat at half the price paid by the American worker. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics show that in the largest American cities the average pound loaf of bread costs approximately eight and three-quarter cents; in Britain it costs four and one-half cents. This is partly due to the fact that British mills and bakeries are coöperatively owned. It is probable also that the coöperative movement provides better food and clothing for the poor than does capitalistic enterprise, for there is no incentive to adulteration, shoddy goods, or dishonest weight. In Minneapolis there has been a direct relation between the decrease of the death rate and the coöperative control of the milk supply. In Cleveland a coöperative coal company enabled many more poor people to keep warm than otherwise would have been possible by saving them in the neighborhood of $3.00 a ton for fuel.

Producers' coöperation is a further step in the movement, although a difficult one. In the United States and other countries there is a tendency for the worker to be dissatisfied with a position which relegates him to a mere productive cog in a mass production machine. He wishes to have more security, more adequate compensation, and something to say about the conduct of the industrial enterprise. Coöperative production satisfies these wants by establishing industrial democracy. The workers own and operate the industry in which they are engaged and distribute the earnings coöperatively among themselves in proportion to the contribution which each has made.

Albert Coyle, formerly editor of the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Journal* and a strong supporter of the coöperative producers' movement, has said:[7]

> "The social justification for coöperative production and the growing trend toward industrial democracy is that the man who invests his life and his labor in an industry takes a greater social risk and should have a greater voice in it than the man who merely invests his money. When you stop to think about it, the man who only invests his money always keeps something back for a rainy day. The capitalist never risks poverty and starvation by placing his entire fortune in one industry. The worker, on the other hand, invests all that he has in an industry when he ties himself down to its routine. If the industry fails, he may find himself thrown out on the street in his old age, utterly unable to gain a livelihood in any other occupation. Gradually society has abolished autocratic control over political government, education, and religion. The last remaining citadel of autocracy is in industry. With coöperative production providing a safe and efficient road toward democracy in industry, there can be no social justification for the continuance of autocracy here.
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> "The moral basis for coöperative production is the dictum of Paul to his fellow-Christians at Corinth—'He who does not work, neither let him eat.' Or, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, 'No man has any right to eat his bread in the sweat of another man's brow.' The coöperator believes there is only one valid moral claim to the right to consume goods, and that is to have produced goods for the satisfaction of the wants of one's fellow-men.
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> "The practical foundation for coöperative production is the hard-headed matter of industrial efficiency. Absentee ownership of industry is criminally wasteful and inefficient. You will recall that three years ago Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, as president of the Associated Engineering Societies of America, appointed his famous commission on waste in industry. The report of this commission shows that the average American industry is only about 20 per cent efficient. That brilliant electrical and human engineer, Mr. Walter Polakov, asserts that this estimate is entirely too high—that if the latent productive capacity of the worker were further taken into consideration, modern industry is scarcely more than 7 per cent efficient.
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> "We talk about securing a higher level of comfort for the people, but this can never be brought about until we produce more goods and those goods are

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[7] Report of the National Conference of Social Work, 1925, p. 317.

distributed with economic justice. Producers' coöperation fulfils both of these ends. It is a practical success because the worker will not release his best creative energies merely for money wages. He will not throw his soul into his job until he has a responsible interest in it. The most criminal thing about the modern industrial system is the way it has dehumanized the worker, making a mere routine machine out of him, and destroying that God-given creative instinct which makes labor a joy instead of a drudge. We talk about the superb craftsmanship of the workers of the Middle Ages, which is lost to modern industry. It can only be replaced when the worker again owns and controls his own employment, as did those guildsmen of the Middle Ages. And this in turn can only be brought about by coöperative production."

While coöperative producers' societies among the farmers are not strictly producers' coöperatives, because production is done individually and only the marketing is coöperative, nevertheless they have made headway in the United States and have advanced a step towards the coöperation of producers. In 1929 over two and a half billion dollars worth of production was handled through such coöperatives. More recently President Hoover's Farm Board has stated that it intends to increase farmers' coöperative marketing.

In many parts of Europe the producers actually have made a success of running factories, in some cases joining with the consumers' coöperative in marketing their production. In Italy, farms, ships, factories, and railroads have been run by producers' coöperatives. A great canal from Milan to the Adriatic Sea was built by a coöperative, and the majority of the metal work industry in Italy is conducted by producers' coöperatives. In Russia the workers have banded together, and are successful in producing a great many articles in coöperative factories from *samovars* [8] to planes.

In the United States, producers' societies have usually failed. It should be recognized that it is far more difficult to start a producers' coöperative than a consumers' society. The capital required to purchase machinery and the sales force necessary to sell the finished product are difficult to secure. It probably takes managerial ability of a much higher grade. Then, too, the workers in a producers' coöperative, if they are successful, are likely to make large profits because they are selling to a wide group of people. The profits, however, go not to those who purchase but to those who produce. Consequently, the coöperative may evolve into a capitalistic enterprise. It may have a profit motivation in the interests of the few who run it. Some capitalistic concerns take over a coöperative name which they justify by sharing part of the profits with the workers. Usually the coöperative feature is secondary. One example of such a concern is the Leighton cooperative industries on the Pacific Coast.[9] John H. Leighton went bankrupt in the wholesale manufacture of ice cream and candy in 1916. His creditors allowed him two thousand dollars and he went to San Francisco to start a new business. He opened a dairy lunch and within ten months was able to pay his creditors in full. By 1918 the original investment of a few thousand had grown to a million and a half dollars and fourteen hundred employees. The monthly dividends have averaged 2 per cent but some units have paid as high as 40 per cent a month. Mr. Leighton allows employees, and employees only, to invest in the business. The employees loan money to Mr. Leighton, who declares dividends on the loan rather than giving a fixed interest. Mr. Leighton holds the voting stock which amounts to 1 per cent—and the rest of the stock is in the hands of the employees. In this way the employees receive 99 per cent of the dividends and yet control is vested in the hands of Mr. Leighton exclusively. However, there is a provision that if 7 per cent is not paid on the stock of employees for eighteen months, the business then goes to the employees and they continue to run the business until dividends aggregating 7 per cent have been paid. The amount of stock which can be purchased by an employee is based on his salary and length of service. Any one who leaves the company must turn in his stock and he immediately receives his original payment in cash. In every instance the available stock has been over-subscribed. Some of the local banks have such a high opinion of this stock that if an employee does not have sufficient money to invest they will loan him the full cost of the stock at the current rate of interest. Another interesting provision is that no individual salary paid by the corporation can exceed 5 per cent of the previous year's net profits. In 1928 this meant no salary was over $18,000. Another proviso is that fines on dividends can be levied for failure to report for duty. In practice, these fines have been levied only in the case of employees who do not return at the end of their two weeks' vacation. The advantage claimed for the Leighton coöperative is that it combines one man management with distribution of profits to all employees. It is claimed that the labor turnover in the Leighton food industry is 40 per cent below others in the same line. While some of their industries have been highly successful, others have not. For example, a printing shop which was operated until 1927 did not average adequate dividends and was sold, as were also two bakeries in Los Angeles.

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[8] A Russian hot water heater for tea.

While this was recently a promising experiment, it is now largely back on a completely capitalistic base. It is significant of the usual evolution of concerns of this kind that in 1930 the company wrote the writer as follows:

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[9] See article by Paul S. Taylor on The Leighton Co., *Journal of Political Economy,* April, 1928.

"We will say that it is true that most of the stock in this company was formerly owned by the employees. Such, however, is no longer the case." The Department of Sociology of the University of Southern California now reports:

> "The Leighton Industries of the Pacific Coast are not coöperative in the same sense that they were formerly. Employees may still purchase stock in the company, but it seems evident from statements made by employees interviewed at Los Angeles that most of them do not do so.
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> "Several employees were asked as to whether there had been any change noted in recent years. All agreed that there had been a marked change toward the ordinary chain type of industry in which pecuniary gain is the chief motive. One employee when asked the question stated in substance 'There surely has; there was a big change about five years ago,' and when asked if there was much of a labor turnover she replied, 'I should say: they come and go almost every day now.'"

Another plan which approaches coöperation in some small degree is that used by the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, known as the Mitten Plan. Originally the management intended to start it with the employees organized in a labor union, but two trade unions were fighting for supremacy. Mr. Mitten required a two-thirds vote in favor of one organization or the other. The amalgamated union was in the neighborhood of 350 votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority and consequently the company started by having a coöperative association of the employees. Under this plan the employees received 50 per cent of the net earnings. In the Dennison Manufacturing Company, Framingham, Massachusetts, the managerial and executive forces receive two-thirds of the net profits and the rest of the wage earners one-third. In the Dutchess Bleachery, the net profits are divided equally between management and employees. The Columbia Conserve Company is probably one of the best examples of producers' coöperation in the United States. The employees now own 51 per cent of the stock of the company. All employees are members of the organization and they control absolutely the entire business and even hire the president. There are preferred shares of stock which are owned by outside investors, but these are limited to a 7 per cent dividend.

It seems probable that there will be a continuation of experimentation in the direction of producers' coöperation in the United States, but that the movement will not make great headway until the consumers' coöperative movement has become larger and more stable.

3. THE CREDIT UNION

The real father of coöperative credits in the United States is Edward A. Filene. He became very much interested in coöperative credit societies which he had seen in other parts of the world. In 1909 he prevailed upon Pierre Jay, the Bank Commissioner of Massachusetts, to prepare the first bill in the United States making coöperative credit societies possible. This was enacted into law in the same year, and thereupon Mr. Filene organized and helped to finance the Massachusetts Credit Union Association. In 1921 he organized and has since financed alone and directed the Credit Union National Extension Bureau for the purpose of extending credit union legislation and organization nationally.

The article which follows describes the movement. It was written by the Executive Secretary of the Credit Union National Extension Bureau, Mr. Roy F. Bergengren.

What Is a Credit Union?

A credit union is a coöperative credit society, organized and operating under the provisions of a state credit union law and generally under the supervision of the State Department of Banking. Each credit union is limited to a specific group of people and is managed by officers (directors, a credit committee and a supervisory committee) chosen by and from the members, each member having one vote and only one vote in credit union meetings, regardless of the total of his share holdings. Each credit union serves its membership in three ways: (1) it supplies them with an easy and convenient method for saving money; (2) it enables them thereby to solve their own short term credit problems at legitimate rates of interest; and (3) being self-managed, it supplies them with valuable education in matters pertaining to the most effective management of their own savings for their own maximum advantage.

Where Did the Credit Union Come From?

Coöperative association has always been bred of necessity; the powerful coöperative movement in England originated within a group of Rochdale weavers, driven to coöperation by their common necessity. The credit difficulties of small farmers in Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century produced the early coöperative societies organized by Raiffeisen; similar credit difficulties among German wage workers in cities resulted, at about the same time, in the early experimentation with urban coöperative credit societies carried on by Schulze-Delitzsch. In 1885, Alphonse Desjardins, then a young journalist in Montreal, inspired by the terrible exactions in usurious interest practised by private money lenders in that city, began his preliminary studies of the German societies. In 1900 he organized his first coöperative credit society at Levis in the Province of Quebec, choosing as a designation for this type of coöperative banking the French words "La

Caisse Populaire." In 1908 Edward A. Filene of Boston, then traveling in Germany, came in contact with the Raiffeisen and Schulze-Delitzsch banks. In 1909 a bill was prepared to make credit societies of this sort possible in Massachusetts. In the preparation of this draft Alphonse Desjardins coöperated and for the first time the words "credit union" were used to describe this type of coöperative credit society.

The credit union is, therefore, the coöperative credit society as devised by Raiffeisen and Schulze-Delitzsch, modified and adapted to American conditions, first in the Province of Quebec by Desjardins and finally by Filene and Jay (in coöperation with Desjardins) in Massachusetts.

Prior to the enactment of the Massachusetts law in 1909, a Special Act had been passed by the New Hampshire legislature authorizing the organization of La Caisse Populaire Ste. Marie within the French Catholic Parish of that name in Manchester, New Hampshire. This credit union (organized by Desjardins) was the first organized in the United States.

Subsequent Development in the United States

In order to give publicity and effectiveness to the Massachusettts law (which contained no provisions relative to propaganda) Mr. Filene joined several other public spirited citizens of the State in the Massachusetts Credit Union Association. This organization, supported as a disinterested public service by voluntary contributions, carried on the Massachusetts development until the organization of the Massachusetts Credit Union League in 1920. The League is a voluntary association of the Massachusetts credit unions, is self-sustaining and directs the credit union development in Massachusetts. Impressed by the demonstrated value of the credit union Mr. Filene, in 1921, organized the Credit Union National Extension Bureau which he has since directed and financed. The objectives of the Bureau are four-fold: (1) to further the enactment of credit union laws; (2) to organize the initial credit unions in a State after a law has been enacted; (3) thereafter to assist the state development of credit unions until there are fifty credit unions in the State and to then organize them as a State Credit Union League; (4) to organize the National Association of State Credit Union Leagues as soon as there are fifteen states with leagues. This National Association will eventually be self-sustaining as will each league. After the organization of the National Association it will direct the national credit union development.

Progress with the Program

There are now 32 credit union laws, 27 of which originated in the Bureau. The following states have adequate credit union legislation: Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Texas, Nebraska, Montana, Arizona, Utah, Oregon and California. Eight of these laws have been added in a single year by the enactment of new laws in Montana, Arizona, Maryland, Kansas, and Florida and by the perfection by amendment of previously imperfect (and unworkable laws) in Texas, Oregon and Utah. The matter of promoting adequate legislation has necessarily come first.

There are now the following states with enough credit unions each for league organization: Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, Minnesota, North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama (7); the following: Missouri, Iowa, and Virginia now approach the fifty total. The program calls for 15 states with 50 credit unions per state by the early spring of 1930; the National Association should be organized in the fall or winter of 1931. There are 52,000 credit unions in Germany; there should be eventually (and within five years) 100,000 coöperative credit societies in the United States.

Management and Form of Organization

As has been indicated each credit union is a coöperative credit society, serving the members of the specific group within which it has been organized.

The Boston Post Office Employees Credit Union, for example, is limited to United States government employees of the Boston Postal District. This is a large district and the credit union has more than 3,000 members; the Paducah Postal Employees Credit Union (another of the 203 credit unions of postal employees) is limited to the fifty employees of the Paducah, Kentucky, Post Office. The group limitation varies; there are, for example, credit unions limited to the membership of a labor union, a fraternal society, an American Legion Post, small community or well defined rural district, church parish—as well as credit unions of the employees of a given factory, mill, store, public service corporation, railroad, employees of a city, county or State, etc.

To become a member of a credit union, therefore, I must first be a member of the group eligible to membership. I must then subscribe for one or more shares, paying for them in cash or (in the average credit union) at the rate of twenty-five cents per week per share. If, for example, I feel that I can save fifty cents a pay day, I subscribe to two shares and pay in twenty-five cents on each share, if a dollar a pay day or whatever the installment period of the credit union is (weekly in 95 per cent of all credit unions) I subscribe to four shares, if two dollars to eight shares, etc. The purpose is to induce every one eligible to membership to begin saving weekly as much as the individual in question can save—to make it easy and convenient for that person to save and to induce that person to become an habitual saver. It is anticipated (and generally so happens) that the member, by the time his first share or shares are paid for, will forget that he was paying for a certain number of shares and that he will go right on saving indefinitely. In the Massachusetts credit union law, for example, no person can have more than $4,000 in a credit union. Many of the members of the Telephone Workers Credit Union of Boston (one of eight credit unions to which 15,000 employees of the New England Telephone & Telegraph Company belong) have now reached the $4,000 limit.

In a credit union a member may also have an irregular deposit or "come and go" account. The shares are entitled to an annual dividend and interest at a somewhat lower rate is paid on deposits and figured monthly.

A credit union is, therefore, first a thrift agency—a pool for the savings of the members of the group so operating as to make habitual savers of the members.

The coöperative character of the undertaking is indicated by the plan of management. In a credit union each member (that is each person who has one or more five dollar shares to his credit) has one vote and only one vote whatever his shareholding; there is no proxy voting. *A credit union is an organization of members—not an organization of shares.* The management vests in a Board of Directors, a Credit Committee and a Supervisory Committee, in most state laws all chosen by and from the members. In Massachusetts and one or two other States a large board of directors is provided and the Committees are chosen by and from the board. The credit committee has full charge of all matters pertaining to loans; the supervisory committee is the auditing committee. The directors choose, by and from their own number, the president, treasurer, vice-president and clerk. The treasurer is the manager and is bonded. *The success of a credit union hinges largely on the selection of the right person to be treasurer and the choice of a credit committee capable of assuring the right sort of credit service and at the same time safeguarding the funds of the credit union from unwise loans.*

The credit union accounting system is very simple and bookkeeping or banking experience is not essential or primarily important when a credit union treasurer is to be chosen. The treasurer must be thoroughly convinced of the value of the credit union and he must find in the credit union plan of operation and in the service the credit union is geared to render something which responds to his own inclination. He must, above all else, "like it." A recent letter from a midwestern state comments on the fact that the Bank Commissioner of that State has recently commended the accounts of a credit union treasurer as the "best set of books as yet examined." The treasurer (who is also the bookkeeper) of this particular credit union is the foreman of the belt room in a factory where belts are made and prior to the organization of his credit union had never kept books of any sort.

Credit unions operate under State supervision. Reports are made annually to the state supervisory department indicated in the law (generally the State Department of Banking) and each credit union is annually examined by that Department and may be closed for cause. Credit unions have an exceptionally fine record for honest and efficient management with practically no involuntary liquidations or defalcations.

Credit union accumulations are used primarily to take care of the short term credit problems of the members. Loans may be made only to members and the terms are governed in each case by the credit committee; loan repayments are pro-rated, on a weekly basis, over a period which never exceeds a year and most credit union loans business is concerned with personal loans varying from ten dollars to five hundred dollars. Interest rates are fixed by the individual credit union but must not exceed one per cent a month on balances (without paper or investigation charges or any other fees which increase the cost of the loan to the borrower). All net earnings (over and above 20 per cent set aside annually to an indivisible reserve fund or surplus which belongs to the credit union as a whole and may be divided only on liquidation) revert to the members as dividends on their savings. *In this connection it must be remembered that a borrower must first be a member* and that the inclination is for him to have increasing savings to his credit. It is therefore difficult to determine just what rate the borrower pays as he is always getting part of it back as dividends on his savings. According to the Massachusetts Bank Commissioner's Report for 1928 the average interest rate paid on personal loans in credit unions in the State for the year was 7.02 per cent. The average dividend rate was 6.8 per cent. It should be borne in mind that the small loans laws of 26 states (the so called "Uniform Small Loans Law") permit the private money lender to charge from 36 per cent to 42 per cent (the latter rate being legal in 17 of the States) and that the theory behind this law is that 42 per cent is the lowest rate at which the private lender will operate who will submit himself to regulation; and that the other alternative in the private small loans field is the unlicensed lender operating at rates so high as to make 42 per cent seem low by comparison; and that usury investigations in many of the larger American cities in recent years have disclosed rates ranging from 42 per cent to one extreme case (in Chicago) which figured a bit more than 3000 per cent.

These Massachusetts figures (which are typical of credit union operation in the 32 states with laws) *indicate that in the United States the worker can solve his own short term credit problems at proper rates of interest by coöperating with his fellow workers in credit unions.* We have yet to demonstrate that the rural credit union will work as well for the small farmer in the United States as it has abroad, although our first few rural experiments seem to indicate that there may be also a broad field of service for the credit union applied to rural conditions.

Credit union loans divide into two general classifications: (1) remedial loans—the sort of loans required by the many emergencies which come into the lives of all people—unexpected funerals to pay for, sickness, operations, hospital bills, loan shark activities, etc., and (2) constructive loans or loans designed to help the borrower improve his lot—for education, to repair his house, to help him enter a small business or to make an investment, to assist him to gain the advantages incidental to collective buying, etc. It seems to be a fact that about one-half of the members have occasion to borrow from time to time, the Massachusetts 1928 figures showing 98,402 members, of whom 47,308 were also borrowers.

Because credit unions are self-administered they have great educational value. Eventually credit unions will have much more money than needed for their personal small loans problems. Already they are making second mortgages, the credit union affording the member a convenient way for saving enough money to constitute a substantial equity in a home and then arranging for his first mortgage (with a savings bank or building and loan association) and then taking the second mortgage where necessary, without any bonus and at a fair rate of interest, thereby solving another problem which so often required the man of small resources who is buying a home to pay a usurious bonus for his second mortgage. Eventually credit unions will also supply their members with investment service or broaden out their collective buying service in order to keep all funds gainfully employed for the benefit of the members.

In this connection it will be remembered that a credit union is a coöperative society which has to do solely with its own members, accumulating funds of the members under the management of the members and used solely for the members.

It is not inconceivable that the time may come when the credit union member will come to his credit union each week for the following purposes:

(1) To deposit his savings.
(2) To obtain, when necessary, credit at fair rates for both remedial and constructive purposes, including help to purchase a home.
(3) To participate in collective purchasing of necessities of life which he may be able to acquire at a money saving by pooling his buying power with that of his fellow members.
(4) To make regular installment investment of savings in an investment trust owned and operated by the credit unions for the service of credit union members.
(5) To participate in some form of insurance made possible by his membership in the group constituting the credit union.

In the process he will participate in the management and develop in his capacity to attain the maximum benefits possible from his earnings and to develop himself economically.

Statistical Progress

There are no reliable credit union statistics available because the credit union laws are of such recent origin. We know, for example, that there are two hundred credit unions of postal employes stretching from Boston to New Orleans to Seattle to San Francisco; that they already have over 35,000 members, savings of $2,000,000, with a total loans service to December 31st, 1928 of 57,040 loans aggregating $6,320,000. We know that the most recent Massachusetts report (as of the same date) lists 296 credit unions with assets of $15,137,872, and 98,402 members. Of the 32 states with credit union laws, 8 laws have been enacted within eight months so that the first credit unions are just now being organized. There are, as already noted, 7 states with more than 50 each and 3 other states nearly at that total. There are between 900 and 1000 credit unions in the United States with approximately 250,000 members and assets of approximately $35,000,000. *The development to date is a small, preliminary development which should lead eventually to a broad use of coöperative credit societies by the people of the United States.*

4. THE WORLD SWEEP OF THE MOVEMENT

In the brief span of eighty years the Coöperative Movement has spread throughout the world. It has achieved a position of outstanding importance among the various economic distributive mechanisms. In short, the progress which it has made is almost incredible and yet it has been relatively unnoticed. This is because it does not violently attack existing institutions nor disturb the conventional *mores* of our society. It works slowly alongside of and with capitalistic institutions. Let us review the situation at the present time, as far as coöperation is concerned, in some of the principal countries of the world.

The Consumers' Coöperative Movement in Belgium started about 1880, and has worked in close coöperation with the Trade Union Movement. Usually, the headquarters of the Trade Union also has its coöperative store. The Belgian movement was unique in that instead of returning a cash compensation to members in proportion to patronage, it at first used this surplus rather to provide life insurance, accident, unemployment, and maternity insurance, as well as old-age pensions and medical help. To-day, while continuing these benefits, it also returns some rebate—either in cash or in the right to purchase additional supplies at the coöperatives.

There are to-day over three hundred and fifty Consumers' Societies in Belgium with over 500,000 members. The turnover of the Belgian Coöperative Movement in 1927 was over 211,000,000 francs. The Coöperative Insurance Society carries over 200,000 policies.

In Germany, curiously enough, the first form of coöperative was the Credit Union, organized about 1850. To-day there are over 20,000 coöperative banking societies and more than 4,000 housing societies. Consumers' Coöperatives have also had a very rapid growth since 1890 and they now embrace over 5,000,000 members united with 50,000 societies. Just one society in Hamburg has over 100,000 members, 275 stores, several factories, blocks of houses, banks, and its own farms. The German Coöperative Movement is noted for its efficiency and the expert technical help which it has secured.

Denmark leads the world in the percentage of coöperators to the total population. Since Denmark is an agricultural country, various types of agricultural coöperatives predominate, including farmers' marketing and supplying societies. Denmark also has its central coöperative bank, with which are affiliated savings banks, credit unions, and individual members. The Danish Wholesale Society has its own factories and mills for the production of hosiery, clothing, cigars and tobacco, boots and shoes, chocolate, coffee, spice, candy, mustard, margerine, chemicals, rope, bicycles, and for the tanning of leather. Nearly all of the adult population of Denmark are served in some way or other by the Coöperative Movement.

In Austria, approximately one-third of the population belong to the Coöperative Societies. The average turnover per member for all the societies in 1927 was 534 shillings. The Vienna Coöperative Society has about 170,000 members, over 150 stores, and supplies more than one-half the families of the city.

In France the movement was handicapped at first because of the opposition of the Socialists but just prior to the War they ceased their opposition. To-day there are over 4,000 distributive societies, with 2,500,000 members. The Paris society alone has over 300 stores. Many of the local societies in France have united into regional societies. In fact, such societies in 1927 were operating over 28,000 branches, with a total turnover of 965,700,000 francs. The French Coöperative Bank had a turnover in 1927 of 13,373,000,000 francs.

In Italy, prior to the Fascists' control there were 4,000 Consumers' Societies alone, with over half a million members. There were also agricultural societies. The Fascists, however, opposed the movement early in their régime and many stores were burned or destroyed and some of the coöperators were even killed. Most of what remains of the Coöperative Movement in Italy has been taken over by supporters of the Fascist régime. Nevertheless in 1929 there were reported to be 3,333 Consumers' Societies, 499 housing societies, 57 electricity undertakings, 1,283 industrial production and labor coöperative societies, 1,276 coöperative dairies, 458 coöperative credit societies, and 615 agrarian associations.[10]

Russia has the largest Coöperative Movement in the world. The Communists at first attempted to confiscate the coöperatives and turn them into government stores but later decided to permit them to function independently. The Communist Party attempts to influence—if not to dominate—the Coöperative Movement, so that it is somewhat handicapped by political influences. On the other hand, the Russian Government has promoted extension of credit to agricultural societies and promotes the work as perhaps no other government has done. There are now coöperative stores throughout Russia with a membership of over 23,000,000. The Centrosoyus or all-Russian Central Union is the largest coöperative union in the world. It maintains permanent offices in London, New York, and many other capitals of the world and sells direct to the English Coöperatives besides shipping to nearly every other important country in the world. Nearly every form of coöperation is to be found in Russia to-day, from banking to coöperative unions of artisans. The yearly turnover of the consumers' coöperative societies in Russia is $14,553,000,000. The coöperatives do an enormous educational work. In 1928 alone the coöperatives opened 65,000 bookstores, 700 portable moving picture places, and 80 permanent moving picture theaters. Over $4,000,000 was spent for coöperative literature and about $4,500,000 for welfare work among women and children. The coöperatives are establishing a Coöperative Institute for training employees and specialists. All the students accepted (900) will have scholarships: $50 a month to single men and women, and $75 to married students. Throughout Russia the Consumers' Coöperative employs 425,000 workers. In 1925, 50,000 of them attended a special two weeks' course of instruction.

Perhaps the most interesting example of coöperation, from the American point of view, is to be found in Great Britain. As far back as 1863 the English coöperatives formed a wholesale society. To-day it is the largest organization for the distribution of food, clothing, and household necessities in Great Britain. At first it was boycotted by many of the manufacturers. It promptly met this opposition by starting factories of its own. It has extended this productive feature until it now has 116 factories, including, among others, butter, cheese and bacon, coffee roasting, chocolate, cracker, candy, soap, flour mills, tobacco, oil, lard, pickle, margerine, woolen and cotton clothing, shoes, canneries, furniture, automobile, bicycle, cutlery, china, paint, drugs, not to mention two coal mines and five printing establishments. Great Britain now has about 6,000,000 members in more than 1,400 societies, which distribute each year a billion dollars worth of goods. In 1927 they earned a net profit of $135,000,000. The Coöperative Wholesale Society of England alone paid a rebate to member societies of $2,500,000—or, roughly, an average of $2,080 per society. Its banking division had in 1928 total deposits and withdrawals of $3,500,000,000. The wages of employees in the coöperatives alone amount to over $150,000,000. The English societies have in Ceylon and India large tea estates of 7,721 acres which produce about 4,000,000 pounds annually. They have 10,000 acres of wheat land in Canada and olive estates in Africa. They own their own fishing fleet and their own steamships. Naturally, they have the largest flour mills in England. The Coöperative Movement also has its own banks —and any member can borrow money to build his home, for instance. It also has its own fire and life insurance as well as accident, employer's liability, burglary, and in fact nearly every other form of insurance. They have also developed collective insurance plans so that all the members of a coöperative society are insured jointly without examination. In case of death, insurance is paid to the wife or husband on the basis of the average purchases made by the member three years prior to that time.

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[10] Efficienze del movimento cooperativo italiano aderente all 'Ente nationale delle Cooperazione, Rome, 1929.

When we turn from particular countries to the general movement the picture is still more impressive. In Europe to-day 150,000,000 people are either wholly or partially fed and clothed through consumers' coöperatives. The European wholesales sell each year over a billion and a half of goods; and this does not include the agricultural credit societies, whose business is equally large. In the past twenty years the Coöperative Movement has increased ten times over. In Australia and New Zealand the increase has been equally large. Even South Africa has begun to develop coöperative credit societies.

The thirteenth congress of the International Coöperative Alliance meeting in Vienna, Aug. 25, 1930, included 100 national unions of cooperatives in 40 countries with a total membership of 55,000,000 people. During 1928 this alliance collected over $15,000 for suffering coöperators in Bulgaria and appropriated $2,500 for educational work in Canada. During the summer of the same year a coöperative summer school was held in Hamburg, Germany.

The United States, because of a variety of reasons which we will set forth later, has not kept pace with European countries in the development of the coöperative. In spite of this fact, the extent of the movement has been impressive.

It should also be recognized that the Coöperative Movement in almost every instance is solidly behind the progressive forces in each country. As would be expected, the coöperative is friendly to the labor unions and to every movement which stands for more justice, liberty, and happiness for the working masses. The English *Year Book,*[11] for instance, has an article devoted to the dangers of capitalistic control of the press and urges the trade unions, the coöperatives, and the Labor Party to enlarge their press activities. It also devotes an entire chapter to "Trade Unionism and the World of Labor." In view of the wide development and general success of the coöperatives throughout the world, it has to be admitted by friends and critics alike that the Coöperative Movement must be responding to a genuine human need. Indications seem to point to its continued development.

V. SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES

I. OBSTACLES TO EFFECTIVE COÖPERATION IN AMERICA

Any new movement coming from abroad has to adjust itself to American culture. But our education, customs, laws, habits, traditions, and *mores* are to large extent unfavorable to coöperation. To make a coöperative grow in our capitalistic environment is not easy. Among the difficulties which the Coöperative Movement has had to face in the United States are the following:

1. Geographical isolation. In a small country, such as Denmark, it is relatively easy for one coöperative to secure assistance or support from others, even if they are at the opposite ends of the country. In the United States a coöperative society—in New York State, for instance—may be isolated from another even within the same state. The situation is even worse when we consider coöperative societies in different states.

2. The capitalistic, materialistic spirit—which is dominant in America—is sympathetic with the efficient and egotistic individual, who seeks to dominate coöperative affairs for his own selfish profit.

3. The people of the United States as a whole have been infected with the profit motivation: they want to make money quickly and easily in capitalist enterprises. There is fear on the part of many business men that a coöperative society successful in one line may eventually encroach upon

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[11] *The People's Year Book;* see bibliography at end of this section.

their own profits. The result is unrelenting opposition from the private retailer and wholesaler.

4. The laws of the United States discriminate against business carried on for service and on the whole favor business carried on for profit. Governments usually discourage coöperation if the business interests of the community are opposed to it.

5. The competition of the great chain stores is severe. Such retail chains as the Atlantic and Pacific, Butler's, and others, together with the low prices of mail-order houses, such as Montgomery-Ward and Sears, Roebuck, make competition by a coöperative difficult.

6. Americans are used to large scale business and in the nature of the case a coöperative must start on a small scale. Thus it compares unfavorably with the national chain stores, even if its prices are low.

7. The American people do not practise thrift. On the whole, they are not concerned with the saving of small amounts and are little interested in the coöperative movement. Even within a coöperative society the rank and file are largely indifferent to it.

8. Coöperation suffers from the fact that it is democratic. It is easier to support a dictatorship than it is a democratically organized store. Even intellectuals and laborers who urge coöperative enterprises are often unwilling to take the trouble to trade at the coöperative even when it exists. There is no disposition on the part of the American people to sacrifice their own convenience for a single saving. They prefer to pay higher prices and not bother with the troublesome details of democratic management.

9. The conglomeration of different nationalities in America makes it more difficult for the poor people to join in coöperative societies. It is the poorest economically who are more apt to live in an area inhabited by many nationalities. This naturally weakens their ability to work together effectively.

10. Organizers are often incompetent. Many leaders of the Coöperative Movement do not understand its fundamental principles, neither are they efficient; and consequently the coöperative society often ends in financial disaster. The highly efficient executive is tempted to yield to the allurements of high financial return and accept positions in a capitalistic enterprise.

11. The fundamental principles of coöperative stores selling at the market prices—one man, one vote, etc.—are apt to be violated. The result is that there is a high rate of failure or discouragement. A coöperative may start with hardly any capital, no real membership backing, and be run

by a capitalistic store-keeper who believes the chief purpose of the coöperative name is for advertising purposes. Even when the principles are known the management tends to ignore the necessity of effective and continuous educational work among his patrons as to the purpose and methods of co-operation.

12. Because of the ignorance of the American people as to just what a coöperative is, many questionable concerns are able to do business under the coöperative banner. The exploitation practised by these concerns or their economic failure tends to throw discredit on the genuine coöperatives.

13. American labor is mobile. The turnover in the factory is high. There is migration from one state to the other. This makes it very difficult for the coöperative stores, since they continually have to educate a new constituency.

14. The coöperatives of the United States do not have their own social welfare societies. Our workers have failed to develop a workers' culture such as exists in Europe. Thus most of our best coöperators are immigrants from Europe.

15. The religious forces of the country do not support the coöperative movement.

16. The coöperative movement fails to appeal to the neediest classes in the United States and to those who are near the poverty line. These are precisely the classes who would benefit by it most and yet they find the most difficulty in organizing societies.

17. Americans have a spirit of individualism, self-help, and "mind your own business" which militates against effective coöperation.

18. There are serious mistakes in financial policy. Dr. Warbasse cites the following difficulties which often bring disaster:

a. Starting with too little capital
b. Allowing its withdrawal
c. Giving credit
d. Buying on credit
e. Bad bookkeeping methods
f. Failure to have accounts audited
g. Declaring a saving dividend to the members too soon
h. Underselling the private stores
i. Failure to develop coöperative banking

2. A CONCRETE EXAMPLE OF OPPOSITION TO A COÖPERATIVE

In September, 1919, there was a dispute between the milk dealers of Minneapolis and their employees over the right to unionize. The creamery workers wished to belong to the Milk Wagon Drivers' and Creamery

Workers' Union. A strike broke out in one of the plants on this issue, following which the dealers locked out the employees in all the other plants. The public was told that the resultant suffering was all the fault of the employees.

The Union appointed a committee of five to look into the question of acquiring a creamery owned and controlled by the milkmen themselves. The committee began negotiations for the purchase of the plant of the Standard Milk Company, but as soon as the milk dealers heard of it, they purchased the plant themselves.

Finally the strike was settled and the Union recognized. The enthusiasm of the workers for purchasing a creamery fell immediately. However, there were some coöperative enthusiasts in the Union who still wanted the project to go through. They called a meeting on October 2 and those attending decided to incorporate a creamery under the coöperative laws of the state. They planned to make it a consumers' coöperative.

The business agent of the Milk Wagon Drivers' and Creamery Workers' Union promised to sell the stock for the new enterprise. The first annual meeting was held in January, 1920, but there was so little interest that only thirteen people attended and there was only $911 in the bank. However, an option had been secured on a piece of property for the site of the plant and it was voted to go ahead. The business agent resigned his office and gave full time to selling stock in the coöperative. By September, 1920, $27,000 worth of stock had been subscribed and construction work was begun.

On December 17, 1920, the milk dealers again tried to break the Union and declared a lockout. This was probably the best possible method they could have used to help the coöperative. For the chief result was enormously to increase the interest in the coöperative plan; within sixty days over $100,000 had been subscribed and the new plant was formally opened in March. Before this the second annual meeting had been held and instead of an attendance of thirteen the room was jammed to the doors. A complete constitution and by-laws were adopted.

On March 15 eighteen wagons and trucks went out with their first loads of milk. So much business was secured that within three months it was necessary to enlarge the plant to double its original capacity. By October, 1921, so many new orders had come in that it became essential to build a distributing station in another section of the city. Even this proved inadequate and in 1922 it was decided to build a new and enlarged plant.

One of the difficulties which had to be met came with the effort to sell stock. When application was presented to the State Securities Commission, they were told that they had already violated the law by accepting money from those who had subscribed and were liable to arrest. One of the members of the Committee describing this experience said:

> "It was a very serious question with the commission as to whether or not it was good business to comply with our request for a license to sell stock. We had to admit, that in the case of most of us, our business experience consisted mostly in getting up early in the morning to pilot one or two horses, deliver milk, collect the cash and that some of us did not even know how to pasteurize milk and make butter. Our attorneys suggested, however, that we could hire 'big brains' if it was found that we were lacking in this respect."

The license was finally granted. By 1924 the capitalization had increased to $1,500,000.

Soon after the completion of the new and enlarged coöperative plant, the competitors of the Franklin became much alarmed at the progress of their rivals and several of them merged into what has since been known as the Northland Creamery. They had wealthy men behind them and with this backing expected to put an end once and for all to the encroachments of the workers' coöperative. Their attack was the familiar one of cutting prices. Previous to the inauguration of the coöperative, dairy milk in Minneapolis had been selling for fourteen and fifteen cents a quart. The result of the coming of the coöperative had been to cut the price to ten and eleven cents.

However, the price of milk had been increased from $2.70 to $3.10 (about a cent a quart) so it was decided by the dealers to increase the retail price one cent a quart. Suddenly without any warning the Northland, the largest competitor of the Franklin, published large advertisements in all the papers stating that as a result of economies effected in their merger they would not increase the price. Naturally this attack threw the executives of the coöperative into a panic, for they had no large reserve fund with which to wage a price war; in fact there were heavy debts owing on the new building. Even to follow the Northland was out of the question from a business standpoint. The directors had no time for careful consideration of the problem; something must be done at once, or sales would immediately begin to drop. There was not even time for a shareholders' meeting. Therefore the entire force of employees was called to a special meeting that very afternoon, and everyone came from general manager down to the last bottle washer and worker in the engine room, upwards of 200 altogether. The situation was presented in all its most ugly aspects, and suggestions finally began to come from the floor of the hall. It was upon one of these suggestions, made, I believe, by one of the drivers, that the final plan of campaign was based.

The Franklin drivers had suffered repeatedly and keenly at the hands of the very capitalistic concerns who were now waging war against them. Many a time they had gone without work or wages in order to win or lose a strike. They offered to make a similar sacrifice for the sake of the coöperative they had helped to build.

On the following day, therefore, another advertisement appeared, this time inserted in all the papers by the Franklin Coöperative advising the milk consumers of Minneapolis that possibly the Northland might be able to cut prices, but such reductions were due less to increased efficiency of the new company than to the capital resources at its disposal and its desire to stop the progress of the coöperative. The Franklin Coöperative might not have hundreds of thousands of dollars in reserve, in fact it had nothing set aside for such contingencies, but it did have other resources which the competitors had perhaps not counted upon. In any case, if the Northland was to hold its price at eleven cents and make up its financial losses out of a large reserve fund, the Franklin would go them one better and cut the price to ten cents, depending for its support upon its own greater resources to be found in the loyalty and sacrifice of its entire force of employees. These workers had determined by unanimous vote on the previous day to pit their strength against that of the bank account of the capitalist milk company and were prepared to work without wages until this battle was won.

Needless to say, the entire city sat up and rubbed its eyes. Here was warfare between two large distributing companies where, contrary to custom, at least one of the combatants trumpeted its plan of campaign to the public, relied upon the public to recognize and appreciate frankness and honesty. The plan was financially sound, for without the huge wage expense, milk could be delivered at the price quoted.

The fight was over in three days. The competitors might have great financial resources, but they were unable to command from their employees the sacrifice of their wages, particularly since these employees were now members of the very union to which the Franklin employees belonged (and which the Franklin Coöperative had finally placed upon a solid and permanent foundation). And the big corporation had had enough experience with these milk wagon drivers to know that they would continue these tactics for weeks, even months. The loss of money was too great; and ambassadors of peace were sent around to the coöperative with the result that an armistice was declared and both concerns went back to the old price.

However, the story did not end there. The widespread publicity that accompanied this fight not only educated thousands to the peculiar merits of the coöperative, but it induced them to place their milk business with the Franklin Creamery Association. New orders came into the offices at such an alarming rate that the office force was unable to handle them; new wagons for additional routes were not to be had fast enough. The new North Plant which only a few days before had been operating at less than half of its capacity and actually at a deficit, suddenly found itself almost as busy as the old South Plant. That one price war had resulted in an increase of several score employees in the Coöperative Association, an increase of at least a score of new milk routes, a great leap in the sales of dairy products, and the definite establishment of the workers' coöperative as a power in the city. From that day forward the growth of the coöperative business continued, until even as far back as 1926 the Franklin Coöperative Creamery Association was not only larger than this particular competitor, but larger than all its competitors combined. The permanence of the milk wagon drivers' union was assured; and an educational campaign of tremendous value to the coöperative had been inaugurated.

The Franklin Coöperative Creamery does not return cash dividends to patrons. Instead it tries to keep the price of milk as low as possible and return benefits in the form of medical service and educational work. This policy results in giving milk to the people of Minneapolis and St. Paul at the lowest possible price, and since milk is a basic necessity for the children of the poor this policy may be the soundest one from the standpoint of the public good.

3. COÖPERATION IN THE UNITED STATES

In spite of the obstacles the Coöperative Movement has progressed in the United States with remarkable results. We have now about 1,700 coöperative stores; 95 per cent. of them in the North. The three largest are probably The Coöperative Trading Company of Waukegan, Ill.; Soo Coöperative Mercantile Association of Michigan and the Cloquet Coöperative Society of Cloquet, Minn. In 1928 these societies had sales of $680,000, $620,000 and $545,300, respectively.

Coöperative bakeries are organized mainly among the Jewish and Finnish nationalities. A list of the more important organizations are given so that the reader can visit one if he desires.

Coöperative Bakeries in the United States

Hebrew Coöperative Bakery, Brockton, Mass.
Hebrew Coöperative Bakery, Lawrence, Mass.

Workingmen's Coöperative Bakery, Lynn, Mass.
Jewish Workers' Coöperative Bakery, Springfield, Mass.
Labor League Coöperative Bakery, Worcester, Mass.
United Coöperative Society, Fitchburg, Mass.
United Coöperative Society, Maynard, Mass.
Workers' Coöperative Union, Lawrence, Mass.
Coöperative Bakeries of Brownsville & East New York, N. Y.
Purity Coöperation Society, Paterson, N. J.
Finnish Coöperative Trading Association, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Consumers' Coöperative Services, New York City.
Purity Coöperative Bakery, Syracuse, N. Y.
Utica Coöperative Society, Utica, N. Y.
Woodbridge Farmers' Coöperative Bakery, Woodbridge, N. Y.
Soo Coöperative Mercantile Association, Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.
Coöperative Central Exchange, Superior, Wis.
Coöperative Consumers' League, Los Angeles, Calif.
Coöperative Trading Association, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Milwaukee Consumers' Coöperative, Milwaukee, Wis.

There are some twenty-six coöperative restaurant and boarding houses in the United States, of which the most important is the Consumers' Coöperative Services of New York City, which has a membership of over 3,000 and an income in 1928 of $610,000.

There are nine coöperative milk distributing concerns of which the largest is the Franklin Coöperative Creamery Association of Minneapolis, Minn., whose history we have just recounted. It deals exclusively with the Twin Cities Milk Producers' Association, an organization of farmers, and pays them top prices. Milk in Minneapolis now sells for far less than in most of the other cities in the United States and it is claimed that its quality is higher. In 1928 this creamery sold $3,410,396.74 of its products and its net earnings were $95,521.30. It has 40,000 patrons and 165 milk routes. It is now installing electric trucks for delivery. Its 415 employees all belong to some form of trade union. In 1925 it took out $500 insurance for every employee and raises this amount $100 for every year of service up to a maximum of $1,500. It has a band of 33 members, a chorus of 32 and its baseball team has for the past three years won the amateur championship of Minneapolis. It also has an educational department and maintains a health clinic for free examination and advice of the children of school age whose families are members or customers of the creamery.

There are a few independent butcher shops organized on a coöperative basis although most coöperative stores sell meat in one department. Coal is distributed coöperatively among scores of farmers' societies, as is also gas and oil. In Nebraska there are sixty such societies and in Minnesota sixty-one.

Coöperative housing in the United States is confined pretty largely to New York City. The largest is that of the United Workers Coöperative Association with two entire blocks of houses accommodating over 700 families. The next largest is that of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which provides quarters for 303 families.

There are several thousand mutual or coöperative insurance companies for the protection of live stocks, buildings, crops, etc., among the farmers. The New Era Life Association of Grand Rapids, Michigan, has a membership of 30,000 policyholders. There are also some coöperative banks and some 900 credit unions, described elsewhere in this volume.

In addition one can find many other types of coöperatives scattered throughout the United States from telephone companies to book stores. There are five coöperative wholesale societies which handle chiefly the consumers coöperative store work. These are: Central States Coöperative League which maintains a joint buying department for a few of its stores; Eastern Coöperative Wholesale, New York City; Grange Coöperative Wholesale, Seattle, Washington; Coöperative Central Exchange, Superior, Wis.; and the Nebraska Farmers Union State Exchange, Omaha, Nebraska.

In addition to these there are various farmers coöperating marketing societies which do a business to the extent of approximately $2,500,000,000 a year through 12,000 societies.[12]

The United States also has a national federation of consumers' coöperatives in The Coöperative League of America. In 1928 this had a membership of 155 societies representing 78,000 individuals and annual sales of over $14,000,000. The League is the American representative of the International Coöperative Alliance which unites many societies throughout the world. The main purpose of the Coöperative League is to spread a knowledge of the coöperative movement. It publishes two monthly periodicals, a monthly technical bulletin to affiliated societies and a news service to the farmer and labor press. It also sends out speakers to forums and technical advisers to assist coöperative groups with the problems of organization and administration.

Besides the national organization there are three district coöperative leagues: The Northern States Coöperative League with a membership of 96 societies; The Eastern States League with a membership of 29 societies and 14,000 members and the Central States Coöperative League which was only organized late in 1926 and has 16 societies.

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[12] The Federal Farm Board divides these in 1930 as follows:

Cotton and cotton products, 199 associations; dairy products, 2,458 associations; forage crops, 11 associations; fruits and vegetables, 1,384 associations; grain, 3,488 associations; live stock, 2,153 associations; nuts, 44 associations; poultry and poultry products, 157 associations; tobacco, 15 associations; wool, 131 associations; miscellaneous selling, 546 associations; and miscellaneous purchasing, 1,454 associations.

It is apparent from the above account that the movement in the United States is by no means negligible. It is apparently growing from year to year in spite of the many obstacles.

4. CONCLUSION

It seems clear from the evidence already cited that the coöperative movement meets a definite need of mankind in its reaction to economic environmental forces. Coöperation is here to stay for a long time. To just what extent it may yet develop and whether it will take over larger and larger areas of economic activity is not certain. It is surely not co-extensive with life. The claim that all we shall finally need is a series of coöperatives for every branch and endeavor of mankind is naturally absurd. The individual needs freedom to live his life in contact with his fellows in accordance with his conscience, his capabilities and his aspirations. It seems exceedingly doubtful if, as some enthusiastic coöperative champions would have us believe, coöperation will finally do away with the necessity of a separate political structure. One serious potential weakness in coöperation is that it may not sufficiently harmonize the place and power of the producers with that of the consumers, although in practice it has done this very much better than capitalistic enterprise.

We have seen how profit-motivated industry vigorously opposes a coöperative which threatens to reduce its profits. The financial solidarity of selfish profit-making industry which leaps over international boundaries is nowhere better illustrated than in the fight capitalism has waged in the past against the encroachments of coöperative effort. Let us cite one concrete example. Sir Wilfred Grenfell, who has given his life to serve the people of Labrador, found that the fishermen were often in perpetual bondage to the small traders, who paid them too little for their fish and charged them too much for their supplies. To change the situation he started coöperative stores which emancipated the fishermen by paying them the full price for fish and by charging wholesale prices for food. The result was that Dr. Grenfell won the undying hostility of the small trader who protested vigorously to the wholesale stores in St. Johns, Newfoundland. The wholesale stores wrote to Canada protesting to the larger business firms, who in turn, succeeded in bringing enough pressure to bear on the directors of the International Grenfell Association in the United States, so that they voted to ask Dr. Grenfell to stop organizing coöperative stores. It is needless to say that Dr. Grenfell refused this request, but it typifies the solidarity of economic interest of those who serve profits.

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BOOK VII

THE BRITISH LABOR MOVEMENT

QUESTIONS ON THE BRITISH LABOR MOVEMENT

1. Outline the main events of greatest importance in the history of the British Labor Party.
2. How far do you feel their success may be due to the Workers' Education Movement? Why do not more colleges in America actively support such a movement?
3. Summarize the proposals of the British Labor Party. How far is this program valid? What differences do you detect in the later program?
4. Outline the organization of the British Trade Unions.
5. Do you feel labor was wise in the handling of the Great Strike? If so, why? If not, what should they have done?
6. In what way is the position of labor in respect to the law different in England from the United States? Which is nearer right and why?
7. Should we or should we not have unemployment insurance? Why? Old age pensions? Health Insurance?
8. What has been the stand of the American Federation of Labor toward a labor party for the United States?
9. Do you feel America needs a labor party? Why or why not? Do you feel the same way about a British labor party?
10. To what extent has British labor been more or less successful than American labor? Why?
11. In your opinion, what are the real reasons why British labor has been able to organize into unions universally accepted by the employers of England, and the American workers in general have not?

I. THE RISE OF THE BRITISH LABOR MOVEMENT[1]

I. THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, 1815-1914

TO AN Englishman, accustomed for several generations to think of the two great traditional parties as partaking of the permanence, if not of the luminosity, of the solar system, it is natural that the emergence to prominence of a new political organization, polling some 4,300,000 votes at the last election, returning approximately one-third of the House of Commons, and achieving, after a generation of comparative obscurity, the feat of forming His Majesty's Government within little more than twelve months of being recognized as His Majesty's opposition, should appear a phenomenon of considerable, if somewhat apprehensive, interest. And when this Government, which the more romantic section of the press had taught him to regard as the herald of disaster and decay, is seen to be followed by no swift relapse into anarchy, but to be not incompatible with the stability of established institutions, and even with a modest revival of trade, to conduct administration in a manner approved by those most experienced and exacting, if sympathetic and helpful, of critics, the British Civil Service, and to secure, it is perhaps not unfair to say, the increasing confidence of the professional and business classes, without losing that of the manual workers, if his apprehensions are diminished, his curiosity is increased. . . .

I wish to describe shortly, if you will allow me, the historical evolution through which it has passed and its present organization and constitution. The formation of a Labor Party acting independently of other parties dates only from 1900, when it was known as the Labor Representation Committee; the present name dates only from 1906; the present constitution from 1918. But the Labor Party is merely the political wing of a much more complex social and economic movement. It derives its significance from the fact that it is not simply an improvised arrangement designed to meet the immediate exigencies of parliamentary warfare, but that it is the expression of forces which have their roots deep in English society. Organized now in such a way as to unite all who share its political creed, whatever their economic affiliations, and thus admitting numerous members of the professional and business classes, its social background is the spontaneous drawing together of the working classes in the trade union and coöperative movements, the former now with 5,500,000 members (some 60 to 70 per cent. of the adult male wage-earners), the latter catering for about 3,500,000 households, or 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 individual persons. Together, whether formally allied in a definite coalition (as is the case with the Labor Party and the majority of trade unions) or merely acting together on matters of common interest (as is the case with the Labor Party and the coöperative movement), they form a threefold organization, concerned respectively with the worker (in the broadest sense of the word) as producer, the worker as consumer, and the worker as citizen, interested in matters outside his immediate economic needs and concerned to impress his aspirations on public policy

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[1] Reprinted from R. H. Tawney, *The British Labor Movement*, pp. 1, 13-29. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.

This triple structure of democracy, poles asunder, as it is, from the undifferentiated mass of whom early reformers spoke as "the people," is the result of a century of pressure and effort, and either to appreciate the present position or to forecast the future of the Labor Movement in England, it is necessary (as it is in dealing with most English phenomena) to glance shortly at its history. In the century before the war it had passed through three main phases, running roughly from 1815 to 1848, 1850 to 1890, and 1890 to 1914, each of which left its own imprint on its organization and political philosophy. Of the first, the age of the martyrs and the prophets, when the afterglow of the great revolution still hung in the sky, when the golden hopes of 1789 had not yet been quenched for the mass of mankind by the sad doctrine of inherited weakness, when men still believed in an imminent transformation to be accomplished by a swift act of the popular will, I must not speak at length. Born of the social confusion which accompanied the rise of the great industry in the first forty years of the last century and of the economic misery left by twenty-two years of war, its material background was the merging of the old-fashioned and intensely conservative craftsmen and small masters who had formed the aristocracy of labor in a new proletariat of hired wage-earners, and the rise of what seemed to thoughtful workmen a new feudalism, in which mill-owners and mine-owners wielded the power of a medieval *seigneur* without his responsibilities, over populations unprotected by law and (down to the repeal of the Combination Acts in 1824) forbidden to protect themselves by combination. Its characteristic expressions were the doctrines of the early English Socialists Hodgskin, Gray, Bray, and, above all, Owen; a brief outburst of syndicalist trade unionism in which the ideas and even the phrases as to self-government in industry, to be rediscovered ninety years later in the crisis of the recent war, were first minted; and the political agitation known from the document or Charter in which it formulated its demands, as Chartism.

The contrast between that first attempt to create a political labor movement and the party which is its successor to-day is a measure of the revolution both in ideas and in organization which has overtaken the British working classes in the last three generations. On its surface a continuation of the demand for political democracy which had produced and been disappointed by the first Reform Bill, the real objective of Chartism was economic. As Marx, who watched it carefully and later tried to revive it, realized, it marked the entry into politics, not merely of a new party, but of a new class—the wage-earning proletariat created by the industrial revolution—and its essence was an attempt to make possible social reconstruction by the overthrow of the political oligarchy. The English counterpart of the continental revolutions of 1848, it was at once the last English movement which derived its inspiration and phraseology from the inexhaustible arsenal of eighteenth-century Liberalism and the first political attack upon the social order which had emerged from the growth of capitalist industry. The theory of a primitive age of justice and felicity was used to give point to an onslaught on the wage system, and the doctrine that "all men are born free and equal and have certain natural and inalienable rights" marched hand in hand with the declaration that "labor is the source of all wealth." It was characteristically English that a movement, nearly all of whose adherents seemed to the ordinary member of Parliament a band of ragged ruffians, should pour its grievances into the parliamentary mold, instead of burning factories and country houses. It was, unfortunately, not less characteristic that of the contemptuous House of Commons which laughed out the last Chartist petition in 1848 hardly a member had the wit to thank Heaven for the inveterate constitutionalism of his fellow-countrymen.

These struggles seem to-day remote. But they are not antiquarian curiosities, and if I have touched on the revolutionary age of the Labor Movement, it is because it left permanent marks on its subsequent development. A student of social history must often have asked himself whether it would not have been possible to avert the tension of which modern labor politics are the expression, by so organizing the great industry as to secure one of two things—either that the ideal of *la carrière ouverte aux talents,* which its pioneers preached, should be realized in fact as well as in phrase, or by incorporating in the new order the best side of the aristocratic paternalism of the old régime. To the economic tendencies which decided that, in England at least, the first possibility should not be actualized, I turn in a moment. The character of early industrialism and the policy of the governments of the day had before 1850 forever stultified the second. For what the agitation of which I have spoken did was something more than to give the working classes the program of political democracy which was to be realized in 1867 and 1884. It meant that they had become conscious of themselves as a new order in society, and that they had organized for defense against the ruthless economic pressure involved in large-scale industry before employers had admitted its evils or Parliament had blunted them by social legislation. It meant, above all, that they had been fired with the conception, vague but inspiring, of social reconstruction on a Socialist basis, which is neither a modern invention, nor (as is sometimes suggested) a foreign importation, but an authentically native product as old as the Labor Movement itself, and which was to reëmerge, with new weapons, and in a more realistic version, in the last decade of the century.

It was to reëmerge, but only after it had run underground for nearly two generations. Democracy, if it is to be more than a polite formality, implies a high level of cohesion and political intelligence: and any Socialism which is not merely a half-instinctive revolt against social misery, implies these qualities to a greater degree still. In the forties of the nineteenth century the British working classes possessed neither. It was the lack of the stable organization without which a political movement is the blind drifting of social atoms which had dissolved Chartism. It was to the creation of it that the mind of the working classes turned after 1850. Disillusioned with distant visions, distrustful of middle-class idealists, skeptical of the possibility of swift transformation, it set itself to the prosaic task of building up a solid unromantic industrial organization, financially water-tight, businesslike in method, intent on small gains and the needs of the hour, efficient, tough and almost as materially-minded as the employers with whom it bargained. Trade unionism, before the middle of the century a welter of small and temporary associations, hastily improvised to meet an emergency and as hastily collapsing when the emergency was over, began between 1850 and 1880 to assume something like its modern shape, with the organization of these scattered local clubs into great national organizations, first the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in 1850, then the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in 1860, then a score of other organizations in the next twenty years.

The coöperative movement, the other great expression of the working classes, went through an analogous development. In origin frankly Utopian, an attempt, not to transform industrial society, but to escape from it by the foundation of self-sufficing colonies or communities, it experienced the opposite fate to that of Saul, set out to seek a kingdom and found its father's asses, and with the foundation of the Rochdale Pioneers and the adoption of the device of dividend on purchase became the parent of a swiftly growing business organization, the characteristic of which is that it is governed by the consumer, and pays its profits, neither to the owners of capital nor to the workmen, but to those who use the goods.

When, after two years of futile attacks, the Allied armies began to study war seriously in 1916, they dropped the heroic but ineffective policy of endeavoring to advance into the blue, and adopted what was called the tactic of the limited objective, aiming only at clearly defined gains and consolidating them before they made another advance, until in 1918 that tactic was in its turn superseded. In the mixture of intellectual ferment and practical organization which composes social movements there are similar phases, and each phase has for the time being an equally illusory air of finality. In the revolution against Utopianism, the working-class movement went through an analogous phase of contraction and supposed it to be the only phase possible. Its heroic age seemed to be over, and it settled down to make the best of a world not troubled by burning questions. And, of course, that temper was enormously accentuated by the change in both the political and the economic environment which took place after 1850. On the one hand, the most important of the political reforms demanded by the Chartists were realized with the Reform Act of 1867 and the Ballot Act of 1874; for Disraeli had made the discovery (just after Napoleon III and just before Bismarck) that democracy might be conservative. On the other hand, the economic expansion, which set in after 1850 and reached its climax in the seventies, submerged all old grievances beneath a flood of prosperity.

The years 1860-1890 were the Golden Age of English individualist capitalism, when the doubts of the previous half century were allayed and the writings of its earlier critics forgotten so completely that only in our own day have they been disinterred, when the experimental period seemed to be over, the harvest standing ready to be reaped, and the Utopia of material well-being foretold by the economists seemed to be on the verge of realization. England was the only considerable producer of coal and iron in Europe (and, indeed, at that time, in the world), and had virtually a monopoly of the new manufacturing technique; while, with the development of improved methods of transport and the opening up of the new world, the real cost of raw materials and foodstuffs was falling. The triumph of industry, the increase of exports, the rising standard of consumption, the growing investment of capital abroad, were hailed with universal applause undisturbed by any doubts as to ultimate values, in which only a few querulous men of letters—Carlyle, Ruskin, and, later, Matthew Arnold and William Morris—declined to join. There had been nothing like the universal confidence in the permanence of the established order since the first half of the eighteenth century. There was to be nothing like it, at least in England, again. Charles Dickens' egregious Mr. Podsnap, who held that "This island is blessed, Sir, by Providence, to the direct exclusion of such other countries as there may happen to be," was hardly a caricature of that amazing age. Its symbol and expression—the image which it made to itself—was the Great Exhibition of 1851.

Most persons believe in free competition as long as they are confident of competing successfully. And it was natural that the philosophy of that generation should be individual enterprise, free trade, freedom of contract, security for property, and light taxation. It was equally natural that, in the special circumstances of the time, the working-class movement should accept it. The swift expansion of trade, combined with the gradual rise in price, put the new national societies in a strong position. Workmen and employers, it seemed, could join hands in exploiting the world together. Lectured by economists on the folly of resisting the laws of political economy, trade unionists took their advice, and set themselves to accumulate the reserves and strengthen the organization needed to enable them to secure the best terms that the market would offer. The result was a period of what an American economist has called business trade unionism. Individualist in economics, and usually Liberal in politics, it turned from the idea of social solidarity as a dream, and concentrated its attention on perfecting the machinery of collective bargaining.

In so far as the working-class movement entered on political activities, it did so with the same reservations. The question of the legal status of trade unionism was causing some anxiety in the later sixties. As a result, three trade unionists ran as candidates at the election of 1869; in the same year a Labor Representative League was formed: and in 1874, for the first time, two trade union officials were returned to the House of Commons. But this tentative political activity did not imply any intention of forming a third party. The struggle between the old régime and the middle classes, of which the most sensational expression had been the repeal of the Corn Laws, was still sufficiently recent for the latter to be regarded as a popular and democratic force, and the Liberal Party, which was their organ, as, *par excellence,* the Party of Progress. Workingmen candidates ran as Liberals and their working-class supporters voted as Liberals. It was generally believed that a small infusion of trade unionists in the House of Commons might be useful as contributing special knowledge. But the two-party system was held to be part of the providential order, and to question the efficacy or sincerity of Liberalism was regarded as profanity.

"English Trade Unionism," a competent German student could write in the eighties, "is the great barrier to the spread of Socialistic ideas." "No Politics in the Union" was the favorite phrase of trade union officials. In the election of 1886 the Labor group in the House of Commons appealed to the electors to support Liberal candidates. Exactly twenty years later, the Labor Party assumed its present name and won its first great electoral successes; most of the younger trade union leaders were members of Socialist organizations; and from that time to this the relations of Labor with the Liberal Party have been, on the whole, even less cordial than with the Conservatives.

The critical period which marked the definite alienation of a large body of popular support from Liberalism was 1890 to 1906, and the main causes of the new attitude were three: changes in the economic environment, changes in economic and political thought, and changes in the legal position of the Trade Union Movement. On the first I must not dwell, but it was fundamental. Political theory is usually the expression of political facts, and by the eighties it was beginning to be evident that the economic phase which had given its magic to the liberal ideology was passing. For one thing, the position of almost unquestioned monopoly which Great Britain had held thirty years before had come to an end with the industrial revolutions which took place in the last thirty years of the century on the continent of Europe and in America, and free competition lost in attractiveness in proportion as it gained in reality. For another thing, industrial organization was undergoing sensational though little noticed changes. In place of the old-fashioned individual enterprise of the first three-quarters of the century, a new world of corporate organization was arising, which separated ownership from management, depersonalized industrial relations, and gradually brought into existence a new proletariat of salaried brainworkers. The movement (after 1890) towards the formation of trusts and combines followed, and, as it spread, deprived of all relevance the conventional doctrine that the interests of the consumer and of the community were secured by the mutual rivalry of competing producers.

For these developments Liberalism, which repeated economic formulæ, hammered out in the widely different environment of half a century before, seemed to have no specific. It was significant that after about 1880 Liberal politics and Social Philosophy, which for two generations had been close allies, more and more drifted apart. John Stuart Mill, in the later years of his life, had become something like a Socialist. The historical study of jurisprudence and of economic development, which reached England *via* Germany in the sixties, undermined accepted formulæ and categories, and suggested that some of the supposed "Laws of Political Economy" were little more than statements of the nastier habits of Lancashire cotton spinners. Ruskin, and later William Morris, denounced capitalist industry as the enemy of honesty of work and dignity of character. Marx, who lived in England from 1849 until his death in 1883, and whose first volume of *Capital* was published in 1867 and translated in 1886, preferred to clothe his philosophy in the garb of history, and taught that the tyrant was already doomed to destruction by the slave which he had created for his service.

In a country so incurably politically-minded as England, it was inevitable that all this ferment should find political expression, and the eighties saw an outburst of Socialist organizations. Those which were, and remain, really influential were two. The first was the Fabian Society, founded in 1884, which has never included more than some two thousand members, but which, thanks, above all, to Sidney and Beatrice Webb and to Bernard Shaw, has exercised a power quite disproportionate to its members, and which set itself to turn Socialism from a romantic Utopianism into prosaic schemes of reorganization based on detailed investigation and capable of piece-meal realization through the existing machinery of national and local government. The second was the Independent Labor Party. Founded in 1893, and led successively—to mention no others—by Keir Hardie, Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden, it accepted the Fabian conception of Socialism as a policy to be realized by the ordinary processes of constitutional government, and had as its object to bring into existence a Labor Party which would not be a mere wing of Liberalism, but would possess its own independent organization and represent a new and distinctive body of social doctrine.

There have been European countries—notably Germany—in which socialist parties have been formed on a dogmatic basis and have subsequently endeavored, with greater or less success, to capture the electorate. In England, owing, doubtless, to the notorious incapacity of Englishmen for speculation, the course followed has been the opposite. It was obvious that if a Labor Party was to be formed, it must be the expression, not merely of an academic doctrine, but of living social forces. The spontaneous organization of the working classes was trade unionism, and the fate of the new political movement would be decided by the attitude of the unions towards it. The Socialists, who were interested in the victory of an idea, not of a word, accepted, with few exceptions, that position. As a consequence, the crucial issue at the end of the century was a struggle for the political soul of trade unionism, waged between those who desired independent political action and those, mostly the old guard of officials, who insisted that trade unionism should not be contaminated by contact with politics.

In a country like England where industrial relations are affected at a thousand points by the action or inaction of governments, the separation between politics and industry is, at best, highly artificial. It was all very well to say that trade unionists, instead of forming a new and separate political party, should support whichever of the two existing parties had the best record. But, even apart from the reluctance of the thoughtful workman to resign himself forever to what appeared to him to be a choice hardly less attractive than that offered by the formula "Heads I win, tails you lose," there was the fact that government seemed to him to involve something a little more complicated than a periodical auction of votes at elections. He desired a party controlled by his representatives, to discuss, formulate and promote his political ideals, for the same reason as he required a union controlled by his representatives to protect his industrial interests.

It is probable, therefore, that in any case trade unionism would sooner or later have been drawn into independent political activity. But the change was enormously hastened by two causes; first, the growth of organization among the least skilled and worst paid workers, who were least capable of protecting themselves by collective bargaining and therefore most interested in the development of an active social policy by the State; secondly, by the legal difficulties in which the industrial movement found itself involved. The early history of trade unionism in all countries has turned principally on one point—the struggle to establish and extend the right of professional association. Prohibited by law in England down to 1824, trade unionism enjoyed a qualified legal toleration, subject to grave disabilities, down to 1871, and then, as the result of a series of Acts, passed in 1871, 1875 and 1876, acquired what was thought for nearly a generation to be a secure legal position. The long series of prosecutions under the criminal law came to an end. Unions were not to be illegal merely because they were in restraint of trade. They obtained a definite legal status, could hold property, and could secure protection for their funds. Finally, in conferring these rights, Parliament expressly refrained (or, at any rate, intended to refrain) from making trade unions liable in their corporate capacity.

That legislation, it was thought, closed the long struggle of trade unions for the right to exist, and by means of it they enormously increased their membership and their power. But then the unexpected happened. The courts proceeded to interpret the legislation of the seventies in a way which was, apparently, almost as bewildering to lawyers as to trade unionists. On the one hand, though the criminal law could no longer be evoked against them, they increasingly found themselves liable to civil proceedings through extensions of the doctrine that interference by a combination with the business of another person is an actionable wrong, and were penalized for such actions as publishing a black list of firms, declining to work with non-unionists, or even peaceful picketing. On the other hand, side by side with this nibbling away of particular powers, there occurred a more sensational innovation. In 1900 a strike occurred on an obscure railway in Wales, of which not one Englishman in a thousand had previously heard. The company sued, not the workmen who had broken their contracts, but the trade union to which they belonged. To the astonishment not only of trade unionists, but of some considerable part of the legal profession, the House of Lords held that, in spite of the Act of 1871, a trade union could be sued in its corporate capacity, and mulcted in damages the union concerned to the tune of £23,000. The effect of the two sets of decisions together was revolutionary. A large number of particular forms of trade union action had been declared to be illegal. Henceforward, it seemed scarcely an exaggeration to say, unions might find themselves in danger of paying damages from their corporate funds for almost any action involving financial loss to an employer.

Into the legal theory of these decisions, interesting though it is, I must not enter. From the point of view of the men who were endeavoring to build up a political Labor Movement, they were a godsend. The judges were instruments in the hands of Providence, and it is hardly a paradox to say that one principal creator of the modern Labor Party was the House of Lords. Old-fashioned trade unionists were protesting that the movement would be ruined if it entered politics: suddenly, thanks to the judges, it appeared that it would be ruined if it did not. The consequence was to turn independent political action from a remote ideal into an immediate and highly practical issue. As the result of a conference held in February, 1900, between representatives of the Trade Union Congress and three Socialist societies, a Labor Representation Committee was formed, composed of representatives of those bodies, which was, in effect, the modern Labor Party, though it was not until six years later that it took its present name. Its success, though not immediate, was, for a conservative country like England, unexpectedly rapid. It won two seats in the election of 1900, four by-elections between 1900 and 1906, twenty-nine seats in the elections of 1906, and in 1914, on the eve of the War, it had forty-two members. Its membership rose quickly—from less than half a million in 1901 to about one and one-half millions in 1914. By the latter date, all the principal unions had joined it.

Though the political environment in the years preceding the War was unfavorable to Labor politics—public attention being riveted on the struggle of the Liberal Government with the House of Lords and on the Irish Question—the new party, a tiny minority of the House of Commons, achieved certain conspicuous parliamentary successes, of which the most important were the Trade Disputes Act, giving legal security to trade unions, the Trade Boards Act, establishing in minimum wage for certain classes of workers, the Old Age Pensions Act, the Act establishing a legal eight-hour day in coal mines, and the Trade Union Act, reversing the Osborne judgment and allowing unions, subject to certain safeguards for dissentient minorities, to impose levies on their members for political purposes. Most significant of all, the Labor Party steadily developed an outlook and policy distinct from that of its two opponents. In order to avoid excluding trade unionists who were not Socialists, it declined to declare itself a Socialist Party. But it passed Socialist resolutions at its conferences, and it insisted that its representatives should act in Parliament in complete independence of other parties. . . .

2. FROM 1910 TO 1914[2]

The few years immediately preceding the Great War were the occasion of a general ferment of industrial unrest. Strikes not merely increased greatly in number and extent, but also changed their essential character. Trade Unionism woke out of its long quiescence, and became class-conscious, militant, aggressive. Unofficial and spontaneous movements were common; the old leaders seemed to be losing their grip. Conciliation and arbitration in trade disputes, reformism in politics, were alike severely criticized. A new idea sprang up, and won wide acceptance, of using Trade Unionism not merely as a means of defending wages and conditions, but as an offensive weapon in a war upon capitalist Society. Names and ideas were imported from abroad to convey the new meanings which were struggling for coherent expression. Syndicalism and Industrial Unionism, and later Guild Socialism, became the gospels of the day among the younger Trade Unionists and Socialists. While the Labor Party in Parliament was shaping its course in close alliance with the Liberalism of Lloyd George, Labor in the country appeared to be worshiping new gods, and bent on the creation of a new Society by "direct action."

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[2] Reprinted from *A Short History of the British Working Class Movement*, by G. D. H. Cole, Vol. III, pp. 70-77. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1927.

All this is, of course, an intellectualization of what really happened. The underlying movement was a mass movement of sheer reaction against the failure of either orthodox Trade Unionism or moderate parliamentarism to secure any improvement in the working-class standard of life. The theorists, working-class and middle-class alike, who sought to give this movement form and direction and to interpret its vague strivings into a new social gospel, never really captured the great mass of the working class. They might lead it in this or that particular struggle, and help to stir up troubles that would not have occurred without their impulsion. But the mass, as ever, was thinking not of Utopia and not even of the class war, but mainly of the immediate issues involved in each separate dispute. If a new temper was abroad, and the moderate leaders found their control of the movement seriously threatened, this did not imply a wholesale conversion of the working class to revolutionary doctrines.

The change was, nevertheless, startling enough. Never since the fall of Owenism in 1834 had Trade Unionism been at all widely regarded in England as a positive instrument for the creation of a Socialist Society. William Morris and his followers of the Socialist League had come near this idea in the late eighties; but they had never formulated it clearly, and by other Socialists Trade Unionism had either been denounced as a reactionary division of the workers into narrow "craft" sections or regarded mainly as an instrument to be used for the building up of a working-class political party. The former had been the attitude of the Social Democratic Federation in its early years; the latter was characteristic of Keir Hardie and the Independent Labor Party movement. And, in the eyes of orthodox Trade Union leaders, the movement had been no more than a means of maintaining and improving the conditions of employment within the capitalist system.

On all these conceptions of Trade Unionism the new movements declared war. To the moderate Trade Unionist they replied by citing the failure of orthodox collective bargaining to secure, in recent years, any real improvement in working-class conditions. To the Labor Party politician, they pointed out the equal failure of political action to yield either better wages or any vital modification of the capitalist system. And to the remaining upholders of the old S.D.F. attitude they replied that Trade Unionism, though it might have been often reactionary in fact, need not be so if the militants would but set out to inspire in it a different tone and temper. "Direct Action" became the new gospel. No one would or could help the workers unless they helped themselves, by taking into their own hands the task of organizing a mass attack upon the capitalist system and all its works.

Elsewhere I have sought to analyze in detail the ferment of doctrine that went to the making and interpretation of this new movement among the workers. It drew its inspiration from many sources. In France the Trade Unions, weak in numbers but rich in intellectual leadership, had long been pursuing, largely under semi-anarchist inspiration, a militant policy of guerrilla warfare against the employers and the State. Traveling light, unburdened by friendly benefits such as the older British Unions were accustomed to provide, the French *syndicats* lost little by a defeat, and were able easily to re-form and launch their attacks in a new place. Lacking the British stability, they were far more mobile and adaptable. And they had against them a capitalism far less developed and organized than the British system.

Under their Anarchist inspirers, the Trade Unions of France had denounced working-class parliamentary action as useless, and repudiated all dealings with the Socialist Party. Instead, they had preached a doctrine of "Direct Action," which the theorists of the movement elevated into a "social myth." There were to be strikes and strikes, wearing down the resistance of the employers and the capitalist State, until the great day when the General Strike of all the workers would end the capitalist system and usher in the new workers' Society. In this Society there would be no government and no coercion. Power would pass to the workers, organized in their natural industrial and social groups. The Trade Unions would become the administrative agents of the new social order. Moreover, the new Society would be essentially localized—based on the local fellowship of the workers in a particular place. Only so could the workers act directly, without placing their reliance on the sham of representative democracy. Similarly, Trade Union policy in the present must be based on local action. The Trades Council must count for more than the national Trade Union; the spontaneity of the movement, and its direct dependence on the rank and file, must be the essential basis of all effective working-class action.

With this Syndicalism from France was curiously blended another stream of doctrine, flowing from the United States. In France, the small employer still predominated; the American workers were concerned with the gigantic mass-production factory and the trust. In America, accordingly, revolutionary Trade Unionism had taken to some extent a different turn. Active chiefly among the low-paid immigrant workers, and in strong hostility to the moderate policy of the main body of American Trade Unionists, the Industrial Workers of the World had from 1905 been preaching the doctrine of mass organization in "One Big Union" based on the direct antagonism of the working and employing classes. Centralization was the watchword of this movement as much as localism of the French; but both alike stressed the necessity of Direct Action as the means to social revolution. The workers must not look to the politicians to do things for them, or to build the Socialist State. They must do things for themselves both in fighting the employers under capitalism and in building up the new workers' Society to take its place. For them, as for the French, the ideal in prospect was a Workers' Republic, based on the industrial organization of the working class. But for one strong centralization, and for the other guerrilla warfare on a local basis, was the instrument to be employed.

The would-be interpreters and leaders of the Labor unrest in Great Britain seized on these two bodies of doctrine, and set out to make, with their aid, an interpretation suited to British conditions. There emerged a variety of movements, which for a time made up by their ceaseless activity for their lack of coherence and direction. In 1910 Tom Mann, who had been a leader in the great Dock Strike of 1889, returned from Australia and South Africa with vigor unimpaired to become a leader of the new movement. The Industrial Workers of the World had exerted a good deal of influence in Australia, especially upon the miners and transport workers, and Mann returned both well acquainted with their doctrines and with a rooted detestation of the systems of wage regulation and compulsory arbitration in force in the Australian States. Finding Syndicalism widely preached, he incorporated the two doctrines into one, and combined with them his old advocacy of the shorter working day as the first objective of working-class policy. In a series of monthly pamphlets, published during 1911 under the title of *The Industrial Syndicalist,* and in countless speeches up and down the country, he put the force of his eloquence and personality behind the movement for a new fighting Trade Unionism on a class basis. His influence counted for a great deal in the great wave of unrest which swept over the country in 1911.

As soon as the new ideas began to gain acceptance, it became manifest that the Trade Unions, with their existing structure, were quite unsuited for acting upon them. In almost every industry except the mines, the main body of the workers was split up among a number of sectional and often overlapping Unions organized on a basis of "craft." In the cotton, printing and building industries, for example, each craft or group of crafts had its separate Union; in the engineering and shipbuilding, as well as in the building, trades, the skilled and unskilled workers were organized apart, and were often on bad terms with each other; in the transport trades there jostled one another a large number of independent societies organized on almost every conceivable basis.

It seemed, to the advocates of the new ideas, a bounden duty to begin with some attempt at straightening out this tangle. The first step was the formation, in 1910, of the National Transport Workers' Federation, linking together all the heterogeneous mass of Trade Unions in the sea-going, waterside and road transport trades. Powerful movements for promoting amalgamation on industrial lines were launched in the railway, building, printing, engineering and other industries. The "Amalgamation Movement," with connected organizations for the various industries, became the chief outward and visible sign of the growing acceptance of the new militant policy by the younger men in the Trade Unions. "Amalgamation" became almost a synonym for the militant New Unionism of the Syndicalists and Industrial Unionists. "Reform" and "Forward" Movements were launched by the miners in various coalfields; and in South Wales, where the extremist elements were strongest, a new policy was preached in *The Miners' Next Step.*

Published in 1912, this famous pamphlet attacked, not only the orthodox conceptions of Trade Union policy, but also the policy of nationalization as preached by the ordinary propagandists of Socialism. For its authors, the State, as well as the employer, was the enemy; and the means of change was an intensified form of revolutionary industrial action, based on a strong, highly centralized organization of the workers. By strike upon strike, capitalism was to be made unprofitable, until the miners were able to take the industry into their own hands, and conduct it under a complete system of working-class control. "The Mines for the Miners," said the South Wales revolutionaries; and cries such as "The Railways for the Railwaymen" echoed their policy elsewhere. The place of *The Industrial Syndicalist* was taken in 1912 by a new journal, *The Syndicalist,* edited by Guy Bowman, and owing more to French than to American influence; and there appeared also *The Syndicalist Railwayman, The South Wales Worker, Solidarity,* and a host of other journals expressing, with varying emphasis, the new ideas.

Meanwhile, in the *New Age,* a small body of intellectuals, ably headed by A. R. Orage and S. G. Hobson, was developing the new doctrines along another line. The *New Age* had long been an acute critic of orthodox Labor policies. It had supported Victor Grayson in the troubles of 1908, and had preached, at least from that date, a doctrine which made economic rather than political action the clue to social change. Gradually, this doctrine emerged as Guild Socialism. It began as a plea by a medievalist craftsman, Arthur J. Penty, for a restoration of the guild system in industry. But after 1911, in the hands of S. G. Hobson and Orage, it became a plea for the capture of control in industry by National Guilds based on, and arising out of, the Trade Unions. The workers, it was urged, should organize not merely for defense but for the winning of control; the protective Trade Unions should turn into great workers' corporations which would demand and secure from a reorganized State the whole responsibility for the conduct of industrial affairs.

Obviously, this doctrine owed much to French Syndicalism and something to American Industrial Unionism. It took these doctrines, and made of them a new doctrine more directly applicable to British conditions. If it had few direct adherents, their skill and activity made them influential far beyond their numbers in the formation of working-class policy.

These various movements, it should be observed, went on side by side. All of them remained largely formless and unorganized, and all depended for their influence on the existence among the British workers of a great mass of unrest which was not caused, though it may have been accentuated, by their propaganda. They did not create the unrest; they were only its would-be interpreters and leaders.

The rise of these doctrines, and the unrest itself, profoundly stirred the whole world of Labor. Among the older leaders, both of the Trade Unions and of the Socialist Societies, they aroused deep hostility. Ramsay MacDonald wrote a whole book against Syndicalism; Philip Snowden, in *The Living Wage,* set out to demonstate the futility of the strike weapon as an instrument of social change. The Trade Union leaders, roundly denounced by the "amalgamationists," retorted with allegations of mischief-making and treason to the Trade Union Movement. The pursuance of a virtual Liberal-Labor alliance in Parliament coincided with a strike epidemic which the orthodox Trade Union leaders found themselves largely unable to control.

Meanwhile, Trade Union membership was increasing by leaps and bounds. The Trade Unions from 1907 to 1909 had about two and a half million members. By the end of 1911 their membership passed three, and by the end of 1913 four millions. Almost every Union shared in the increase. Greatest among the less skilled types of workers, it was hardly less marked among the engineers and cotton operatives than among the railwaymen, transport workers and general laborers.

Soon, an old dream was realized; and Labor ventured into daily journalism. *The Daily Herald,* beginning in 1911 as a strike sheet, became, under George Lansbury as editor, the organ of all the new movements and tendencies, hitting out light-heartedly at Trade Union leaders and politicians alike, and opening its columns equally to all schools of

Amalgamationists, Syndicalists, Industrial Unionists, and Guild Socialists. Living from hand to mouth, and often threatened with death through failure to pay for the next day's paper—let alone the printers' wages—it survived as the rallying point for militants of all schools right through the period of unrest which came to an end with the outbreak of the Great War. Meanwhile, in 1912, the more moderate elements had launched a newspaper of their own. *The Daily Citizen,* under the official control of the leaders of the Labor Movement, competed with the *Herald* for working-class support, and waged, during its two years of life from 1912 to 1914, truceless war on the new doctrines and their exponents.

These were stirring times. The great unrest made the Labor problem beyond dispute the question of the day. The ordinary newspapers were filled with news of strikes and threats to strike. Denunciations of the new extremism were everywhere. But the ferment of ideas attracted into the working-class movement a rapidly growing body of men and women from all classes and occupations. The Socialist Societies, as well as the Trade Unions, increased rapidly in membership and activity.

The excitement was at its height from the latter part of 1911 to the end of 1913. Thereafter came, as we shall see, a lull. There were signs of a renewal of intense Trade Union activity about the middle of 1914; but at that point the outbreak of war sharply cut the movement short. What would have happened if there had been no war in 1914 the historian need not profess to know. Largely, this would have depended on the course of trade; 1911 and 1912 were both, from this standpoint, good years; and 1913 was, for most industries, a year of unexampled prosperity; 1914 showed some slight falling off, and it may be that, in August, a trade slump was on the way. At all events, in that month the outbreak of war changed the entire situation. The great unrest did not die; but it took, perforce, new forms and directions. The story of the years from 1910 to 1914 is a story without an ending; but in the events of that period can be seen the foreshadowing of much that has happened since the Great War. . . .

3. BRITISH LABOR AND THE WAR[3]

. . . During the war (1914-18) the task of the Labor Party was one of exceptional difficulty. It had necessarily to support the Government in a struggle of which five-sixths of its Parliamentary representatives and probably nine-tenths of its aggregate membership approved. The very gravity of the national crisis compelled the Party to abstain from any action that would have weakened the country's defense. On the other hand, the three successive Administrations that held office during the war were all driven by their needs, as we have already described, to impose upon the wage-earners cruel sacrifices, and to violate, not once but repeatedly, all that Organized Labor in Britain held dear. The Party could not refrain, at whatever cost of misconstruction, from withstanding unjustifiable demands by the Government;[4] protesting against its successive breaches of faith to the Trade Unions; demanding the conditions in the forthcoming Treaty of Peace that, as could be already foreseen, would be necessary to protect the wage-earning class; standing up for the scandalously ill-used "conscientious objectors," and doing its best to secure, in the eventual demobilization and social reconstruction, the utmost possible protection of the mass of the people against Unemployment and "Profiteering." In all this the Labor Party earned the respect of the most thoughtful Trade Unionists, but necessarily exposed itself to a constant stream of newspaper misrepresentation and abuse. Any opposition or resistance to the official demands was inevitably misrepresented as, and mistaken for, an almost treasonable "Pacifism" or "Defeatism"—a misunderstanding of the attitude of the Party to which color was lent by the persistence and eloquence with which the small Pacifist Minority within the Party—a minority which, it must be said, included some of the most talented and active of its leading members in the House of Commons—used every opportunity publicly to denounce the Government's conduct in the war. But although the Pacifist Group in Parliament was strenuously supported in the country by the relatively small but extremely active constituent society of the Labor Party styled The Independent Labor Party—the very name helping the popular misunderstanding—the Trade Unionists, forming the vast majority of the Labor Party, remained, with extremely few exceptions, grimly determined at all costs to win the war.

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[3] Reprinted from Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism,* pp. 690-699. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1920.

If Organized Labor had been against the war, it is safe to say that the national effort could not have been maintained. The need for the formal association of the Labor Party with the Administration was recognized by Mr. Asquith in 1915, when he formed the first Coalition Cabinet, into which he invited the chairman of the Parliamentary Labor Party, Mr. Arthur Henderson (Friendly Society of Ironfounders), who became President of the Board of Education. Later on, in 1916, Mr. G. N. Barnes (Amalgamated Society of Engineers) was appointed to the new office of Minister of Pensions. When, in December, 1916, Mr. Asquith resigned, and Mr. Lloyd George formed a new Coalition Government, Mr. Henderson entered the small War Cabinet that was then formed, with the nominal office of Paymaster-General; whilst Mr. Barnes continued Minister of Pensions, Mr. John Hodge (British Steel Smelters' Society) was appointed to the new office of Minister of Labor, and three other members of the Party (Mr. W. Brace, South Wales Miners; Mr. G. H. Roberts, Typographical Society; and Mr. James Parker, National Union of General Workers) received minor ministerial posts.

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[4] It was, for instance, only the determined private resistance of the Trade Unionist leaders of the Labor Party that compelled the Government to abandon its project of introducing several hundred thousand Chinese laborers into Great Britain; a project which, if carried out, not only might have been calamitous in its effect upon the Standard of Life of the British workman—not to mention other evil consequences—but would almost certainly have also led to a Labor revolt against the continuance of the war. In this connection may be noted the valuable work done throughout the war, not in the interests of Trade Unionism only, but in those of the wage-earning class, and of the community as a whole, by the War Emergency Workers' National Committee (J. S. Middleton, Honorary Secretary), a body which included representatives not only of the Parliamentary Committee, Labor Party, and General Federation, but also of the Coöperative Union, the National Union of Teachers, and other organizations. The valuable though often unwelcome assistance which this Committee gave to the Government by insisting on the redress of grievances that officialdom would have ignored, and by its working out of policy and persistence of agitation on such matters as pensions, limitation of prices, food-rationing, rent restriction, and other subjects, on which its publications had marked results, deserve the attention of the historian.

Throughout the whole period of the war all the several demands of the Government upon the organized workers, the abrogation of "Trade Union Conditions" in all industries working for war needs, the first and second Munitions of War Acts, the subversion of individual liberty by the successive orders under the Defence of the Realm Acts, the successive applications of the Military Service Acts, the imposition of what was practically Compulsory Arbitration to settle the rates of wages—were accepted, though only after serious protest, by large majorities at the various Conferences of the Labor Party, as well as by the various annual Trades Union Congresses, in spite of the resistance of minorities, including more than pacifists. The entry of Mr. Henderson into Mr. Asquith's first Coalition Government, and that of Mr. Barnes into Mr. Lloyd George's War Cabinet, together with the acceptance of ministerial office by other leading members of the Labor Party—though any such ministerial coalition was in flagrant violation of the very principles of its existence, and was strenuously combated on grounds of expediency by many of its members who loyally supported the war—equally received the endorsement of large majorities at the Party Conferences. From the beginning of the war to the end, the Labor Party, alike in all its corporate acts and by the individual efforts of its leading members (other than the minority already mentioned), stuck at nothing in its determination to help the Government to win the war.

More controversial were the persistent efforts made by the Labor Party to maintain its international relations with the Labor and Socialist Movements of Continental Europe. From the first it was seen to be important to get the representatives of the Trade Unions and Socialist organizations of the Allied Nations, and not merely their Governments, united in a declaration of the aims and the justification of a war that was everywhere outraging working-class idealism. Such a unanimity was successfully achieved in February, 1915, at a conference, held in London at the instance of the Labor Party, of delegates from the working-class organizations of France, Belgium, and Great Britain, with Russian representatives, then allied in arms against the Central Empires. Later on, when a Minority Party had been formed among the German Socialists, and when the Austrian and Hungarian Working-class Movements were also in revolt against the militarism of their Government, repeated efforts were made by the Labor Party to encourage this revolt, and for this purpose to obtain the necessary Government facilities for a meeting, in some neutral city, of the working-class "International," at which the Allied Case could be laid before the neutrals, and a basis found for united action with all the working-class elements in opposition to the dominant military Imperialism. After the Russian revolution of March, 1917, the Petrograd Workmen's and Soldiers' Council actually issued an invitation for a working-class "International" at Stockholm; and the participation of the British Labor Party in this International Congress, which was not then favored by Mr. Henderson, received at one time no small support from the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George. In the end the Government despatched Mr. Henderson on an official mission to Petrograd (incidentally empowering him, if he thought fit, to remain there as Ambassador at £8000 a year). Meanwhile the proposal for an International Congress had been modified, first into one for a purely consultative gathering, and then into one for a series of separate interviews between a committee of neutrals and the representatives of each of the belligerents in turn, with a view to discovering a possible basis for peace—a project to which Mr. Henderson, from what he learnt at Petrograd, was converted. A National Conference of the Labor Party in August, 1917, approved of participation in such a Congress at Stockholm; but the French and Italian Governments would not hear of it, and Mr. Lloyd George went back on his prior approval, absolutely declining to allow passports to be issued. Amid great excitement, and under circumstances of insult and indignity which created resentment among the British working class, Mr. Henderson felt obliged to tender his resignation of his place in the War Cabinet, in which he was succeeded by Mr. Barnes, who was getting more and more out of sympathy with the majority of the Party. The Labor Party Executive, in alliance with the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, then applied itself to getting agreement among the Labor and Socialist Movements of the Allied Nations as to the lines on which—assuming an Allied victory—the terms of peace should be drawn, in order to avert as much as possible of the widespread misery which, it could be foreseen, must necessarily fall upon the wage-earning class. In this effort, in which Mr. Henderson displayed great tact and patience, he had the implicit sanction of the British Government, and, with some reluctance, also of the Governments of the other Allied Nations by whom the necessary passports were issued for an Inter-Allied Conference in London in August, 1917, which was abortive; for provisional discussions at Paris in February, 1918; and for a second Inter-Allied Conference at the end of the same month in London, which resulted in a virtually unanimous agreement upon what should be the terms of peace, on a basis already approved on December 28, 1917, by a Joint Conference of the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party, and widely published all over the world. The terms thus agreed were, in fact, immediately adopted in outline in a public deliverance by Mr. Lloyd George as those on which Germany could have peace at any time; and the same proposals were promptly made the basis of President Wilson's celebrated "Fourteen Points" on which eventually (but only after another ten months' costly war) the Armistice of November 11, 1918, was concluded. Profound was the disappointment, and bitter the resentment, of the greater part of the organized Labor Movement of Great Britain when it was revealed how seriously the diplomatists at the Paris Conference had departed from these terms in the Treaty of Peace which was imposed on the Central Empires.[5]

We have already attempted to sum up the effect of the Great War on the industrial status of Trade Unionism. It is more difficult to estimate its effect on the political organization of the movement. The outbreak of the war had found the Labor Party, in the see-saw of Trade Union opinion to which we have elsewhere referred, suffering from an inevitable disillusionment among Trade Unionists as to the immediate potency of Parliamentary representation—a disillusionment manifested in the outbreak of rebellious strikes that characterized the years 1911-14. The achievements of the Labor Party in the House of Commons had fallen

[5] It is difficult not to be struck with the greater breadth of vision, the higher idealism, and (as we venture to say) the larger statesmanship of the Labor Party in its projects and proposals for the resettlement of the world after the Great War, compared with those which the statesmen and diplomatists of the capitalist parties of Great Britain, France, Italy, and, as we grieve to say, also the United States, with the acquiescence of deliberately inflamed popular electorates, succeeded in embodying in the Treaty of Peace. Apart from the indefensible redistributions of political sovereignty, not essentially differing in spirit from those of the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15 (and probably less stable even than these), against which Labor opinion had strongly protested in advance, it is impossible not to regret the failure to incorporate in the Treaty the proposals, for which the Labor Party had secured the support of the organized working-class opinion of the world, for (i.) the universal abandonment of discriminatory fiscal barriers to international trade; (ii.) the administration of Colonial possessions exclusively in the interest of the local inhabitants, and on the basis of equality of opportunity for traders of all nations; (iii.) concerted international control of the exportable surplus of materials and food-stuffs of all the several countries, so as to mitigate, as far as possible, in the general world-shortage which the Labor Party foresaw, the inevitable widespread starvation in the most necessitous areas, whether enemy, allied, or neutral; (iv.) deliberate Government action in each country for the prevention of unemployment, instead of letting it occur and then merely relieving the unemployed. In questions of foreign policy the Labor Party, inspired by its idealism, has shown itself at its best, instead of this department of politics being, as is often ignorantly assumed, altogether beyond its capacity.

short of the eager hopes with which the new party had raised its standard on its triumphant entry in 1906. In 1914, it may be said, the Labor Party was at a dead point. The effect upon it of the Great War was to raise it in proportion to the height of the vastly greater issues with which it was compelled to deal. Amid the stress of war, and of the intensely controversial decisions which it had necessarily to take, the Labor Party revised its constitution, widened its aims, opened its ranks to the "workers by brain" as well as the workers by hand, and received the accession of many thousands of converts from the Liberal and Conservative Parties. It made great progress in its difficult task of superimposing, on an organization based on national societies, the necessary complimentary organization of its affiliated membership by geographical constituencies. It equipped itself during the war, for the first time, with a far-reaching and well-considered program not confined to distinctively "Labor" issues, but covering the whole field of home politics, and even extending to foreign relations.[6] The formulation of such a program, from beginning to end essentially Socialist in character, and including alike ideals of social reconstruction and detailed reforms of immediate practicability, together with the whole-hearted adoption of this program, after six months' consideration by the constituent societies and branches, was a notable achievement, which placed the British Labor Party ahead of those of other countries. Moreover, the formulation of a comprehensive social program and of "terms of Peace," based on the principles for which the war had ostensibly been fought—principles which were certainly not carried in the Treaty of Peace—transformed the Labor Party from a group representing merely the class interests of the manual workers into a fully constituted political Party of national scope, ready to take over the government of the country and to conduct both home and foreign affairs on definite principles. Taken together with the intellectual bankruptcy of the Liberal Party and its apparent incapacity to formulate any positive policy, whether with regard to the redistribution of wealth within our own community or with regard to our attitude towards other races within or without the British Empire, the emergence of the Labor Party program meant that the Party stood forth, in public opinion, as the inevitable alternative to the present Coalition Government when the time came for this to fall. The result was that, aided by the steady growth of Trade Unionism, the Party came near, between 1914 and 1919, to doubling its aggregate membership. When hostilities ceased, it insisted on resuming the complete independence of the other political parties, which it had, by joining the successive Coalition Governments, consented temporarily to forego; and such of its leaders as refused to withdraw from ministerial office were unhesitatingly shed from the Party. Meanwhile, the extension of the franchise and redistribution of seats, which had been carried by general consent in the spring of 1918, turned out to raise the electorate to nearly treble that of 1910, whilst the new constituencies proved to have been so adjusted as greatly to facilitate an increase in the number of miners' representatives. When the General Election came, in December, 1918, though the Labor Party fought under great disadvantages and it was seen that most of the soldier electors would be unable to record their votes, it put no fewer than 361 Labor candidates in the field against Liberal and Conservative alike, contesting two-thirds of all the constituencies in Great Britain. In face of a "Lloyd George tide" of unprecedented strength these Labor candidates received nearly one-fourth of all the votes polled in the United Kingdom; and though five-sixths of these numerous Labor candidatures were unsuccessful (including, unfortunately, most of its ablest Parliamentarians such as Messrs. Henderson, MacDonald, Anderson, and Snowden), the Party increased its numerical strength in the House of Commons by 50 per cent., and, to the universal surprise, returned more than twice as many members as did the remnant of the Liberal Party adhering to Mr. Asquith—becoming, in fact, entitled to the position of "His Majesty's Opposition."

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[6] The new constitution and enlarged program which the Labor Party adopted at its Conferences of 1917-18, after six months' consideration and discussion by the constituent organizations, were little more than a ratification for general adoption of what had become the practice of particular districts. Thus, the more active Local Labor Parties, such as those of Woolwich and Blackburn, had long welcomed the adhesion of supporters who were not manual workers. The successive annual Conferences had passed resolutions which, taken together, amounted to a pretty complete program of constructive legislation, wholly Collectivist in principle. Hence the deliberate and formal opening of the Party, through the Local Labor Parties, to "workers by brain" as well as "workers by hand"; and the explicit adoption, as a program, of *Labor and the New Social Order* were not such innovations as the newspapers made out and as the public generally supposed. But they created a sensation, not only in the United Kingdom, but also in the United States and in the British Dominions; and they led to a considerable accession of membership, largely from the professional and middle classes, which was steadily increased as the unsatisfactory character of the Treaty of Peace, the continued "militarism" of the Government, and the aggression of a "Protectionist" capitalism became manifest.

4. WORKERS' EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA

Undoubtedly one reason for the strength of the British Labor Movement to-day is the educational work which has been done in arousing the workers to a realization of their needs and potentialities. The beginnings of this movement date back to the founding of the People's College in 1842 by a minister of Sheffield. This institution refused to accept financial aid from any one not a student at the college. They felt that complete economic independence and self-government would permit of more fearless truth-finding. As a result of the work of this school, Frederick Maurice, a Christian Socialist, decided to found a workers' college in London. Afterwards he interested others in starting similar colleges elsewhere, most of them being founded in close association with the coöperative movement. Ruskin College, the first residential school for working men, was founded in 1899 at Oxford through the initiative of three Americans, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Vrooman and Charles Beard. It sought to provide "a training in subjects which are essential to working class leadership." It has accommodations for only fifty students, but over 15,000 have carried on correspondence courses. The annual fee is about $250.

Albert Mansbridge, a worker in the Coöperative, decided to try to promote education among the working class and in 1903, together with his wife, organized an association for this purpose. On July 14th a committee composed of prominent people was appointed to back the new movement. It consisted entirely of members of the coöperative and trade unions. For the first three years the movement had only $1,500 for its support, but further financial aid was soon forthcoming from many workers' organizations, including the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress. The first national congress was held in 1905. Since the women objected to the exclusive use of the name Working Men, it was finally decided to call the organization the Workers' Educational Association. In 1906 the constitution was revised to read as follows:

> Object. Its object shall be to promote the Higher Education of Working Men and Women.
>
> Methods. It shall, in its capacity as a co-ordinating Federation of Working-Class and Educational Interests, endeavor to fulfil its object in the following principal ways:
>
> (a) By *arousing* the interest of the workers in Higher Education, and by directing their attention to the facilities already existing.
> (b) By *inquiring* into the needs and feelings of the workers in regard to Education, and by representing them to the Board of Education, Universities, Local Education Authorities, and Educational Institutions.
> (c) By *providing*, either in conjunction with the aforementioned bodies or otherwise, facilities for studies of interest to the workers which may have hitherto been overlooked.
> (d) By *publishing*, or arranging for the publication, of such reports, pamphlets, books and magazines as it deems necessary.

It should be said that while this movement for workers' education was going on the Fabian Society had been distributing from 1891 to 1911 thousands of social and economic fact-pamphlets. These tracts were written for the working class and it is difficult to estimate the influence they exerted throughout England.

After the start of this movement it was thought that it could be linked up with the universities. Mr. R. H. Tawney, who was lecturing in Economics in Glasgow, was secured to teach one such class. The Workers' Education

Association, although at first it had tried to rest complete control in the trade unions, finally under university influence revised this ideal. The Association to-day is an organization not only of trade unions but of individual members and educational organizations. Its unit is a branch composed of adult schools, coöperative societies, working-men's clubs, adult organizations, trade unions, and individuals. Branches join together in districts, and the districts are represented in a central council which is the national board of the Association. The Workers' Education Association thus includes the trade unions, the coöperatives, the educational committee of the National Adult School Union, the workingmen's clubs, the Institute Union, the Y. M. C. A., universities, and other educational bodies. While the trade unions probably outnumber any other single group, they are in the minority.

Because of the minority control by trade unions there was some dissatisfaction on the part of the workers. In 1909 a student strike occurred at Ruskin College and the majority of the students seceded to form a strictly trade union college. Although the strike itself turned on the question of the dismissal of the principal of the school by the governing board, the underlying reasons for dissatisfaction were deeper than this. The students objected to the economic doctrines which were taught. They felt that the teachers were giving them mere theory and knew nothing about the labor movement. As a result of the strike the students voted (46 to 7) to ask the trade unions and socialist bodies for $25,000 to open a college for working men entirely controlled by the labor movement. Those who seceded were supported by 90 per cent. of the alumni of Ruskin College and by such trade unionists as Robert Smillie of the miners.

The Labor College is situated in London and has a smaller number of resident students than Ruskin. However, the lecture courses which are given throughout Great Britain, together with the correspondence courses, reach about 7,000 a year. The London *Times* of October 7, 1919, testified to the influence of the labor college as follows:

> "The influential men (in strikes) are not even Bolshevists. They are middle-class intellectuals and workmen who have been through one or other of the labor colleges, where they have imbibed theories about the social and industrial order which seem to them perfectly true and wise because they do not know enough to detect the fallacies. These men, who are young, are most numerous among the railwaymen and miners, and this is the chief reason why these industries are the special, though not the only, hot-beds of disorder."

There is a real difference between the Workers' Education Association and the Labor College. The former tries to be definitely non-partizan. It wishes to avoid being used for immediate economic purposes. On the other hand, the Labor College is not neutral. Its purpose is to train the workers so that they will be equipped with educational tools and weapons for their work as destroyers of the foundation of Capitalism and as builders of a new order. As the Plebs League states, its object is "to further the interests of independent working class education in a partizan effort to improve the conditions of labor in the present and to aid in the abolition of wage slavery." The League is the organization of students and others who believe in the college.

Since 1920 the Workers' Education Association has permitted a new type of control known as the Workers' Education Trade Union Committee, of which a member of the Trade Union is chairman. The Workers' Education Association District Secretary is the organizer and the trade unions are in majority control. The chairman of this Workers' Education Trade Union Committee has stated: "There unquestionably exists in the minds of working men and women a strong suspicion of the bias of . . . University . . . teaching in social and industrial subjects. This suspicion is undoubtedly well founded. . . . To ask trade unions to avail themselves of the ordinary educational facilities provided by universities . . . is . . . impracticable. . . . They desire to build up their own educational movement, to work out their own salvation in the field of thought, as they are endeavoring to do in the world of action."

The Workers' Education movement in England is, as we have noted, firmly established. At the present time there are approximately 100,000 in attendance each year at classes under the auspices of the Workers' Education Association or some other agency engaged in workers' education. The trade union education inquiry found that the following subjects were being taught: Trade Union History and Problems, Coöperative History and Problems, Industrial History, Political History, History of Social Movements, Problems of Reconstruction, Industrial Administration, Local Government, Economic Theory, Political Theory, International Problems, Psychology, Biology, Social Psychology, Sociology, Philosophy, Literature, Music, Art.

The movement in the United States has been more backward than in England. To be sure, as early as 1828 a working men's party was organized in the United States, with free public education as one of the chief issues. Margaret Hodgen, author of *Workers' Education in England and the United States,* says that this party became the chief instrument of the founding of the American public school system. However, it did not really start adult workers' education classes. The American Federation of Labor has always advocated education and considered the public school system as part of labor's achievement. It did not recognize the needs of having labor represented on the boards, so that in 1918 only six state boards of education contained labor members and in 204 cities with a population of 40,000 only seventeen boards of education contained representatives of labor. A study by Professor Counts of Yale University in 1925 showed that the proportion was no higher at that time. In 1903 the Woman's Trade Union League was organized. It found considerable difficulty in securing trade union membership among the women and decided it needed better organizers. This in turn demanded education. Consequently in 1907, at the first convention, a recommendation was made that each local establish classes for the discussion of the class struggle. In 1911, the New York League prepared pamphlets on the structure of trade unions and the history of the labor movement. In 1914, a school for organizers was opened in Chicago.

At the present time workers' education in the United States is carried on largely by four groups: trade unions, Socialists, Communists, and the universities.

The Ladies' Garment Workers were the pioneers in workers' education in the United States. In 1914 they appropriated $1,500 for this work. In 1915 one of their locals in New York City organized its educational activity under the name of Unity Center. In 1916, $5,000 was appropriated for this educational work. At the present time they conduct a workers' university in Washington Irving High School, New York City. There are also other "unity centers" in public school buildings in different parts of the city. Lectures are given and classes held on the Labor Movement, the trade union, and economics, as well as on cultural subjects.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have also taken a leading part in workers' education. They have established schools in six cities and have a national education department with an educational director in charge. A number of cities have also established trade union colleges. Boston is perhaps as well known as any, having established one in 1921. It is, of course, controlled entirely by organized labor but secures some teachers from neighboring universities. The leading organizer outside the trade union ranks is H. W. L. Dana of Cambridge, a grandson of the poet, Longfellow. The college started with 146 students but has increased its enrolment until now there are about 400 in attendance. Similar trade union colleges have been started in Washington, Passaic, Philadelphia, Denver, and elsewhere.

The first resident labor college in America, the Brookwood Labor

College, was started in Katonah, N. Y., in 1921. It provides for a two-year course. The college buildings are located on fifty acres of ground, which are rented to the school for one dollar a year. The school itself is run jointly by the faculty, administration, and students. While this college was at first run in close affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, in 1929—largely through the influence of Mr. Woll, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor—this relationship was severed. The American Federation of Labor attacked Brookwood for being radical but did not give the school authorities any opportunity to present their side of the case. Because of this action the American Federation of Labor was widely criticized by such men as Professors John Dewey of Columbia and Paul Douglas of Chicago.

An interesting experiment has been made by the unions in New Haven, Conn., where a forum for the workers is held at the time of their regular trade union meeting. Speakers are selected approximately a year in advance and printed programs are prepared. This plan has been quite successful in stimulating the interest of workers who could not be induced to follow regular class room work.

In 1906 the Socialists, stimulated by the success of Ruskin College in Oxford, established in New York City the Rand School of Social Science. It has been highly successful, although in 1928 and 1929 its attendance fell because of the competition of the Communists.

The Communists have trained organizers for the workers' party by establishing schools and classes in nearly every city in which they have headquarters. These classes are frankly propagandistic. A number of universities in the United States have also started classes for workers. Until the discharge of President Meiklejohn of Amherst, workers' classes were kept up in Springfield and Holyoke by Amherst professors. In California, university extension work among laboring men has been carried on with effective results.

In 1920, President Thomas of Bryn Mawr proposed that the college buildings should be used during the summer for educational opportunities for women workers. Such a summer school was opened in the summer of 1927, attendance being restricted to women working with the tools of their trade and not in a supervisory capacity. In the first summer school there were 82 students of 12 nationalities, coming from 19 different states and representing 19 different trades.

In spite of all that has been done in America, the work is relatively insignificant. It is possible that if one counted attendance at educational forums, the total figures would be large for the year. Even so, the total is but a small proportion of the number of organized workers. In the entire country it is safe to say that not one out of thirty workers is touched by educational activity. Formal educational class work has attracted less than 1 per cent. of the workers. Doubtless one reason for this is the lack of a class-conscious spirit in American labor and the feeling that every worker has a chance to rise. There is also, no doubt, a conviction on the part of many that adult education is of small value in their trade. Furthermore, a great many employers are bitterly opposed to any form of class-conscious education for the workers. In 1920 a Workers' Education Bureau was founded which had its inspiration from the Workers' Education Association in England. Although at first it was controlled by both the trade unions and the labor colleges jointly, control passed in 1929 very definitely into the hands of the International Trade Unions and the American Federation of Labor. Something of the spirit of the organization can be sensed from the following extracts from the address of President James H. Maurer in 1927:

> "Workers' Education must require above all else thorough, scientific and open-minded discussions of all theories and doctrines. In its broadest sense, Workers' Education cannot confine itself merely to classes, or to the bringing in of reports on books, but embraces every phase of culture and the study of every part of our social structure. No dogma, whether it comes from the employing class, labor, or radical groups, must be sacred to Labor Education. Instead, it must seek light and understanding everywhere in order that the individual may for himself or herself determine the ways of truth and proper guidance. It must never approach any issue in a partisan or biased manner.
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> "But to be effective labor education must be inspired by a Labor conscience and must be based on the definite assumption that Labor will some day occupy the position of power that rightfully belongs to it, and that meanwhile, Labor can contribute generously toward building a better and finer social order both nationally and internationally. The prejudiced and ignorant education frequently accepted by industrialists, as evidenced by their official publications and luncheon club orators, must under no conditions be countenanced in our work. As an example of what Workers' Education is not and must not be, I quote a recent article in a prominent manufacturers' journal in which a member of the New York bar learnedly declares that: 'Socialism and Communism seek the same end by different routes; that both advocate the abolition (1) of inheritance, (2) of private property, (3) of marriage, (4) of religion, (5) of the home, and (6) of our Christian Civilization.' Such nonsense, which apparently suits the tastes of some industrial leaders, can never be swallowed by workers, who through labor education insist upon seeing all facts and all issues involved. The individual student, while he should be trained to develop to the highest capacity his own mind and body, must principally be trained in an understanding of the complex economic and social problems, and must be trained to look at these in terms of the common welfare rather than from

his own narrow and personal point of view. It is because such education is but rarely provided by the existing public and private educational institutions that labor must through its own efforts and organizations seek to provide this education itself. . . .

"Although only six years of age, the Workers' Education Bureau of America is quite a healthy and vigorous youngster for its age. Affiliated with us now are 353 Local Unions, 68 Central Trade Unions, 21 State Federations, 52 International Unions, and Study Classes in nearly every corner of the United States. Besides we have hundreds of sustaining and contributing members at large."

In spite of the reasonably fair attitude shown above, many conservatives in our country oppose all organized labor. In 1921 the Lusk committee of the New York Legislature classified trade union activity as seditious and un-American. Business men are glad if workers are trained to be more effective producers but they do not want them trained to assume leadership in the trade union movement. It seems probable that as the trade union movement becomes more progressive and enlightened the amount of money appropriated for workers' education will materially increase. In the United States the most significant result of workers' education belongs to the future.

II. LEADERSHIP

I. JAMES RAMSAY MACDONALD

Socialist-Labor Party Member and Premier of England

Sixty-three years ago Ramsay MacDonald was born at Lossiemouth, a fishing village by the Moray Firth. His first home was a two-roomed "but and ben"; his first job, lifting potatoes in the field. But for one of those queer turns that life so often takes, the world might easily have lost a Prime Minister and gained a good fisherman—for at twelve he nearly went to sea, as was the custom for all the boys of Moray Firth. But somehow the local Scotch minister stepped in with an offer of further education. From that old minister the boy secured the foundation of that wide knowledge which has helped to make him such a force in the affairs of his day and generation. He was brought to the school as a pupil teacher. He devoted himself to his studies and passed examinations in subjects which he felt would help towards a career in science.

At eighteen, Ramsay MacDonald set out for London with enough in his pocket to pay the fare and just a few shillings over. Work of some kind was at once imperative. He began with envelope addressing; next he got a post of invoice clerk at the meager wage of three dollars per week.

His nights he spent at evening classes, reading and taking correspondence courses, all aimed at the scientific career he had mapped out for himself when studying in far-away Lossiemouth under his old dominie. Then at the last moment a bad breakdown prevented him taking the science scholarship at South Kensington, on which he had set his heart. He had not been sufficiently careful of his health.

The result was that he was drawn towards the political arena, where his life work was to be centered. As a mere youth he had already had his baptism of fire, working for the Radical candidate in his native constituency. For a time in London he was private secretary to Mr. Thomas Lough, afterwards Radical M. P. for West Islington; but as he read and studied out his own scientific conception of Socialism he was steadily turning away from Liberalism. Nevertheless, for a time he did effective work as a journalist for the liberal press.

When he first came to London he had come in contact with the old Social-Democratic Federation. As far back as 1888 he was writing to Keir Hardie, wishing him "good luck" in the Mid-Lanark Election, where he stood as Independent Labor candidate. Finally despairing of Liberalism, in 1894 he wrote to Hardie again, placing his services at the disposal of the Independent Labor Party. A year later he stood at Southampton as one of the Independent Labor candidates, polling 866 votes.

Just after the election he met Margaret Ethel Gladstone, niece of Lord Kelvin and daughter of a distinguished chemist, the successor of Professor Faraday at the Royal Institution. Twelve months later they were married, and there followed fifteen years of constant companionship and service in the Socialist and Labor Movement. Their home in Lincoln's Inn Fields became the center of a circle of men and women, of all classes and from all lands, who were giving their lives to the cause of progress.

During this period MacDonald became a member of the London County Council, and at the Khaki Election of 1900 stood for the first time for Leicester, which in after years was to be inseparably connected with his name.

These were the stirring days when the Labor Party was emerging as an active fighting force. MacDonald, as its first secretary, tirelessly set himself to the task of creating a machine that would stand the test of time. The strength and capacity of the modern labor movement owes very much to the foundations which he laid in those early days. If Keir Hardie was the prophet and ēvangel of labor, Ramsay MacDonald, whom Keir Hardie called its "greatest intellectual asset," was its first organizing genius.

In 1906, Leicester returned him for the first time, and then began that active parliamentary life which eventually led to the premiership. All this time he was writing, speaking, organizing. Controversy loud and fierce has raged round his theories, but there will be no one to deny that he has steadily and consistently applied them.

The year 1911 was heavy with sorrow. In the early part of the year Ramsay lost not only his wife, but his mother and little boy David.[7] Fortunately, he was able to steep himself in work. From 1911 to 1914 he was Leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party, succeeding Keir Hardie. They were years of difficulty and stress. Nevertheless, although the Labor Party was comparatively small in numbers, it had an immense driving force and was able to compel the Liberal Government to adopt progressive measures very alien to its own traditions and inclinations.

Meanwhile the Liberal Imperialists were shaping the course of foreign policy towards inevitable disaster. Unknown to the people, unknown to Parliament, unknown even to some members of the Cabinet, secret treaties and understandings were being formulated which committed Great Britain to participation in a Continental war. In 1914 the storm broke.

Throughout, Ramsay MacDonald had warned the country against the drift of Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy. When the crisis came he declined to support a military program. On August 4, 1914, in a House of Commons already in the grip of war passion, he rose and told the Foreign Secretary that the verdict of history would be that his policy was wrong.

The War sent Mr. MacDonald into the wilderness. For a long period he was the most hated man in the country. In 1918 he lost his seat at Leicester, and it was not till the General Election of 1922 that he came back to the House of Commons.

Within a few weeks after his reëlection the tables were completely turned. He became once more the leader of labor in the country. Then came 1923, with its culminating triumph, and Ramsay MacDonald became Britain's first Labor Prime Minister and its best Foreign Secretary of modern times. At the end of 1924 his Government was defeated by a combination of Tories and Liberals, but in 1929, as labor's chosen leader, he became Premier for the second time.

Among the books he has written are: *Socialism and Society* (1905), *The Awakening of India* (1910), *The Socialist Movement* (1911), *Margaret Ethel MacDonald* (1910), *National Defence* (1917), *The Government of India* (1919), *Parliament and Revolution* (1920), *Parliament*

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[7] To their five children, Ramsay MacDonald has since been both father and mother. Allister, the oldest, is now on his way to be a distinguished architect; Malcolm is on the London County Council and Labor Member of Parliament; Ishbel, who is hostess at 10 Downing Street (the White House of England), is also on the London County Council.

and Democracy (1920), *A Policy for the Labor Party* (1920), *Socialism, Critical and Constructive* (1921). Most of these books have been translated into many European languages.

He has often seen conditions at first hand in Europe, South Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. He knows intimately the men in power in many of these countries.

His unique personality and capabilities are due to his native equipment, to the environment into which he was thrown, and to the fact that, with a favorable combination of factors, he has apparently always applied himself with all his powers to the task at hand.[8]

2. ARTHUR HENDERSON

"Uncle Arthur," as he is affectionately known throughout the Labor Movement, is actually the senior member of the party, since he was first returned to the House of Commons for Barnard Castle at a by-election in 1905. He is also the one member who has had previous Cabinet experience.

Though born in Glasgow in 1863, he is by long association a Northumbrian. He served his apprenticeship as a molder at Newcastle, and Northumberland was really his home county until he settled in London some ten years ago. An active member of the Ironfounders' Union, it was, however, not so much his Trade Unionism as his strong religious faith that brought him into active politics, at first as a Liberal. He early became known as a Wesleyan lay preacher and is still in power in the Brotherhood Movement, succeeding Dr. Clifford as President of the Council from 1914-19. After a wide experience of responsible positions in local government, he soon made his mark in the House. In 1914, when Mr. MacDonald resigned on the War issue, he became Leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party, and was given office in 1915 as President of the Board of Education by the first Asquithian Coalition. When Mr. Lloyd George came in, he made Mr. Henderson a member of the War Cabinet; and in that capacity he went on his famous Mission to Russia in 1917. What he saw there convinced him of the importance of the Stockholm Conference project; when passports were refused to the British delegates, he resigned.

From that time on he devoted his remarkable organizing energy to the task of making the Labor Party an effective instrument for hastening the end of the War by a democratic peace: 1917 was, in fact, the turning-point in labor's war psychology. The Secret Treaty revelations helped in the work Mr. Henderson's resignation had begun, and the tide of feeling began to flow towards peace. In this he assisted notably.

[8] For part of this sketch we are indebted to an article in the *New Leader*, London.

The new constitution of the party, accepted in June, 1918, opened its ranks to workers by "hand and brain"; since then it has received a stream of men and women from all classes. For this, Mr. Henderson was largely responsible; here and in the reconstruction and extension of the organization and machinery of the party, he was completing the work that Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald had planned and begun. In the first Labor Government he served as Home Secretary but to-day has charge of Foreign Affairs, perhaps the most important position in the Cabinet next to that of the Premier.

3. J. H. THOMAS

J. H. Thomas was born in Newport, October 31, 1875. He was educated in the Council Schools. Few who have heard, none who have encountered him at conferences—whether mass conferences of irate delegates, or round-table meetings where vital issues may be determined by a casual word—will deny his amazing cleverness, his extraordinary grip on the business in hand, or the force of his personality. At nine years of age he was already at work as an errand-boy. He soon secured a position as an engine cleaner and was then promoted by rapid stages to foreman and finally engine-driver. No one can question the ability of a man who, starting life as an errand-boy at nine, was a driver of an express before he was out of his twenties, and, in his forties, twice refused Cabinet office. Certainly those who have found him too clever for them and who, consequently, view his "Welshness" as the predominant trait in his character, say hard things of him. There is a section of his own party which can never forgive him for having said, at the time of his libel action against *The Communist,* that he was not a Socialist. That he voted for the Socialist resolution in the House last year, and took the trouble to be there, hardly reconciles them. These critics are not numerous in the House of Commons. There, the Left Wingers, who had previously said the harshest things about him, were conquered, as those who come up against him generally are, by the skill, geniality, vigor and good sportsmanship with which he conducted them through the all-night sitting on the Army Annual Bill. They realized then, what thousands of railwaymen have known for years, that "Jimmy" knows how to lead men and how to make them enthusiastic. There is, further, something sunny, something humorous about him; he is not ruffled by the hard things that are said. He may be vain; but if so, his vanity (for which there are very good grounds) is of the safe sort that is rooted, not in what other people think of him, but in what he thinks of himself.

He has always been recognized as a brilliant chairman—quick, fair, superlatively intelligent—and has shown this in presiding over Trades

Union Conferences both at home and abroad. He is President of the Trades Union International—the "Yellow" international of Amsterdam, which the Bolsheviks oppose. Employers and business men, who began by thinking that they could "score off" a professionless Trade Unionist, soon learned their mistake. A much more substantial offset to any little foibles, with which he may be affected, is his loyalty. He did not agree with MacDonald about the war. He was a member of the Munitions Mission to the United States in 1917, and though he refused Cabinet office, was a great recruiting sergeant; yet in the 1918 election he was one of the "majority" Labor leaders who went down to speak for MacDonald at Leicester. He was likewise one of the small band who fought conscription in the House through all its stages. He was President and Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress for 1920-1921. In 1924 he was Secretary of State for the Colonies. He was given an honorary LL.D. by Cambridge in 1920 and an honorary D.C.L. by Oxford in 1926. He is the author of *When Labor Rules* published in 1920.

Brains, energy, courage—J. H. Thomas has all these, as well as a human likability few can resist. And when he said that the question for a Labor man in relation to government was not what he could get but what he could give, it was not merely a phrase. Of him it is certainly true.

III. THEORY

One of the most effective statements of party policy ever prepared is the one used by labor in England following the World War. It is called "Labor and the New Social Order." The student should note carefully the differences between this document and the platform of 1929. Each reflects to some extent the state of mind of labor at the time.

I. LABOR AND THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

It behooves the Labor Party, in formulating its own program for Reconstruction after the war, and in criticizing the various preparations and plans that are being made by the present Government, to look at the problem as a whole. We have to make it clear what it is that we wish to construct. It is important to emphasize the fact that, whatever may be the case with regard to other political parties, our detailed practical proposals proceed from definitely held principles.

The End of a Civilization

We need to beware of patchwork. The view of the Labor Party is that what has to be reconstructed after the war is not this or that

Government Department, or this or that piece of social machinery; but, so far as Britain is concerned, society itself. The individual worker, or for that matter the individual statesman, immersed in daily routine—like the individual soldier in a battle—easily fails to understand the magnitude and far-reaching importance of what is taking place around him. How does it fit together as a whole? How does it look from a distance? Count Okuma, one of the oldest, most experienced and ablest of the statesmen of Japan, watching the present conflict from the other side of the globe, declares it to be nothing less than the death of European civilization. Just as in the past the civilizations of Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Carthage, and the great Roman Empire have been successively destroyed, so, in the judgment of this detached observer, the civilization of all Europe is even now receiving its death-blow. We of the Labor Party can so far agree in this estimate as to recognize, in the present world catastrophe, if not the death, in Europe, of civilization itself, at any rate the culmination and collapse of a distinctive industrial civilization, which the workers will not seek to reconstruct. At such times of crisis it is easier to slip into ruin than to progress into higher forms of organization. That is the problem as it presents itself to the Labor Party to-day.

What this war is consuming is not merely the security, the homes, the livelihood and the lives of millions of innocent families, and an enormous proportion of all the accumulated wealth of the world, but also the very basis of the peculiar social order in which it has arisen. The individualist system of capitalist production, based on the private ownership and competitive administration of land and capital, with its reckless "profiteering" and wage-slavery; with its glorification of the unhampered struggle for the means of life and its hypocritical pretence of the "survival of the fittest"; with the monstrous inequality of circumstances which it produces and the degradation and brutalization, both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom, may, we hope, indeed have received a death-blow. With it must go the political system and ideas in which it naturally found expression. We of the Labor Party, whether in opposition or in due time called upon to form an Administration, will certainly lend no hand to its revival. On the contrary, we shall do our utmost to see that it is buried with the millions whom it has done to death. If we in Britain are to escape from the decay of civilization itself, which the Japanese statesman foresees, we must ensure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting, but on fraternity—not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned coöperation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain—not on the utmost possible inequality of riches, but on a systematic approach towards a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world—not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject Colonies, subject classes or a subject sex, but, in industry as well as in government, on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent, and that widest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of Democracy. We do not, of course pretend that it is possible, even after the drastic clearing away that is now going on, to build society anew in a year or two of feverish "Reconstruction." What the Labor Party intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends, and no other.

The Pillars of the House

We need not here recapitulate, one by one, the different items in the Labor Party's program, which successive Party Conferences have adopted. These proposals, some of them in various publications worked out in practical detail, are often carelessly derided as impracticable, even by the politicians who steal them piecemeal from us! The members of the Labor Party, themselves actually working by hand or by brain, in close contact with the facts, have perhaps at all times a more accurate appreciation of what is practicable, in industry as in politics, than those who depend solely on academic instruction or are biased by great possessions. But to-day no man dares to say that anything is impracticable. The war, which has scared the old Political Parties right out of their dogmas, has taught every statesman and every Governmental official, to his enduring surprise, how very much more can be done along the lines that we have laid down than he had ever before thought possible. What we now promulgate as our policy, whether for opposition or for office, is not merely this or that specific reform, but a deliberately thought-out, systematic, and comprehensive plan for that immediate social rebuilding which any Ministry, whether or not it desires to grapple with the problem, will be driven to undertake. The Four Pillars of the House that we propose to erect, resting upon the common foundation of the Democratic control of society in all its activities, may be termed, respectively:

(*a*) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum;
(*b*) The Democratic Control of Industry;
(*c*) The Revolution in National Finance; and
(*d*) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

The various detailed proposals of the Labor Party, herein briefly summarized, rest on these four pillars, and can best be appreciated in connection with them.

The Universal Enforcement of a National Minimum

The first principle of the Labor Party—in significant contrast with those of the Capitalist System, whether expressed by the Liberal or by the Conservative Party—is the securing to every member of the community, in good times and bad alike (and not only to the strong and able, the well-born or the fortunate), of all the requisites of healthy life and worthy citizenship. This is in no sense a "class" proposal. Such an amount of social protection of the individual, however poor and lowly, from birth to death is, as the economist now knows, as indispensable to fruitful coöperation as it is to successful combinations; and it affords the only complete safeguard against that insidious Degradation of the Standard of Life, which is the worst economic and social calamity to which any community can be subjected. We are members one of another. No man liveth to himself alone. If any, even the humblest is made to suffer, the whole community and every one of us, whether or not we recognize the fact, is thereby injured. Generation after generation this has been the corner-stone of the faith of Labor. It will be the guiding principle of any Labor Government.

THE LEGISLATIVE REGULATION OF EMPLOYMENT.—Thus it is that the Labor Party to-day stands for the universal application of the Policy of the National Minimum, to which (as embodied in the successive elaborations of the Factory, Mines, Railways, Shops, Merchant Shipping, and Truck Acts, the Public Health, Housing, and Education Acts and the minimum Wage Act—all of them aiming at the enforcement of at least the prescribed Minimum of Leisure, Health, Education, and Subsistence) the spokesmen of Labor have already gained the support of the enlightened statesmen and economists of the world. All these laws purporting to protect against extreme Degradation of the Standard of Life need considerable improvement and extension, whilst their administration leaves much to be desired. For instance, the Workmen's Compensation Act fails, shamefully, not merely to secure proper provision for all the victims of accident and industrial disease, but what is much more important, does not succeed in preventing their continual increase. The amendment and consolidation of the Factories and Workshop Acts, with their extension to all employed persons, is long overdue, and it will be the policy of Labor greatly to strengthen the staff of inspectors, especially by the addition of more men and women of actual experience of the workshop and the mine. The Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act must certainly be maintained in force, and suitably amended, so as both to ensure greater uniformity of conditions among the several districts, and to make the District Minimum in all cases an effective reality. The same policy will, in the interests of the agricultural laborers, dictate the perpetuation of the Legal Wage clauses of the new Corn Law just passed for a term of five years, and the prompt amendment of any defects that may be revealed in their working. And, in view of the fact that many millions of wage-earners, notably women and the less-skilled workmen in various occupations, are unable by combination to obtain wages adequate for decent maintenance in health, the Labor Party intends to see that the Trade Boards Act is suitably amended and made to apply to all industrial employments in which any considerable number of those employed obtain less than 30s. per week. This minimum of not less than 30s. per week (which will need revision according to the level of prices) ought to be the very lowest statuory base line for the least skilled adult workers, men or women, in any occupation, in all parts of the United Kingdom.

The Organization of Demobilization.—But the coming industrial dislocation, which will inevitably follow the discharge from war service of half of all the working population, imposes new obligations upon the community. The demobilization and discharge of the eight·million wage-earners now being paid from public funds, either for service with the colors or in munition work and other war trades, will bring to the whole wage-earning class grave peril of Unemployment, Reduction of Wages, and a Lasting Degradation of the Standard of Life, which can be prevented only by deliberate National Organization. The Labor Party has repeatedly called upon the present Government to formulate its plan, and to make in advance all arrangements necessary for coping with so unparalleled a dislocation. The policy to which the Labor Party commits itself is unhesitating and uncompromising. It is plain that regard should be had, in stopping Government orders, reducing the staff of the National Factories and demobilizing the Army, to the actual state of employment in particular industries and in different districts, so as both to release first the kinds of labor most urgently required for the revival of peace production, and to prevent any congestion of the market. It is no less imperative that suitable provision against being turned suddenly adrift without resources should be made, not only for the soldiers, but also for the three million operatives in munition work and other war trades, who will be discharged long before most of the Army can be disbanded. On this important point, which is the most urgent of all, the present Government has, we believe, down to the present hour, formulated no plan, and come to no decision, and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative Party has apparently deemed the matter worthy of agitation. Any Government which should allow the discharged soldier or munition worker to fall into the clutches of charity or the Poor Law would have to be instantly driven from office by an outburst of popular indignation. What every one of them who is not wholly disabled will look for is a situation in accordance with his capacity.

Securing Employment for All.—The Labor Party insists—as no other political party has thought fit to do—that the obligation to find suitable employment in productive work for all these men and women rests upon the Government for the time being. The work of re-settling the disbanded soldiers and discharged munition workers into new situations is a national obligation; and the Labor Party emphatically protests against it being regarded as a matter for private charity. It strongly objects to this public duty being handed over either to committees of philanthropists or benevolent societies, or to any of the military or recruiting authorities. The policy of the Labor Party in this matter is to make the utmost use of the Trade Unions, and equally for the brain workers, of the various Professional Associations. In view of the fact that, in any trade, the best organization for placing men in situations is a national Trade Union having local branches throughout the kingdom, every soldier should be allowed, if he chooses, to have a duplicate of his industrial discharge notice sent out, one month before the date fixed for his discharge, to the Secretary of the Trade Union to which he belongs or wishes to belong. Apart from this use of the Trade Union (and a corresponding use of the Professional Association) the Government must, of course, avail itself of some such public machinery as that of the Employment Exchanges; but before the existing Exchanges (which will need to be greatly extended) can receive the cooperation and support of the organized Labor Movement, without which their operations can never be fully successful, it is imperative that they should be drasticaly reformed, on the lines laid down in the Demobilization Report of the "Labor after the War" Joint Committee; and, in particular, that each Exchange should be placed effectively under the supervision and control of a Joint Committee of Employers and Trade Unionists in equal numbers.

The responsibility of the Government, for the time being, in the grave industrial crisis that demobilization will produce, goes, however, far beyond the eight million men and women whom the various departments will suddenly discharge from their own service. The effect of this peremptory discharge on all the other workers has also to be taken into account. To the Labor Party it will seem the supreme concern of the Government of the day to see to it that there shall be, as a result of the gigantic "General Post" which it will itself have deliberately set going, nowhere any Degradation of the Standard of Life. The Government has pledged itself to restore the Trade Union conditions and "pre-war practices" of the workshop, which the Trade Unions patriotically gave up at the direct request of the Government itself; and this solemn pledge must be fulfilled, of course, in the spirit as well as in the letter. The Labor Party, moreover, holds it to be the duty of the Government of the day to take all necessary steps to prevent the Standard Rates of Wages, in any trade or occupation whatsoever, from suffering any reduction, relatively to the contemporary cost of living. Unfortunately, the present Government, like the Liberal and Conservative Parties, so far refuses to speak on this important matter with any clear voice. We claim that it should be a cardinal point of Government policy to make it plain to every capitalist employer that any attempt to reduce the customary rate of wages when peace comes, or to take advantage of the dislocation of demobilization to worsen the conditions of employment in any grade whatsoever, will certainly lead to embittered industrial strife, which will be in the highest degree detrimental to the national interests; and that the Government of the day will not hesitate to take all ncessary steps to avert such a calamity. In the great impending crisis the Government of the day should not only, as the greatest employer of both brainworkers and manual workers, set a good example in this respect but should also actively seek to influence private employers by proclaiming in advance that it will not itself attempt to lower the Standard Rates of conditions in public employment; by announcing that it will insist on the most rigorous observance of the Fair Wages Clause in all public contracts, and by explicitly recommending every Local Authority to adopt the same policy.

But nothing is more dangerous to the Standard of Life, or so destructive of those minimum conditions of healthy existence, which must in the interests of the community be assured to every worker, than any widespread or continued unemployment. It has always been a fundamental principle of the Labor Party (a point on which significantly enough it has not been followed by either of the other political parties) that in a modern industrial community, it is one of the foremost obligations of the Government to find, for every willing worker, whether by hand or by brain, productive work at Standard Rates.

It is accordingly the duty of the Government to adopt a policy of deliberately and systematically preventing the occurrence of unemployment, instead of (as heretofore) letting unemployment occur, and then seeking, vainly and expensively, to relieve the unemployed. It is now known that the Government can, if it chooses, arrange the Public Works and the orders of National Departments and Local Authorities in such a way as to maintain the aggregate demand for labor in the whole kingdom (including that of capitalist employers) approximately at a uniform level from year to year; and it is therefore a primary obligation of the Government to prevent any considerable or widespread fluctuations in the total numbers employed in times of good or bad trade. But this is not all. In order to prepare for the possibility of there being any unemployment, either in the course of demobilization or in the first years of peace, it is essential that the Government should make all necessary preparations for putting instantly in hand, directly or through the Local Authorities, such urgently needed public works as (*a*) the rehousing of the population alike in rural districts, mining villages, and town slums, to the extent, possibly, of a million new cottages and an outlay of 300 millions sterling; (*b*) the immediate making good of the shortage of schools, training colleges, technical colleges, etc., and the engagement of the necessary additional teaching, clerical and administrative staffs; (*c*) new roads; (*d*) light railways; (*e*) the unification and reorganization of the railway and canal system; (*f*) afforestation; (*g*) the reclamation of land; (*h*) the development and better equipment of our ports and harbors; (*i*) the opening up of access to land by coöperative small holdings and in other practicable ways. Moreover, in order to relieve any pressure of an overstocked labor market, the opportunity should be taken, if unemployment should threaten to become widespread, (*a*) immediately to raise the school leaving age to sixteen; (*b*) greatly to increase the number of scholarships and bursaries for Secondary and Higher Education; and (*c*) substantially to shorten the hours of labor of all young persons, even to a greater extent than the eight hours per week contemplated in the new Education Bill, in order to enable them to attend technical and other classes in the daytime. Finally, wherever practicable, the hours of adult labor should be reduced to not more than forty-eight per week, without reduction of the Standard Rates of Wages. There can be no economic or other justification for keeping any man or woman to work for long hours, or at overtime, whilst others are unemployed.

SOCIAL INSURANCE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT.—In so far as the Government fails to prevent Unemployment—wherever it finds it impossible to discover for any willing worker, man or woman, a suitable situation at the Standard Rate—the Labor Party holds that the Government must, in the interest of the community as a whole, provide him or her with adequate maintenance, either with such arrangements for honorable employment or with such useful training as may be found practicable, according to age, health and previous occupation. In many ways the best form of provision for those who must be unemployed, because the industrial organization of the community so far breaks down as to be temporarily unable to set them to work, is the Out of Work Benefit afforded by a well administered Trade Union. This is a special tax on the Trade Unionists themselves which they have voluntarily undertaken, but towards which they have a right to claim a public subvention—a subvention which was actually granted by Parliament (though only to the extent of a couple of shillings or so per week) under Part II. of the Insurance Act. The arbitrary withdrawal by the Government in 1915 of this statutory right of the Trade Unions was one of the least excusable of the war economies; and the Labor Party must insist on the resumption of this subvention immediately the war ceases, and on its increase to at least half the amount spent in Out of Work Benefit. The extension of State Unemployment Insurance to other occupations may afford a convenient method of providing for such of the Unemployed, especially in the case of badly paid women workers, and the less skilled men, whom it is difficult to organize in Trade Unions. But the weekly rate of the State Unemployment Benefits needs, in these days of high prices, to be considerably raised; whilst no industry ought to be compulsorily brought within its scope against the declared will of the workers concerned, and especially of their Trade Unions. In one way or another remunerative employment or honorable maintenance must be found for every willing worker, by hand or by brain, in bad times as well as in good. It is clear that, in the twentieth century, there must be no question of driving the Unemployed to anything so obsolete and discredited as either private charity, with its haphazard and ill-considered doles, or the Poor Law, with the futilities and barbarities of its "Stone Yard," or its "Able-bodied Test Workhouse." Only on the basis of a universal application of the Policy of the National Minimum, affording complete security against destitution, in sickness and health, in good times and bad alike, to every member of the community of whatever age or sex, can any worthy social order be built up.

The Democratic Control of Industry

The universal application of the Policy of the National Minimum is, of course, only the first of the Pillars of the House that the Labor Party intends to see built. What marks off this Party most distinctively from any of the other political parties is its demand for the full and genuine adoption of the principle of Democracy. The first condition of Democracy is effective personal freedom. This has suffered so many encroachments during the war that it is necessary to state with clearness that the complete removal of all the war-time restrictions on freedom of speech, freedom of publication, freedom of the press, freedom of travel and freedom of choice of place of residence and kind of employment must take place the day after Peace is declared. The Labor Party declared emphatically against any continuance of the Military Service Acts a moment longer than the imperative requirements of the war excuse. But individual freedom is of little use without complete political rights. The Labor Party sees its repeated demands largely conceded in the present Representation of the People Act, but not yet wholly satisfied. The Party stands, as heretofore, for complete Adult Suffrage, with not more than a three months' residential qualification, for effective provision for absent electors to vote, for absolutely equal rights for both sexes, for the same freedom to exercise civic rights for the "common soldier" as for the officer, for Shorter Parliaments, for the complete Abolition of the House of Lords, and for a most strenuous opposition to any new Second Chamber, whether elected or not, having in it any element of Heredity or Privilege, or of the control of the House of Commons by any party or class. But unlike the Conservative and Liberal Parties, the Labor Party insists on Democracy in industry as well as in government. It demands the progressive elimination from the control of industry of the private capitalist, individual or joint-stock; and the setting free of all who work, whether by hand or by brain, for the service of the community, and of the community only. And the Labor Party refuses absolutely to believe that the British people will permanently tolerate any reconstruction or perpetuation of the disorganization, waste and inefficiency involved in the abandonment of British industry to a jostling crowd of separate private employers, with their minds bent, not on the service of the community, but—by the very law of their being—only on the utmost possible profiteering. What the nation needs is undoubtedly a great bound onwards in its aggregate productivity. But this cannot be secured merely by pressing the manual workers to more strenuous toil, or even by encouraging the "Captains of Industry" to a less wasteful organization of their several enterprises on a profit-making basis. What the Labor Party looks to is a genuinely scientific reorganization of the nation's industry, no longer deflected by individual profiteering, on the basis of the Common Ownership of the means of Production; the equitable sharing of the proceeds among all who participate in any capacity and only among these, and the adoption, in particular services and occupation, of those systems and methods of administration and control that may be found, in practice, best to promote, not profiteering, but the public interest.

Immediate Nationalization.—The Labor Party stands not merely for the principle of the Common Ownership of the nation's land, to be applied as suitable opportunities occur, but also, specifically, for the immediate Nationalization of Railways, Mines, and the production of Electrical Power. We hold that the very foundation of any successful reorganization of British Industry must necessarily be found in the provision of the utmost facilities for transport and communication, the production of power at the cheapest possible rate, and the most economical supply of both electrical energy and coal to every corner of the kingdom. Hence the Labor Party stands, unhesitatingly, for the National Ownership and administration of the Railways and Canals, and their union, along with Harbors and Roads and the Posts and Telegraphs—not to say also the great lines of steamers which could at once be owned, if not immediately directly managed in detail, by the Government—in a united national service of Communication and Transport; to be worked, unhampered by capitalist, private or purely local interests (and with a steadily increasing participation of the organized workers in the management, both central and local), exclusively for the common good. If any Government should be so misguided as to propose, when peace comes, to hand the railways back to the shareholders; or should show itself so spendthrift of the nation's property as to give these shareholders any enlarged franchise by presenting them with the economies of unification or the profits of increased railway rates; or so extravagant as to bestow public funds on the re-equipment of privately owned lines—all of which things are now being privately intrigued for by the railway intersts—the Labor Party will offer any such project the most strenuous opposition. The railways and canals, like the roads, must henceforth belong to the public, and to the public alone.

In the production of Electricity, for cheap Power, Light and Heating, this country has so far failed, because of hampering private interests, to take advantage of science. Even in the largest cities we still "peddle" our Electricity on a contemptibly small scale. What is called for, immediately after the war, is the erection of a score of gigantic "super-power stations," which could generate, at incredibly cheap rates, enough electricity for the use of every industrial establishment and every private household in Great Britain; the present municipal and joint-stock electrical plants being universally linked up and used for local distribution. This is inevitably the future of Electricity. It is plain that so great and so powerful an enterprise, affecting every industrial enterprise and, eventually every household, must not be allowed to pass into the hands of private capitalists. They are already pressing the Government for the concession, and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative Party has yet made up its mind to a refusal of such a new endowment of profiteering in what will presently be the lifeblood of modern productive industry. The Labor Party demands that the production of Electricity on the necessary gigantic scale shall be made, from the start (with suitable arrangements for municipal coöperation in local distribution), a national enterprise, to be worked exclusively with the object of supplying the whole kingdom with the cheapest possible Power, Light, and Heat.

But with the Railways and the generation of Electricity in the hands of the public, it would be criminal folly to leave to the present 1,500 colliery companies the power of "holding up" the coal supply. These are now all working under public control, on terms that virtually afford to their shareholders a statutory guarantee of their swollen incomes. The Labor Party demands the immediate Nationalization of Mines, the extraction of coal and iron being worked as a public service (with a steadily increasing participation in the management, both central and local, of the various grades of persons employed); and the whole business of the retail distribution of household coal being undertaken, as a local public service, by the elected Municipal or County Councils. And there is no reason why coal should fluctuate in price any more than railway fares, or why the consumer should be made to pay more in winter than in summer, or in one town than another. What the Labor Party would aim at is, for household coal of standard quality, a fixed and uniform price for the whole kingdom, payable by rich and poor alike, as unalterable as the penny postage stamp.

But the sphere of immediate Nationalization is not restricted to these great industries. We shall never succeed in putting the gigantic system of Health Insurance on a proper footing, or secure a clear field for the beneficent work of the Friendly Societies, or gain a free hand for the necessary development of the urgently called for Ministry of Health and the Local Public Health Service, until the nation expropriates the profit-making Industrial Insurance Companies, which now so tyrannously exploit the people with their wasteful house-to-house Industrial Life Assurance. Only by such an expropriation of Life Assurance Companies can we secure the universal provision, free from the burdensome toil of weekly pence, of the indispensable Funeral Benefit. Nor is it in any sense a "class" measure. Only by the assumption by a State Department of the whole business of Life Assurance can the millions of policy holders of all classes be completely protected against the possibly calamitous results of the depreciation of securities and suspension of bonuses which the war is causing. Only by this means can the great staff of insurance agents find their proper place as Civil Servants, with equitable conditions of employment, compensation for any disturbance and security of tenure, in a nationally organized public service for the discharge of the steadily increasing functions of the Government in Vital Statistics and Social Insurance.

In quite another sphere the Labor Party sees the key to Temperance Reform in taking the entire manufacture and retailing of alcoholic drink out of the hands of those who find profit in promoting the utmost possible consumption. This is essentially a case in which the people, as a whole, must assert its right to full and unfettered power for dealing with the licensing question in accordance with local opinion. For this purpose, localities should have conferred upon them facilities

(*a*) To prohibit the sale of liquor within their boundaries;

(*b*) To reduce the number of licenses and regulate the conditions under which they may be held; and

(*c*) If a locality decides that licenses are to be granted, to determine whether such licenses shall be under private or any form of public control.

MUNICIPALIZATION.—Other main industries, especially those now becoming monopolized, should be nationalized as opportunity offers. Moreover, the Labor Party holds that the Municipalities should not confine their activities to the necessarily costly services of Education, Sanitation and Police; nor yet rest content with acquiring control of the local Water, Gas, Electricity, and Tramways; but that every facility should be afforded to them to acquire (easily, quickly and cheaply) all the land they require, and to extend their enterprises in Housing and Town Planning, Parks, and Public Libraries, the provision of music and the organization of recreation; and also to undertake, besides the retailing of coal, other services of common utility, particularly the local supply of milk, wherever this is not already fully and satisfactorily organized by a Co-operative Society.

CONTROL OF CAPITALIST INDUSTRY.—Meanwhile, however, we ought not to throw away the valuable experience now gained by the Government in its assumption of the importation of wheat, wool, metals, and other commodities, and in its control of the shipping, woolen, leather, clothing, boot and shoe, milling, baking, butchering, and other industries. The Labor Party holds that, whatever may have been the shortcomings of this Government importation and control, it has demonstrably prevented a lot of "profiteering." Nor can it end immediately on the Declaration of Peace. The people will be extremely foolish if they ever allow their indispensable industries to slip back into the unfettered control of private capitalists, who are, actually at the instance of the Government itself, now rapidly combining, trade by trade, into monopolist Trusts, which may presently become as ruthless in their extortion as the worst American examples. Standing as it does for the Democratic Control of Industry, the Labor Party would think twice before it sanctioned any abandonment of the present profitable centralization of purchase of raw materials; of the present carefully organized "rationing," by joint committees of the trades concerned, of the several establishments with the materials they require; of the present elaborate system of "costing" and public audit of manufacturers' accounts, so as to stop the waste heretofore caused by the mechanical inefficiency of the more backward firms; of the present salutary publicity of manufacturing processes and expenses thereby ensured; and, on the information thus obtained (in order never again to revert to the old-time profiteering) of the present rigid fixing, for standardized products, of maximum prices at the factory, at the warehouse of the wholesale trader and in the retail shop. This question of the retail prices of household commodities is emphatically the most practical of all political issues to the woman elector. The male politicians have too long neglected the grievances of the small household, which is the prey of every profiteering combination; and neither the Liberal nor the Conservative party promises, in this respect, any amendment. This, too, is in no sense a "class" measure. It is, so the Labor Party holds, just as much the function of Government, and just as necessary a part of the Democratic Regulation of Industry, to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole, and those of all grades and sections of private consumers, in the matter of prices, as it is, by the Factory and Trade Boards Acts, to protect the rights of the wage-earning producers in the matter of wages, hours of labor, and sanitation.

A Revolution in National Finance

In taxation, also, the interests of the professional and housekeeping classes are at one with those of the manual workers. Too long has our National Finance been regulated, contrary to the teaching of Political Economy, according to the wishes of the possessing classes and the profits of the financiers. The colossal expenditure involved in the present war (of which, against the protest of the Labor Party, only a quarter has been raised by taxation, whilst three-quarters have been borrowed at onerous rates of interest, to be a burden on the nation's future) brings things to a crisis. When peace comes, capital will be needed for all sorts of social enterprises, and the resources of Government will necessarily have to be vastly greater than they were before the war. Meanwhile innumerable new private fortunes are being heaped up by those who take advantage of the nation's need; and the one-tenth of the population which owns nine-tenths of the riches of the United Kingdom, far from being made poorer, will find itself, in the aggregate, as a result of the war, drawing in rent and interest and dividends a larger nominal income than ever before. Such a position demands a revolution in national finance. How are we to discharge a public debt that may well reach the almost incredible figure of 7,000 million pounds sterling, and at the same time raise an annual revenue which, for local as well as central government, must probably reach 1,000 millions a year? It is over this burden of taxation that the political parties will be found to be most sharply divided.

The Labor Party stands for such a system of taxation as will yield all the necessary revenue to the Government without encroaching on the Prescribed National Minimum Standard of Life of any family whatsoever; without hampering production or discouraging any useful personal effort, and with the nearest possible approximation to equality of sacrifice. We definitely repudiate all proposals for a Protective Tariff, in whatever specious guise they may be cloaked, as a device for burdening the consumer with unnecessarily enhanced prices, to the profit of the capitalist employer or landed proprietor, who avowedly expects his profits or rent to be increased thereby. We shall strenuously oppose any taxation, of whatever kind, which would increase the price of food or of any other necessary of life. We hold that indirect taxation on commodities, whether by Customs or Excise, should be strictly limited to luxuries; and concentrated principally on those of which it is socially desirable that the consumption should be actually discouraged. We are at one with the manufacturer, the farmer and the trader in objecting to taxes interfering with production or commerce, or hampering transport and communications. In all these matters—once more in contrast with the other political parties, and by no means in the interests of the wage-earners alone—the Labor Party demands that the very definite teachings of economic science should no longer be disregarded.

For the raising of the greater part of the revenue now required the Labor Party looks to the direct taxation of the incomes above the necessary cost of family maintenance; and for the requisite effort to pay off the National Debt, to the direct taxation of private fortunes both during life and at death. The Income Tax and Super-tax ought at once to be thoroughly reformed in assessment and collection, in abatements and allowances, and in graduation and differentiation, so as to levy the required total sum in such a way as to make the real sacrifice of all the taxpayers as nearly as possible equal. This would involve assessment by families instead of by individual persons, so that the burden is alleviated in proportion to the number of persons to be maintained. It would involve the raising of the present unduly low minimum income assessable to the tax, and the lightening of the present unfair burden on the great mass of professional and small trading classes by a new scale of graduation, rising from a penny in the pound on the smallest assessable income up to sixteen or even nineteen shillings on the pound on the highest income of the millionaires. It would involve bringing into assessment the numerous windfalls of profit that now escape, and a further differentiation between essentially different kinds of income. The Excess Profits Tax might well be retained in an appropriate form; while so long as Mining Royalties exist the Mineral Rights Duty ought to be increased. The steadily rising unearned Increment of urban and mineral land ought, by an appropriate direct Taxation of Land Values, to be wholly brought into the Public Exchequer. At the same time, for the service and redemption of the National Debt, the Death Duties ought to be regraduated, much more strictly collected, and greatly increased. In this matter we need, in fact, completely to reverse our point of view, and to rearrange the whole taxation of inheritance from the standpoint of asking what is the maximum amount that any rich man should be permitted at death to divert, by his will, from the National Exchequer, which should normally be the heir to all private riches in excess of a quite moderate amount by way of family provision. But all this will not suffice. It will be imperative at the earliest possible moment to free the nation from at any rate the greater part of its new load of interest-bearing debts for loans which ought to have been levied as taxation; and the Labor Party stands for a special Capital Levy to pay off, if not the whole, a very substantial part of the entire National Debt—a Capital Levy chargeable like the Death Duties on all property, but (in order to secure approximate equality of sacrifice) with exemption of the smallest savings, and for the rest at rates very steeply graduated, so as to take only a small contribution from the little people and a very much larger percentage from the millionaires.

Over this issue of how the financial burden of the war is to be borne, and how the necessary revenue is to be raised, the greatest political battles will be fought. In this matter the Labor Party claims the support of four-fifths of the whole nation, for the interests of the clerk, the teacher, the doctor, the minister of religion, the average retail shopkeeper and trader, and all the mass of those living on small incomes are identical with those of the artizan. The landlords, the financial magnates, the possessors of great fortunes will not, as a class, willingly forego the relative immunity that they have hitherto enjoyed. The present unfair subjection of the Coöperative Society to an Excess Profits Tax on the "profits" which it has never made—specially dangerous as "the thin end of the wedge" of penal taxation of this laudable form of Democratic enterprise—will not be abandoned without a struggle. Every possible effort will be made to juggle with the taxes, so as to place upon the shoulders of the mass of laboring folk and upon the struggling households of the professional men and small traders (as was done after every previous war)—whether by Customs or Excise Duties, by industrial monopolies, by unnecessarily high rates of postage and railway fares, or by a thousand and one other ingenious devices—an unfair share of the national burden. Against these efforts the Labor Party will take the firmest stand.

The Surplus for the Common Good

In the disposal of the surplus above the Standard of Life, society has hitherto gone as far wrong as in its neglect to secure the necessary basis of any genuine industrial efficiency or decent social order. We have allowed the riches of our mines, the rental value of the lands superior to the margin of cultivation, the extra profits of the fortunate capitalists, even the material outcome of scientific discoveries—which ought by now to have made this Britain of ours immune from class poverty or from any widespread destitution—to be absorbed by individual proprietors; and then devoted very largely to the senseless luxury of an idle rich class. Against this misappropriation of the wealth of the community, the Labor Party—speaking in the interests not of the wage-earners alone, but of every grade and section of producers by hand or by brain, not to mention also those of the generations that are to succeed us, and of the permanent welfare of the community—emphatically protests. One main Pillar of the House that the Labor Party intends to build is the future appropriation of the Surplus, not to the enlargement of any individual fortune, but to the Common Good. It is from this constantly arising Surplus (to be secured, on the one hand, by Nationalization and Municipalization and, on the other, by the steeply graduated Taxation of Private Income and Riches) that will have to be found the new capital which the community day by day needs for the perpetual improvement and increase of its various enterprises, for which we shall decline to be dependent on the usury-exacting financiers. It is from the same source that has to be defrayed the public provision for the Sick and Infirm of all kinds (including that for Maternity and Infancy) which is still so scandalously insufficient; for the Aged and those prematurely incapacitated by accident or disease, now in many ways so imperfectly cared for; for the Education alike of children, of adolescents and of adults, in which the Labor Party demands a genuine equality of opportunity, overcoming all differences of material circumstances; and for the organization of public improvements of all kinds, including the brightening of the lives of those now condemned to almost ceaseless toil, and a great development of the means of recreation. From the same source must come the greatly increased public provision that the Labor Party will insist on being made for scientific investigation and original research, in every branch of knowledge, not to say also for the promotion of music, literature and fine art, which have been under Capitalism so greatly neglected, and upon which, so the Labor Party holds, any real development of civilization fundamentally depends. Society, like the individual, does not live by bread alone—does not exist only for perpetual wealth production. It is in the proposal for this appropriation of every surplus for the Common Good—in the vision of its resolute use for the building up of the community as a whole instead of for the magnification of individual fortunes—that the Labor Party, as the Party of the Producers by hand or by brain, most distinctively marks itself off from the older political parties, standing, as these do essentially for the maintenance, unimpaired of the perpetual private mortgage upon the annual product of the nation that is involved in the individual ownership of land and capital.

The Street of To-morrow

The House which the Labor Party intends to build, the four Pillars of which have now been described, does not stand alone in the world. Where will it be in the Street of To-morrow? If we repudiate, on the one hand, the Imperialism that seeks to dominate other races, or to impose our own will on other parts of the British Empire, so we disclaim equally any conception of a selfish and insular "non-interventionism" unregarding of our special obligations to our fellow-citizens overseas; of the corporate duties of one nation to another; of the moral claims upon us of the non-adult races, and of our own indebtedness to the world of which we are part. We look for an ever-increasing intercourse, a constantly developing exchange of commodities, a steadily growing mutual understanding, and a continually expanding friendly coöperation among all the peoples of the world. With regard to that great Commonwealth of all races, all colors, all religions and all degrees of civilization, that we call the British Empire, the Labor Party stands for its maintenance and its progressive development on the lines of Local Autonomy and "Home Rule All Round"; the fullest respect for the rights of each people, whatever its color, to all the Democratic Self-Government of which it is capable, and to the proceeds of its own toil upon the resources of its own territorial home; and the closest possible coöperation among all the various members of what has become essentially not an Empire in the old sense, but a Britannic Alliance. We desire to maintain the most intimate relations with the Labor Parties overseas. Like them, we have no sympathy with the projects of "Imperial Federation," in so far as these imply the subjection to a common Imperial Legislature wielding coercive power (including dangerous facilities for coercive Imperial taxation and for enforced military service), either of the existing

Self-Governing Dominions, whose autonomy would be thereby invaded; or of the United Kingdom, whose freedom of Democratic Self-development would be thereby hampered; or of India and the Colonial Dependencies, which would thereby run the risk of being further exploited for the benefit of a "White Empire." We do not intend, by any such "Imperial Senate," either to bring the plutocracy of Canada and South Africa to the aid of the British aristocracy or to enable the landlords and financiers of the Mother Country to unite in controlling the growing Popular Democracies overseas. The absolute autonomy of each self-governing part of the Empire must be maintained intact. What we look for, besides a constant progress in Democratic Self-Government of every part of the Britannic Alliance, and especially in India, is a continuous participation of the Ministers of the Dominions of India, and eventually of other Dependencies (perhaps by means of their own Ministers specially resident in London for this purpose) in the most confidential deliberations of the Cabinet, so far as Foreign Policy and Imperial Affairs are concerned; and the annual assembly of an Imperial Council, representing all constituents of the Britannic Alliance and all parties in their Local Legislatures, which should discuss all matters of common interest, but only in order to make recommendations for the simultaneous consideration of the various autonomous local legislatures of what should increasingly take the constitutional form of an Alliance of Free Nations. And we carry the idea further. As regards our relations to Foreign Countries, we disavow and disclaim any desire or intention to dispossess or to impoverish any other State or Nation. We seek no increase of territory. We disclaim all idea of "economic war." We ourselves object to all Protective Customs Tariffs; but we hold that each nation must be left free to do what it thinks best for its own economic development, without thought of injuring others. We believe that nations are in no way damaged by each other's economic prosperity or commercial progress; but, on the contrary, that they are actually themselves mutually enriched thereby. We would therefore put an end to the old entanglements and mystifications of Secret Diplomacy and the formation of Leagues against Leagues. We stand for the immediate establishment, actually as a part of the Treaty of Peace with which the present war will end, of a Universal League or Society of Nations, a Supernational Authority, with an International High Court to try all justiciable issues between nations; an International Legislature to enact such common laws as can be mutually agreed upon, and an International Council of Mediation to endeavor to settle without ultimate conflict even those disputes which are not justiciable. We would have all the nations of the world most solemnly undertake and promise to make a common cause against any one of them that broke away from this fundamental agreement. The world has suffered too much from war for the Labor Party to have any other policy than that of lasting Peace.

More Light—But Also More Warmth!

The Labor Party is far from assuming that it possesses a key to open all locks; or that any policy which it can formulate will solve all the problems that beset us. But we deem it important to ourselves as well as to those who may, on the one hand, wish to join the Party, or, on the other, to take up arms against it, to make quite clear and definite our aim and purpose. The Labor Party wants that aim and purpose, as set forth in the preceding pages, with all its might. It calls for more warmth in politics, for much less apathetic acquiescence in the miseries that exist, for none of the cynicism that saps the life of leisure. On the other hand, the Labor Party has no belief in any of the problems of the world being solved by Good Will alone. Good Will without knowledge is Warmth without Light. Especially in all the complexities of politics, in the still undeveloped Science of Society, the Labor Party stands for increased study, for the scientific investigation of each succeeding problem, for the deliberate organization of research, and for a much more rapid dissemination among the whole people of all the science that exists. And it is perhaps specially the Labor Party that has the duty of placing this Advancement of science in the forefront of its political program. What the Labor Party stands for in all fields of life is, essentially, Democratic Coöperation; and Coöperation involves a common purpose which can be agreed to; a common plan which can be explained and discussed, and such a measure of success in the adaptation of means to ends as will insure a common satisfaction. An autocratic Sultan may govern without science if his whim is law. A Plutocratic Party may choose to ignore science, if it is heedless whether its pretended solutions of social problems that may win political triumphs ultimately succeed or fail. But no Labor Party can hope to maintain its position unless its proposals are, in fact, the outcome of the best Political Science of its time; or to fulfil its purpose unless that science is continually wresting new fields from human ignorance. Hence, although the purpose of the Labor Party must, by the law of its being, remain for all time unchanged, its Policy and its Program will, we hope, undergo a perpetual development, as knowledge grows, and as new phases of the social problem present themselves, in a continually finer adjustment of our measures to our ends. If Law is the Mother of Freedom, Science, to the Labor Party, must be the Parent of Law.

2. PART OF THE LABOR PARTY PLATFORM OF 1929

The Labor Party will carry out its policy by peaceful means, but it will carry it out. Since it has set the example of working out, in practical detail, the social and international reconstruction which it proposes, the character of its program is generally known, and we need not here do more than recapitulate briefly the fundamental principles upon which it rests. They are the protection against exploitation of the worker and the consumer; the increase of national wealth by the application to production and distribution of the possibilities revealed by the progress of scientific knowledge and of the art of administration; the extension of common provision for the common requirements of a civilized existence; the utilization for the public benefit of the surplus wealth which to-day too often at once enriches and degrades a small minority of the population; and the systematic pursuit of a policy of peace and coöperation in international affairs. The roads along which the Labor Party will advance to the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth are, therefore, five. It will use its power

(i) To secure to every member of the community the standards of life and employment which are necessary to a healthy, independent and self-respecting existence.

(ii) To convert industry, step by step, and with due regard to the special needs and varying circumstances of different occupations from a sordid struggle for private gain into a coöperative undertaking, carried on for the service of the community and under its control.

(iii) To extend rapidly and widely those forms of social provision —education, public health, housing, pensions, the care of the sick, and maintenance during unemployment—in the absence of which the individual is the sport of economic chance and the slave of his environment.

(iv) To adjust taxation in such a way as to secure that due provision is made for the maintenance and improvement of the material apparatus of industry, and that surpluses created by social effort shall be applied by society for the good of all.

(v) To establish peace, freedom and justice by removing from among the nations the root causes of international disputes, by conciliation and all-inclusive arbitration, by renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, by disarmament, by political and economic coöperation through the League of Nations, and by mutual agreements with States which are not members of the League.

The Maintenance of Civilized Standards of Life and Work

The beginning of social reconstruction must be to set firm ground beneath the feet of the workers of the nation, in place of the quaking morass in which too often they flounder to-day. Since the war, whilst the Supertax Payer has continued to flourish, wage-rates in many industries have been repeatedly reduced, actual earnings have been seriously diminished by unemployment, and the hours of the workers in a particularly arduous and dangerous occupation have been lengthened by the action of the Government. Moreover, while the reign of terror initiated by the mine-owners in certain of the coalfields of the country is exceptional, no doubt, in its ferocity and its folly, the miners are not alone in having suffered grave injuries to their standard of life. In other occupations, long-established rights have been curtailed and traditional safeguards against oppression have been undermined.

Leveling Up, Not Dragging Down.—The Labor Party holds that to attempt to cheapen production by attacking the standard of life of the workers of the nation is, not only socially disastrous, but highly injurious to the economic prosperity of the whole community. The way to recover foreign markets which have been lost or have contracted, is not to begin by destroying the home market as well. To attempt to compete by following the downward path of lower wages and longer hours is to take the first step down a slippery slope, at the bottom of which lies universal ruin. Progress is to be achieved, not by pitting the workers of one nation against those of another, but by the common coöperation of all nations in establishing equitable international standards of life and work. Economic beggar-my-neighbor is a game at which more than one can play, and the reply of foreign producers to lower wages and longer hours in Great Britain is only too likely to be the introduction of lower wages and longer hours abroad. In so far as that result occurs, the conditions of the workers will everywhere be deteriorated, while the relative competitive positions of the countries concerned will remain unaltered.

Wider Markets—at Home.—The course dictated by considerations both of common-sense and humanity, the Labor Party holds, is precisely the opposite from this suicidal rivalry in mutual degradation. It is not to curtail the purchasing power of the population of Great Britain, which offers to British producers what is overwhelmingly their most important market. It is to maintain and increase it by every means in our power. The time has, happily, passed when employers could venture with impunity to follow the primrose path of economies effected at the cost of the health and vigor of the human personnel, for whom alone the industrial system is worth maintaining. If, as their spokesmen allege, they are eager to increase industrial efficiency, they will be well advised to begin by setting their own house in order—to modernize their organization, improve their technique, eliminate waste, and apply more intelligently the resources which science has revealed. There is no reason why cotton operatives should suffer because mill-owners have watered their capital, or miners because mine-owners are too incompetent to understand their business and too obstinate to take the advice of those who do, or workers everywhere because the organization of British industry, as one critic after another has remarked, is antiquated and out of date, and employers, instead of improving it, use the old fallacious argument of inferior labor conditions abroad as a weapon to degrade labor conditions at home. The Labor Party does not intend that they should. In full accordance with the best economic opinion, it stands both for the systematic, universal and thoroughgoing application of the policy of fixing minimum standards of life and employment, in such a way as at once to safeguard the workers against the downward pressure of unscrupulous or incompetent employers and to increase the efficiency of industrial organization, and for the general adoption of the principle of equal pay for equal work. Needless to say, it will give its whole-hearted support to the establishment of international standards through the International Labor Organization and to their rigorous enforcement, with the object of securing and maintaining the best possible conditions of working-class life both at home and abroad.

Industrial Legislation

A CHARTER FOR TRADE UNIONISM.—The wage-earner's first safeguard is his Trade Union. The Government has done its utmost to deprive him of it. Among the first tasks of the Labor Party, therefore, will be to repeal the cynical measure of class-legislation, by which the Conservatives have sought to cripple the strength of Trade Unionism both on the industrial and on the political fields. At the same time, while restoring to the organized workers the rights of which they have been unjustly deprived, it will devote its energies to maintaining and advancing the standard of life of the whole population, both by the passage of urgently needed legislation and by insuring that such legislation as exists is more effectively administered. The code of Factory and Workshops Acts, Mines Regulation Acts, Shop Hours Acts, Miners' Minimum Wage, Trade Boards, and Agricultural Wages Board Acts, Workmen's Compensation Acts, Pensions, Public Health, Insurance and Education Acts is riddled with gaps. Not only so, but owing to the reluctance of capitalist politicians to find the money for their effective administration, the practical enforcement of these measures is gravely defective. The Labor Party will make it its business to extend their scope and improve their administration.

NEW STANDARDS IN INDUSTRY.—The Labor Party will take up again the Factory and Workshops legislation prepared when a Labor Government was in office. Convinced that the low economic standards of one nation react injuriously upon all the rest, and that it is at once the duty and the interest of Great Britain to lead the way in humanizing the conditions of employment, it will ratify the Washington Convention establishing a forty-eight hour week by international agreement, and will use its influence to secure the international adoption of a progressively advancing code of Labor legislation. The iniquitous measure by which the Conservative Government has imposed a longer working day upon the mining population must be repealed, and international safeguards must be secured with a view to effecting corresponding improvements in the working conditions both of Continental miners and of other workers abroad, so as to prevent unfair competition and the deterioration of standards of life and work. Such steps as are necessary must be adopted to improve the health of the miner and the comfort of his home, by securing that pit-head baths, the provision of which by mine-owners is compulsory in all the principal coal-producing countries of Europe, are brought within the reach of all. The shocking roll of accidents—resulting in over 1,000 deaths and 160,000 injuries every year—must be reduced, by providing for inspection on a more adequate scale, and by prosecuting with rigid impartiality for breaches of the law.

Moreover, as the greatest of maritime nations, Great Britain is under peculiar obligations to her seafaring population, and the need of a drastic improvement in their position is equally urgent. The conditions at present permissible on British ships are actually inferior to those allowed by the majority of other countries, and constitute not infrequently a grave national scandal. The Labor Party, which has repeatedly championed the seafarers' cause in the House of Commons, intends that that scandal shall be ended. It stands for the amelioration of hygiene and living conditions on board, for a reduction of working hours, and for the establishment, for all grades of seafarers, of equitable conditions of life and employment.

THE LIVING WAGE.—Nor is it only the establishment of effective safeguards against overwork, accidents, and industrial disease which will require attention. There is also the not less vital necessity of using the power of the State to supplement Trade Union action in fixing standards of wages compatible with a life of health and comfort. The Labor Party has always stood for the widest possible application of the policy of the living wage, and for such legislative and industrial changes as may be needed in order to enable it to be carried into practical effect. The Trade Boards Acts, under which legally enforceable minimum rates are fixed for more than a million workers, must be extended to include within its scope classes of workers who are at present defenceless, and the machinery of inspection, through which the payment of the rates fixed is enforced, must be enlarged. The Fair Wages clause in public contracts must be strengthened and rigorously enforced. Greater powers must be vested in the Central Agricultural Wages Board, and an end must be put to the scandalous negligence which at present causes the minimum rates for agricultural workers fixed by the agricultural wages boards to be in some areas systematically, though illegally, evaded.

Unemployment and Industrial Prosperity

While the Labor Party differs from its capitalist opponents in holding that no industry can be a source of wealth to the nation which does not secure to the workers engaged in it the wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment that are essential to health, economic independence and the enjoyment of reasonable leisure, it differs from them still more in its attitude to unemployment. According to the doctrine long advanced by Conservative and Liberal politicians, and still echoed, even to-day, in the face of a century of experience, the cause of unemployment is to be found in some defect of individual character or some lack of personal initiative, and provision for it must be restricted, therefore, to the barest necessities of physical existence.

Hence the Conservative Government has abandoned in despair the fulfilment of its pledges to prevent unemployment from occurring, while, when it occurs, it regards every proposal to provide honorable maintenance for those who suffer from it as a step on the road to national bankruptcy. By an inconsistency as irrational as it is cruel, it drives the unemployed on to the Poor Law, and then penalizes Poor Law authorities for coping with the problem flung at them by itself. Its interference with Local Authorities through the Board of Guardians (Default) Act, the Local Authorities (Audit) Act, and the Local Authorities (Emergency Provisions) Act, is a characteristic and sinister blow at one of the essential foundations of democratic government.

The Labor Party has always protested against a policy which attempts to palliate the symptoms of a grave social disease, while refusing to cope with its fundamental causes. It has no desire, therefore, for an extension of "doles," whether they are paid from the rich to the poor, or, as is more commonly the case to-day, from the poor to the rich, and it only regrets that its Conservative opponents, who are horrified when such payments are made to the destitute, appear to regard them with equanimity when they are received, in the shape of dividends and rent, by the well-to-do. But, while it would welcome the impartial application to all classes of the rule that he who will not work shall not eat, it repudiates as an outrage the suggestion, still advanced to-day, in spite of its repeated refutation by official inquiries, that unemployed workers are not anxious to obtain employment. It insists that, as long as the nation chooses to maintain an economic system by which unemployment is produced, the weight must not be allowed to fall with crushing severity either upon its helpless victims or upon the overburdened ratepayers.

Provision for the Unemployed.—Naturally, therefore, the Labor Party will take every step in its power to insure that the provision for unemployment is humane and adequate, and will meet the additional cost by State grants, so that it falls neither on the worker's contribution nor on the cost of production. It will introduce such amendments as are necessary in the Unemployment Insurance Acts, in order that the needs of the insured unemployed worker shall be fairly met, and will extend the principle of unemployment insurance to sections of the population, such as agricultural workers and domestic servants, at present outside its scope. It stated in its evidence before the Blanesburgh Committee the scale of benefits which it regarded as the minimum to be paid, and to that scale it adheres. It will treat unemployment as what it is—a national, and not a local, issue—and will transfer the present responsibility for Unemployment from the local rates to a national scheme.

Unemployment is not, however, a single problem, and unemployed workers do not fall into one uniform category. The causes which plunge them in distress are diverse, and the plans for helping them must be equally various. In the case of young persons the steps immediately required are simple. The age of entry into industry must be raised. Demoralizing blind alley jobs which end in the queue at the Employment Exchange must be abolished. Juvenile work of a temporary kind must be regarded only as the recruiting ground for better forms of employment. Unemployment benefits for boys and girls must be conditional upon attendance at a juvenile centre, where the disastrous effects of enforced idleness may be counteracted, and skill, adaptability and self-discipline fostered by opportunities for training.

The chronic under-employment of the casual worker at the docks and on the fringe of many of our great industries must be dealt with by decasualization through scientific organization.

The worker who loses his position through seasonal or cyclical fluctuations of industry, or through other accidental causes, must be secured against hardship and privation during his temporary unemployment by an adequate unemployment insurance scheme.

The disabled or aged worker, whose grip on the labor market has been weakened by physical enfeeblement, must be offered an honorable retirement, with an adequate pension.

Reducing the Surplus.—The surplus of labor in certain industries, for whom at the moment there seems little or no prospect of a permanent foothold, presents a special problem calling for special treatment. Labor would reduce the supply of workers competing for jobs in an overcrowded labor market by the withdrawal of those whose services can best be spared, or who for social reasons should be demobilized from industrial employment. Thus a Labor Government would retain at school for, at least, a further year, with due provision for adequate maintenance allowances, children who in any case ought, for their own sakes and because of their future responsibilities as citizens, to be continuing their education, but who to-day are recklessly flung at fourteen into the industrial whirlpool. It would improve the widows' and orphans' pension scheme and provide more generously for the veterans of industry, whilst for those prepared to cross the seas in search of new opportunities it would make provision by well-considered schemes of training and settlement.

The Development of National Resources

But, essential as is the humane treatment of the workers, it is vital that the restoration of normal trade, and the establishment of permanent machinery for the prevention of unemployment, should be placed in the forefront of the program. The Labor Party will not be satisfied, as Capitalist Governments have hitherto been satisfied, merely with tinkering with unemployment when unemployment occurs. It declines to accept their placid assumption that, in the twentieth century, the recurrence of involuntary idleness is still to be regarded, like tempests and earthquakes, as an act of God. It conceives to be a primary duty to develop opportunities for employment, and it regards the necessity for providing maintenance for workless labor as a measure of the failure to cope with the major problem.

The prevention, by all practicable means, of trade depression, has for long been an integral part of Labor policy. The most effective lines of advance are the wise development of the nation's resources—its land, waterways and harbors, its mineral wealth, and, above all, its "man power"—the improvement of the key services of finance, power and transport, on which all other industries depend, the elimination of waste and inefficiency in productive processes and in the machinery and methods of marketing and distribution, the more active promotion of scientific and industrial research, the protection of the consumer, and, in the sphere of foreign affairs, the establishment of stable peace and the expansion of overseas markets. These various proposals are linked together as essential parts of Labor's policy for placing the nation's economic activities on a sound basis.

It is obvious, therefore, that the action to be taken in order to promote economic prosperity is not to be summarized in any single formula. The policy of the Labor Party will have as its object, not merely to relieve unemployment, but to remove its causes by promoting the expansion of industry and trade. In its view alternating periods of neglect and of feverish and short-sighted action by Governments must give place to the conscious development of economic activities for national ends, and new and closer relations between the State and industry must be established. Nor must the importance of readjusting financial burdens between the State and Local Authorities, which has long been the policy of the Labor Party, be forgotten. It is imperative that Local Authorities should be relieved of a substantial portion of the charges which now fall upon them, both by transferring the cost of certain services to national funds and by increasing the grants paid by the State in respect of others, and also that they should obtain power to increase their local revenues by rating land-values. Both these items of policy, by reducing burdens on productive effort, would bring a much needed relief to the industries of the country.

By the discouragement of luxury spending and the direct increase of purchasing power in the hands of the workers, through better provision against unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age, a Labor Government would increase the demand for staple commodities and powerfully assist the restoration of the chief industries of the country.

In coöperation with other nations it would strive to break down artificial barriers to trade, as suggested by the International Economic Conference (1927). In order to meet the requirements of the present world economic situation and to cope with the problems created by the rise of international monopolies and trading organizations, it would support an extension of the powers and activities of the Economic Section of the League of Nations.

The full results of Labor's general policy can accrue only in the course of time. It is therefore essential in the meantime to take every possible immediate step which will ameliorate existing conditions and assist in promoting industrial recovery.

A National Economic Committee.—A Committee of Imperial Defense has long been in existence to advise the Cabinet on questions of strategy and military organization. But, though the problems of peace are more vital to the nation than those of war, capitalist governments have not hitherto thought it worth while to devote to the former the same unremitting attention and continuous preparation as they have given to the latter. The Labor Party will make it its business to repair at once that disastrous omission. It will create permanent machinery through which scientific knowledge and technical skill may be mobilized for improving the organization of industry, increasing economic efficiency, and raising the standard of life throughout the whole community.

With this object, a Labor Government will establish a National Economic Committee, acting under the directions of the Prime Minister, which will be his eyes and ears on economic questions, and keep both him and the country informed as to the economic situation and its tendencies. By undertaking a continuous survey of economic conditions, both at home and abroad, such a committee would serve the Government and the public as a barometer of economic changes. It would thus insure that economic policy was accurately adjusted to the needs of the moment, and would provide the exact information, which is indispensable both to the satisfactory conduct of industrial negotiations and to the effective application of the measures suggested below for coping with unemployment.

The Employment and Development Board.—Moreover, both in the interests of the future and in order to reinforce the efforts made to cope with the industrial stagnation of the present, it is essential that there should be some permanent machinery to avert the onset and minimize the effects of trade depression by the application of a considered and comprehensive policy.

Such machinery is supplied by the Labor Party's Prevention of Unemployment Bill. With a view to insuring that the national estate be scientifically developed, and that useful employment is found for those who at present must endure the misery of involuntary idleness, it would establish an Employment and Development Board, which would have at its disposal each year a Treasury grant to be drawn upon as required. It would be the duty of the Board to bring development schemes to the point of execution in readiness for the time when they should be pushed ahead in the interests of employment and trade.

There is no lack of sound schemes the urgent need for which is generally admitted. The loss of life and property from floods, and the injury to agriculture and the nation caused by the existence of a million and three-quarter acres of waterlogged land in England and Wales, call urgently for consideration. A national drainage scheme, designed to prevent the recurrence of floods, would be a protection to life, health and property, and would improve the value of large tracts of land. Much still remains to be done in protecting the nation against coast erosion, in making good the denudation of British forests by more extensive afforestation, in extending the provision and use of electricity, in the clearance of slums and the erection of new houses, and in the building of new "satellite towns" with their own public buildings, schools, theatres and business premises.

The enormous growth of road transport demands a network of arterial and subsidiary roads, such as were not dreamt of before the days of motor transport. A vast program lies ahead of us in the building of new roads, the widening and straightening of existing roads and their adaptation to modern needs, and the erection and reconstruction of bridges. Such measures must be carried out in conjunction with the regional planning schemes of the Ministry of Health and with an eye to future economic developments. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's raids upon the Road Fund, and his transference of part of the proceeds of the Excise Duties on Motor Vehicle Licenses to the general purposes of the Exchequer, have deprived the road system of much needed resources. The requirements of to-day can only be met by liberating greater resources, and by a recognition of the fact that the main roads are national rather than local in character.

A Government which itself takes a lead in developing national resources, and in re-equipping and modernizing the services which it owns or controls would not fail to impress upon industry at large the need for bracing itself to meet the needs of our time by a bold policy on similar lines.

The policy of a Labor Government through the National Economic Committee and the Employment and Development Board would aim, in short, at a progressive improvement in the economic efficiency of the whole nation by every means in their power.

The Democratic Control of Industry

The Labor Party will not be contented, however, merely to abolish the grosser scandals of underpayment, conditions of labor injurious to health, excessive hours, and unemployment. It proposes, not simply to patch the house, but methodically and patiently to rebuild it. It is unable to believe that mankind will be satisfied forever to resign the provision of the material requirements of its civilization to the blind chances of a scramble for personal gain, which is ruinous to those who fail, and too often demoralizing to those who succeed. It holds that, however inevitable such economic privateering may have been in the past, and in some countries may be to-day, the people of Great Britain can now do better, and that, thanks to the development of scientific knowledge, of a national administrative service, of Local Government, of the Coöperative Movement, of vocational organization among all classes of workers, and, not least, of tendencies inherent in industry itself, the community to-day possesses the means to control its own economic future, if it possesses also the will to use them. Hitherto the mass of mankind have lived as the tenants-at-will of a minority of capitalists and landlords. The Labor Party, which believes in democracy in industry as well as in government, intends that the great foundation industries, on which the welfare of all depends, shall be owned and administered for the common advantage of the whole community.

The Menace of the Trust.—Labor is aware, of course, that the capitalist Press, a large part of which is to-day controlled by less than a dozen rich men, will raise the cry that individual liberty and economic efficiency are threatened by the extension of public ownership and social control.

It notes, however, that while a considerable number of Conservative and Liberal politicians, with their customary indifference to changes which are taking place beneath their eyes, continue to repeat the musty shibboleths of the nineteenth century as to the virtues of "private enterprise," and the dangers involved in interfering with it, private enterprise is day by day being abolished by the formation of combinations, and that where, as in the coal industry, it still survives, it is characterized by an inefficiency so glaring and so irremediable as to fill enlightened capitalists themselves with astonished embarrassment. Capitalism appears, in short, as was long ago prophesied of it, to be engaged in the congenial task of devouring its own children. It is abolishing, with an almost indecent precipitation, a large proportion of the opportunities for independent economic activity, its efficacy in increasing which was formerly its favorite boast. The choice which to-day confronts the nation, therefore, is not between private enterprise and public control, but between the conduct of industry as a public service, democratically owned and responsibly administered, and the private economic sovereignty of the combine, the syndicate and the trust. It is, in short, between public ownership or control and one form or another of industrial feudalism.

The Public Ownership of Foundation Industries.—Faced with such an alternative, no self-respecting party, which believes in democracy, can hesitate for a moment. The land, both agricultural and urban, the production and distribution of the coal and power which are the life-blood of modern industry, the network of communications and transport which forms its veins and arteries, the control of the credit which regulates and lubricates the economic mechanism, the system of industrial life insurance needed to safeguard the worker against the risks confronting him, and through which he too often to-day is shamelessly exploited—these and other fundamental necessities are too vital to the welfare of the nation to be organized and exploited for private profit. Without haste, but without rest, with careful preparation, with the use of the best technical knowledge and managerial skill, and with due compensation to the persons affected, the Labor Party will vest their ownership in the nation, and their administration in authorities acting on the nation's behalf. It observes, indeed, with a satisfaction not unmingled with amusement, that, though these indispenable reforms will be contested, of course, by private interests, the battle over principles is already more than half won—that the nationalization of mines has been recommended by a majority of one Royal Commission, and the nationalization of minerals by two; that the nationalization of land has long been urged by many who would repudiate with indignation the name of Socialist; that afforestation is carried forward, amid general approval, by a National Authority; that, though "Nationalization" is anathema to the Conservative Government, that Government itself has been driven, in view of the intolerable anarchy that existed, to organize and coördinate electricity production and its wholesale distribution under a Central Electricity Board appointed by the State; and that even those who reject the policy of public ownership are emphatic as to the necessity of an increasingly stringent public control being applied to all aspects of industrial organization. So, in spite of themselves, are even false prophets induced by the logic of facts to bear tardy testimony on the side of truth!

Confirmed as to the wisdom of its policy by practical experience of the waste and inefficiency of private ownership in services which, whether called private or not, are essentially public in character, the Labor Party will proceed to carry it forward with the utmost rapidity that circumstances allow. As its opponents are well aware—though, for obvious reasons of controversy, it does not suit them to admit it—it has no intention of submitting the industries of the country to a régime of bureaucratic torpor. While it stands for order as against anarchy, and for science as against rule of thumb, it recognizes that different industries have different requirements, and that the constitution under which each is governed must be adapted more closely than is often the case to-day to the practical requirements of varying circumstances.

THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT.—In the structure which it contemplates, therefore, voluntary initiative and public organization will alike play their part. The magnificent system of non-profitmaking enterprise erected by the Coöperative Movement, which already caters for some five million families, reveals at once the capacity of the workers for economic self-government and the superiority of the honorable motive of social service over the struggle for personal profit. The Labor Party regards Coöperation as an indispensable element in the Socialist Commonwealth which is its own ideal, and looks forward to the time when it will include every member of the community. Naturally, therefore, it will work in the fullest alliance with Coöperators, will take constant counsel with them in elaborating its policy of economic reconstruction, and will utilize their long experience and specialized knowledge to build a social order which may realize the lofty hopes that have inspired the prophets and pioneers of the Cooperative Movement.

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.—In contrast with the distrust apparently felt in some quarters for the democratic machinery of Local Government, the Labor Party holds that the inhabitants of London and Manchester, of Leeds and Sheffield, and of the other great cities of the country, are the best judges of their own affairs, and it desires to see an extension of the activities of Local Authorities into new spheres. It proposes, therefore, as indicated in the Local Authorities (Enabling) Bill already introduced by it, to untie their hands, to encourage them to expand their functions, and, subject to due safeguards in respect of efficiency and capital expenditure, to empower them to undertake such services as their citizens may desire, including the compulsory acquisition of land by the cheapest procedure without unnecessary formalities, and the conduct of economic enterprises from which at present they are debarred.

THE CONTROL OF CREDIT AND CURRENCY.—The dependence of national well-being upon banking policy needs no demonstration. It has been brought home by the events of the last ten years with tragic emphasis. By a decision of the Bank of England—a decision approved, no doubt, by the Treasury, but taken in secret, without warning or explanation, and without any opportunity being offered for criticism or discussion—widespread dislocation was created, the ramifications of which affected the whole of our economic life. As things are to-day a handful of financiers, subject only to consultation with the Treasury, determine, as they deem expedient, the rhythm of economic life for the whole community.

The Bank of England as a Public Corporation.—Such powers are too great to be entrusted to private hands. It is clearly intolerable that a small group of individuals, however eminent, should be in a position to take, without any direct responsibility to the public, decisions which vitally affect the economic activities and social welfare of almost all their fellow-countrymen. If the nation is to be master in its own house, it is essential that it should bring the larger issues of banking policy under its own control. It is now more than three-quarters of a century since the present charter of the Bank of England was framed, and in the interval the economic position of Great Britain has been profoundly changed. The Labor Party believes that it has a great body of informed opinion upon its side when it states that the time has come to establish a new relationship between the Bank and the State. The constitution of the Bank should be such as to ensure that, while the fullest use is made of expert knowledge and practical experience, the Bank shall be directly under public control, and that its governing body shall be responsible not merely, as at present, to individuals, but to the community. The Labor Party proposes, therefore, that the government of the Bank of England shall be vested in the hands of a public corporation, and shall contain representatives of the Treasury, the Board of Trade, Industry, Labor and the Coöperative Movement.

Banking Policy and Public Needs.—The Bank of England is the citadel of the banking system, and its control by a public authority will go far to ensure that banking policy is brought into conformity with public needs. It is also, however, of urgent importance to extend banking facilities to persons of small means, to ensure that the available supply of credit and savings shall be used for purposes of national advantage, and to secure stability both of the exchanges and of the purchasing power of money. The last problem, a world problem rather than a national problem, was discussed at length by the Genoa Conference, and a Labor Government will do all in its power to implement the proposal there advanced for periodical meetings of representatives of the Central Banks of different countries with a view to the general maintenance of stable gold prices. The simplest and most practicable method of providing that suitable banking facilities are brought within the reach of every section of the population consists in the further development of Coöperative and Municipal Banks. Such banks have already rendered conspicuous services, and the Labor Party will make every effort to promote their extension. It observes, moreover, with grave concern the present diversion of a considerable proportion of the national credit and national savings into enterprises which, from a public point of view, are at best useless, and, at worst, mischievous. It holds that any sane method of allocating them among different undertakings should be based on qualitative, as well as quantitative, considerations, and that services of national importance must be adequately financed before resources are placed at the disposal of enterprises concerned with luxuries or amusements. A Labor Government, if returned to power, will set on foot the investigations that are necessary in order to ensure that such a policy shall be carried into effect with the least practicable delay.

THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE COAL INDUSTRY.—In planning the machinery through which nationalized industries are to be administered, the Labor Party will have regard to the need of securing full scope for individual initiative and business experience, freedom from needless red tape, the utmost possible elasticity and decentralization compatible with the efficiency of the service, and, subject always to final control by the representatives of the community, the association of the various grades of workers, both managerial and manual, in the conduct and administration of their respective industries. The present disorganization of the coal industry, with its 4,000 mineral owners, 1,300 or more colliery companies, and 25,000 odd distributors—with its antiquated and inefficient system of production and distribution, its wasteful methods of consumption and neglect of valuable by-products, and its deplorable indifference both to the interests of posterity and to the possibilities of the scientific treatment of coal, which is rapidly progressing in other coal-producing countries—is, by general consent, intolerable. Particularly in view of the resistance of the mine-owners to even the most cautious proposals for improvement, the Labor Party sees little hope of the necessary reorganization being effected by the piecemeal procedure recommended by the last Commission, and that judgment is confirmed by the history of the industry in the two and a half years since the Commission's Report was published.

The Labor Party demands the nationalization of the Coal Industry, therefore, not through any doctrinaire determination to apply a formula irrespective of circumstances, but for reasons of immediate and practical urgency. Experience has shown that if the existing waste in production and distribution is to be eliminated, and if the full value in energy and chemical products is to be extracted from an irreplaceable asset, the first and indispensable condition is to extinguish the disorderly welter of conflicting interests which at present paralyze the development of the industry. The only effective method, the Labor Party holds, of rescuing the Coal Industry from the ever-deepening chaos into which it has fallen, is to unify it under public ownership. It is to convert it into an efficient and honorable public service, to develop the treatment of coal and the provision of power on scientific lines, as an integral part of the industry, to reorganize the distributive processes under public control, and to administer the industry with due regard both to the requirements of the community and to the claim of the mineworkers for civilized standards of life and work.

Though, however, a Labor Government would take upon itself the duty of nationalizing the mines, it could not—pending the passage into law of its proposals, the creation of the administrative machinery necessary, and the carrying into full effect of its policy—stand idly by and acquiesce in the intolerable conditions prevailing in the coalfields. On the contrary, it would come to the immediate succor of the mining population with the greatest possible speed. The disastrous Act by which the Tory Government added an hour to the working day of the miners must be at once repealed. The pressure of unemployment on the coalfields must be relieved by providing superannuation allowances for the veterans of the industry (towards which the royalties received by mineral owners may properly be required to make a substantial contribution), by a general measure raising the school leaving age, with the provision of the necessary maintenance grants, by the regulation of recruitment into the industry, and by assisting the migration of miners into other districts and other suitable occupations. The improvement of the Unemployment Insurance scheme, which Labor contemplates, its proposals for relieving the heavy burden of rates, and its general attack on the trade situation would go far to assist both the miners and the coal industry itself.

Summary

The Labor Party asks for power. If granted power, it will use it both to lay the foundations of a new social order, and to relieve immediate distress, by carrying out, as rapidly as Parliamentary opportunity permits, the policy embodied in "Labor and the Nation," of which the following legislative and administrative measures are a summary:—

I.—Industrial Legislation

1. The Repeal of the Trade Unions Act and the Restoration of Trade Union Rights.
2. The establishment of a 48-hour week.
3. The improvement and extension of Factory Acts, Mines Regulation Acts, Workmen's Compensation Acts, Merchant Shipping Acts, Minimum Wage Acts, and other industrial legislation.
4. The establishment and enforcement of international labour standards.

II.—Unemployment

1. The establishment of adequate provision for unemployed workers, under the control of a National Authority.
2. The amendment of the Unemployment Insurance Acts, the establishment of the scale of benefits recommended by the Labor Party in its evidence before the Blanesburgh Committee, and the extension of the principle of Unemployment Insurance to classes of workers at present outside its scope.

3. The withdrawal from the Labor market of children under 15, with the necessary provision of maintenance allowances.
4. The improvement of the provision made for widows and orphans and for the veterans of industry.
5. The repeal of the Eight Hours Act in the coal industry.
6. The transference and migration of unemployed miners.
7. The establishment of a superannuation scheme for aged miners.

III.—The Development of Industry and Trade

1. The establishment of a National Economic Committee to advise the Government as to economic policy, and of a National Development and Employment Board to prepare schemes for the development of national resources.
2. The control of the Bank of England by a public Corporation, including representatives of the Treasury, the Board of Trade, Industry, Labor and the Coöperative Movement; the encouragement of Coöperative and Municipal banking; the promotion of an International Conference, as proposed at Genoa in 1922, with a view to the regulation of the value of gold by international agreement; and the introduction of such further changes in the banking and financial system as will secure that the available supply of credit and savings is used to the greatest national advantage.
3. The transference to public ownership of the coal, transport, power, and life insurance industries.
4. The appointment of a Commission to prepare a scheme for the reconstruction of the cotton industry.
5. The relief of industry by the readjustment of the relations between national and local finance and by the taxation of land values.
6. The protection of the consumer against exploitation and the extension of the powers of the Food Council.
7. The establishment of the fullest possible publicity with regard to costs and profits.
8. The promotion of scientific research, with a view to the improvement of industrial technique.
9. The extension of the powers of the Economic Section of the League of Nations.

IV.—Agriculture and Rural Life

1. The transference of land to public ownership.
2. The establishment of security of tenure for efficient farmers.
3. The provision of credit on easy terms.
4. The stabilisation of prices by the collective purchase of imported grain and meat.
5. The elimination of waste by the development ot collective marketing.
6. The establishment of efficient services of electrical power and transport in rural areas.
7. The protection of the agricultural worker by the establishment of an adequate minimum wage, effectively enforced, and of reasonable hours of labor.

8. The improvement of the services of health, housing and education in rural districts.
9. The provision of facilities for the acquisition of land, both for small holdings and for allotments.
10. The introduction of legislation to abolish the evils of the tied cottage, and the rapid development of housing schemes in rural areas.
11. The development of the fishing industry, and the improvement of the conditions of fishermen and their dependents.

V.—The Development of the Social Services

1. The passage of legislation to enable the larger local authorities to undertake such services as their citizens may desire, subject to due safeguards in respect of efficiency and capital expenditure.
2. The provision of an adequate supply of houses at rents within the means of the workers, the establishment of cottage homes for the aged, the continuance and strengthening of the Rent Restriction Acts, and the prevention of profiteering in land and building materials.
3. Slum clearance and the extension of town and regional planning.
4. The provision of medical care before and after child-birth, and the extension and improvement of the school medical service.
5. The amendment of the Health Insurance Acts, and the extension of insurance, including additional medical benefits, to the dependents of insured workers and to sections of the population at present outside its scope.
6. The improvement of pensions for the aged and of the allowances provided for widows and orphans.
7. The break-up of the Poor Law.

VI.—Education and the Care of Childhood

1. The creation of a democratic system of education, adequately financed, free from the taint of class distinctions, and organised as a continuous whole from the Nursery School to the University.
2. The fullest possible provision for the physical well-being of children, by the establishment of the necessary number of open-air Nursery Schools, other open-air schools, and special schools for defective children, by the extension of school meals and by the further development of the school medical service.
3. The adequate staffing of Primary Schools and the drastic reduction in the size of classes.
4. The improvement of school buildings, and the provision of books, equipment and amenities on a generous scale.
5. The regrading and development of education in such a way as to secure primary education for all children up to 11, and free secondary education, of varying types, for all children above that age.
6. The extension of the school-leaving age to 15, with a view to its being raised to 16 as soon as that further reform shall be practicable, and the necessary provision of maintenance allowances.
7. The establishment of easy access to Universities and to other places of

higher education, and the provision of adequate financial assistance for them.

VII.—Financial Policy

1. The progressive reduction of expenditure on armaments.
2. The abolition of taxes upon the necessaries of life and of protective duties.
3. The increase of the death duties upon large estates.
4. The further graduation of the income tax so as to relieve the smaller, and increase the contribution from the larger, incomes.
5. The establishment of an additional graduated surtax on incomes from property of over £500 per annum.
6. The taxation of land values.

VIII.—International Peace and Coöperation

1. The renunciation by international treaty, without reservation or qualification, of the use of war as an instrument of national policy, and the negotiation through the League of Nations of international agreements.
2. The reduction of armaments, by international agreement, to the minimum required for police purposes, with due provision for the employment elsewhere of workers who are displaced, and opposition to compulsory military service.
3. The immediate signature of the Optional Clause, the consequent acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in all justiciable disputes, and the signature of the General Act of Arbitration, Conciliation and Judicial Settlement, drafted and approved by the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1928.
4. The repudiation of the agreement with regard to military and naval forces which the Conservative Government has attempted to negotiate with France.
5. The immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Rhineland.
6. The promotion of international economic coöperation, as recommended by the International Economic Conference of 1927, and cordial coöperation with the International Labor Office.
7. The establishment of the fullest possible publicity with regard to international relations and policy, the publication of any international agreement not yet disclosed, or disclosed only imperfectly, and the submission of all international engagements to the House of Commons.
8. The systematic use of the League of Nations to promote the utmost possible measure of coöperation between the nations of the world.
9. The establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations with the Russian Government.

IX.—The British Commonwealth of Nations

1. The establishment of the closest possible coöperation, on terms of complete equality, between Great Britain and the Dominions.
2. The recognition of the right of the Indian people to self-government and

self-determination, and the admission of India to the British Commonwealth of Nations on an equal footing with the self-governing Dominions.

3. The establishment of safeguards against the exploitation of indigenous peoples by European capital, the prevention of forced labor and of injurious or inequitable conditions of employment, the protection of such people in the occupation of their land and in the exercise of civic rights, the development among them of the services of health and education, and their preparation, by all possible means, for full self-government at the earliest practicable date.
4. The strengthening and extension of the authority of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.
5. The development, in coöperation with the other States composing it, of the economic resources of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the establishment of machinery for the advice and supervision of intending emigrants.

X.—Political Democracy

1. The maintenance of the unquestioned supremacy of the House of Commons.
2. Uncompromising resistance to the establishment of a Second Chamber with authority over finance and power to hamper the House of Commons and defeat democratic decisions.
3. The abolition of plural voting.
4. The establishment of full civil and political rights for Civil Servants.
5. Drastic legislation against corrupt practices at elections, and the abolition of practices which confer special political advantages upon wealth.
6. The establishment of complete publicity with regard to Party funds, and the termination of the practice of selling so-called honors.
7. The creation of separate legislative assemblies in Scotland, Wales and England, with autonomous powers in matters of local concern.

3. HOW LABOR IS ORGANIZED

In proportion to population, there are twice as many workers organized into unions in Great Britain as in the United States. The chief strength of the unions lies in transportation, mining engineering, shipbuilding, iron and steel, and the textile industries. In agriculture there are only 30,000 out of a population of 1,300,000 organized. Only approximately 17 per cent. of the women wage and salary earners are organized. In all, there are nearly five and a half million organized into trade unions in Great Britain, of whom four and a half millions belong to seventy unions. In the United States the American Federation of Labor allows only one union for each craft, in Great Britain there can be any number of unions for the same craft. In England the trade union is so firmly established that the employers recognize it and deal with it as an accepted matter of course. The Federation of British Industries united nearly all of the large employers. In its official report it says: "the principles of trades union, representation and collective bargaining are now fully accepted by the employers." It would be almost unthinkable for a British employer to refuse to talk with the head of a trade union as so many American employers do. This does not mean that the British bank or employer is in sympathy with all the trade union policies or that he does not fight trade union activity, but he does not try to destroy the union itself as is done in America.

In Great Britain in the past few years there has been a movement towards amalgamation, with the result that there are 233 fewer unions to-day through combinations. In the past fifteen years the union of postoffice workers has combined three unions. The Transport and General Works Union has united twenty-six, the Amalgamated Engineering Union ten, and the Iron and Steel Confederation at least eight. The Miners' Federation is composed of twenty different bodies but is almost a single union as far as national negotiations and agreements are concerned.

In England there are three chief types of unions. *First,* the craft union, composed of workers engaged in a single particular skilled calling, no matter in what industry they may be working. With the development of modern industry some craft unions have permitted more or less skilled workers embracing certain allied types of skill to join. For instance, the Weavers Amalgamation covers weavers, winders, warpers, et al. Until the nineteenth century the craft unions were dominant in Great Britain but since that time the industrial union has been growing in strength. The *second type* is the industrial union, embracing all the workers in a single industry or group of related industries. The workers in the mining and building trades are organized on an industrial basis. In the same category falls the National Union of Railway Men which enrolls all those who work on the railway. The *third* type of union is that called General Workers. They are organized without regard to a particular industry or a particular skill. Theoretically they are the unspecialized workers. For example, the General Workers' Union has organized the employees in the confectionery and food trades. In practice there is to-day a tendency to combine the Industrial and General Workers' Unions. For example, the Transport and General Workers' Union is supposed to cover both transport services outside the railroad and a large number of auxiliary industries. It would combine the workers on the roads on the inland waters and the ports as well as such industries as flour milling, quarrying, galvanizing, and fuel.

The Government of the Trade Unions

The basis of the union is usually the branch. There are local unions which have only a single branch, though most of the trade unions have many local unions or branches. They have found from experience that in union there is strength. A common financial treasury gives them more power to resist the demands of employers. Branches are usually linked together in districts under district committees. The power of these district committees varies in different unions. Sometimes they are extremely limited, where there is a highly centralized union executive. On the other hand, in scattered industries—such as engineering—their power is considerable. Both the branch and the district are united in a central executive committee. The method of selection of executive members varies: sometimes it is done by direct ballot of all the members, sometimes by districts. Usually there is an annual conference which lays down general policies and exercises control under the central executive committee. Each union has different rules in regard to how much power the executive council has, and in case of strike action there is no one way in which a strike is necessarily determined upon. Some unions have tried the initiative and referendum and recall but the great majority rely on the annual conferences to control their executive committee. In most of the unions the growth of important work on behalf of the union has necessitated the employment of paid officers. The salaries, however, are much lower than in the United States, where the head of the trade union may receive anywhere from five to fifteen thousand dollars annually. During the War the workers in a particular place of employment were allowed to elect shop stewards. While this movement had a tendency to disappear once peace had been established, nevertheless shop stewards exist in the boot and shoe, textile, and woodworking industries. In some of the unions the shop stewards are allowed to be represented on the district committee of the union. This has been done, for example, in the engineering union.

Finance

The unions are financed by weekly collection from the members. The size of the contribution varies with the union and the kind of benefits which are given. In some unions the dues cover funeral, retirement, accident, even tool benefits. The returns from 484 trade unions registered by the chief registrar in 1924 representing a membership of 4,500,000 totaled roughly $56,000,000, of which $16,000,000 was expended on unemployment benefits (although the Government contributed $10,000,000 of this), $5,500,000 was spent for dispute pay, about $5,000,000 on sickness and accident benefits, $1,500,000 on funeral benefits, $5,000,000 on retirement and other benefits, while $3,500,000 went to federations, congresses, and trade councils. Over $1,000,000 was expended for the political fund. The management and expenses of the unions took about $16,000,000. In the hundred most important trade unions management cost around 3 per cent of the expenditures. The average income per member in the most important unions for 1924 was $12.50 a year. Very often the trade union is able to recover money for its members. The Transport Union, for instance, in six years recovered $3,500,000 for members in compensations and other forms of legal redress. Many unions are united into federations of which there are about eighty. This policy has been hastened by the federation of employers. It is particularly necessary where there are so many different unions in the same lines of industrial activity. In addition to the federations there are joint working agreements between unions. For instance, the Transport Union has working agreements with the Engineering Union, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, the Distributive Workers, the Railway Men, the Corporation Workers, the General Workers, and six others.

The Trades Union Congress

The Trades Union Congress is the most powerful body in Great Britain, corresponding to the American Federation of Labor, but it includes all of the labor organizations whereas the American Federation of Labor does not include the Railroad Brotherhoods or the clothing workers. The Trades Union Congress was started sixty years ago and has been growing more powerful with the passing of time. In 1900 it created its own political independent party—the Labor Party. The Trades Union Congress is held annually and is composed of about 700 delegates. In such a large body, meeting for a short time, it is inevitable that decisions are reached without much discussion. It has no full-time president or staff and the delegates have votes in proportion to their numbers. In the 1921 Congress a General Council was created which has been nicknamed by the newspapers, the General Staff. It is composed of 32 members elected each year. The unions affiliated with the Congress in 1927 were divided into the 17 groups listed on the next page.

At the 1929 Congress 202 unions representing 3,673,144 members sent delegates.

In addition to the General Council there is a National Joint Council of fifteen members which unites the Labor Party, the Trades Union Congress and the Labor members of Parliament. There are five members from each of these three groups. There is also a joint committee between the General Council and the executive committee of the Labor Party. The General Council is concerned with securing a common policy on all important matters, from legislation to united emergency action. In 1926,

	No. of unions	*Members*	*Seats on the General Council*
1. Mining and Quarrying	9	839,000	3
2. Railways	3	434,000	3
3. Transport (other than railways)	8	390,000	2
4. Shipbuilding	3	78,000	1
5. Engineering, Founding, and Vehicle Bldg.	24	352,000	3
6. Iron and Steel and Minor Metal Trades	21	141,000	2
7. Building, Woodworking, Furnishing	15	354,000	2
8. Printing and Paper	13	95,000	1
9. Cotton	38	236,000	2
10. Textiles (other than Cotton)	18	171,000	1
11. Clothing	8	90,000	1
12. Leather, Boot and Shoe	5	89,000	1
13. Glass, Pottery, Chemicals, Food, etc.	17	190,000	1
14. Agriculture	1	30,000	1
15. Public Employees	11	163,000	1
16. Non-Manual Workers	6	59,000	1
17. General Workers	4	453,000	4

at the time of the general strike, the General Council received its authority to take control of the unions not from the Trades Union Congress but from the principal union officials and executive officers. Because of this the General Council refused to discuss with the Congress its activities in the general strike. As a result the authority of the Trades Union Congress has been somewhat diminished. The Trades Union Congress in its turn is affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions which unites some seventeen million workers in various European countries.

The Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party have been very wise in Great Britain in setting up research and educational work. There are four chief departments—the research and information department, the publicity department, the department of international affairs, and the legal department. The Congress publishes an annual year-book, weekly notes for speakers, a magazine, monthly bulletin, and various leaflets and journals. It also assumes part of the financial burden of the *Daily Herald.* How important these different departments are can be easily seen from any examination of the Labor Movement in Great Britain. If the unions are negotiating a new wage scale they must of necessity have adequate facts and they can then turn to the research department. At times of strike they must try to secure fair publicity: this can be done through their publicity department. Besides the official research department, there is an independent labor research department supported by various unions and individuals which has made some very valuable independent studies. The real authority in the trade union movement in Great Britain rests in the national and local trade unions. They have thus far been unwilling to delegate their power to the Trades Union Congress or the General Council. In Great Britain there is also a general federation of trade unions but its only function is that of a national mutual benefit society. It is not now as important as it once was and has had considerable decline in membership. The unions are slowly beginning to organize the "white-collar classes." The postoffice workers have over 65,000 members, the teachers have united in a national union of teachers which has actually gone so far on several occasions as to support teachers' strikes.

With the emergence of a Labor Government in Great Britain it is probable that the organization of the workers will proceed even more rapidly than in the past although the tendency will be for many of the workers to look for political rather than industrial amelioration.

4. LABOR'S OWN STORY

In the following four brief statements the voice of British labor can be heard speaking for itself. First comes an appeal of a single union for the necessity of organization, next a brief sketch of the rise of the Trades Union Congress, and then its objects and powers.

From all this the importance of the Trades Union Congress can be easily appreciated.

National Union of General and Municipal Workers, 1924

FOREWORD TO RULES

Fellow Workers.—Trade Unionism has done excellent work in the past, and in it lies the hope of the workers for the future; that is, the Trade Unionism which clearly recognizes that to-day there are only two classes, the producing Working Class, and the possessing Master Class. The interests of these two classes are opposed to each other. The Masters have known this for a long time; the workers are beginning to see it.

They are beginning to understand that their only hope lies in themselves, that from the Masters as a class they can expect no help, and that divided they fall, united they stand. This is why the Union was formed; it embraces every kind of labor, and admits all general workers, women as well as men, on an equal footing.

The immediate objects of this Union are the improvement of the material conditions of its members; the raising them from mere beasts of burden to human beings; the making brighter and happier the home of every worker; the saving of little children from the hard, degrading, bitter life to which they are condemned to-day; the dividing more equally between all men and women the tears and laughter, the sorrows and the joy, the labors and the leisure of the world.

It is important that all members should understand the necessity for and the aims of this Union; that they should accept and loyally carry out its rules; that they should remember that the interests of all workers are one, and a wrong done to any kind of labor is a wrong done to the whole of the Working Class, and that victory or defeat of any portion of the Army of Labor is a gain or a loss to the whole of the Army, which by its organization and Union is marching steadily and irresistibly forward to its ultimate goal—the Emancipation of the Working Class.

That emancipation can only be brought about by the strenuous and united efforts of the Working Class itself.

Workers, Unite!

The Story of the Trades Union Congress, published by the Trades Union Congress, 1925

Over a period of 100 years British Trade Unionism presents a record of continuous growth and expansion. For more than half that period the Trades Union Congress has played an increasingly important part in the development of industrial organization and policy. Before its advent the Trade Union Movement possessed no central organ to direct its course or to coördinate and unify its activities. Its appearance on the scene marks the beginning of a profoundly significant phase of working class history. The results of its work are visible not only in the enormous increase in the power and influence of the organized workers, but in the enhanced authority and prestige of the Trades Union Congress itself. Its right to speak and act in the name of the organized millions of trade unionists is now unchallenged. It has acquired its right of leadership by the exercise of powers vested in it by the affiliated Unions. These powers have been enlarged and extended as the Unions themselves have come to recognize that the furtherance of the aims and interests of the Trade Union Movement as a whole calls for unified leadership and the strongest possible concentration of the Movement's resources. The process has been a gradual one, instinctive rather than conscious in its earlier stages; but latterly the Trade Unions have been able to discern more clearly the nature of this evolution and the goal to which it tends.

When the Trades Union Congress was founded, two generations ago, it gave little promise of becoming the authoritative and influential body that we know to-day. It was called into being to meet a special emergency, arising from the renewal of attacks upon the right of the working people to combine for the purpose of collective bargaining. Forty years of progress, from the date of the repeal of the Combination Laws in 1824, which swept away no fewer than thirty-four Acts of Parliament, the fruit of five centuries of repressive legislation, had placed the Trade Unions in a strong position. Reorganization, consolidation and amalgamation of the local trade clubs had brought into existence powerful national Unions of the new type represented by the engineers' society, the carpenters' organization and other big national bodies. Industrial warfare on a large scale followed the rise of the national unions, whose activities excited the suspicion and hostility not only of the employers but of the Government as well.

Under the pretext of investigation allegations of intimidation and outrage implicating Unions in Sheffield and Manchester, a Royal Commission was appointed in 1867 to inquire into the whole question of Trade Union organization and method. Although the Trade Union leaders were able, after much difficulty, to place upon the Commission two men (Frederic Harrison and Thomas Hughes) whom they could trust to deal fairly with the Unions, there was only too much reason to fear that the Commission was intended to supply the Government with arguments for the suppression of Trade Unionism, or at any rate to furnish an excuse for the drastic curtailment of the very small amount of liberty enjoyed by the Unions under the existing law. Legal decisions affecting the safety of Trade Union funds also excited great uneasiness among the Trade Union leaders. It was at this critical stage in the development of British Trade Unionism that the Manchester and Salford Trades Council took the initiative in summoning representatives of the entire Trade Union Movement to a national Congress. . . .

Ultimate Aims

More and more as time goes on, Congress will give thought to the problem of making Trade Unionism, which has developed in this country experimentally without conscious direction from a common centre, into a unified and scientifically organized movement. That is the aim of its policy of amalgamation and federation which the General Council has been pursuing among the various Unions covering particular industries and trades. For the fullest possible extension of this policy, as for the strongest possible action in industrial disputes, and for the abolition of wasteful overlapping, sectionalism, and harmful rivalry between Unions, the General Council will, under Congress direction, be responsible. The course of events over a period of nearly sixty years, since Congress was founded, provides the evidence that the Trade Union Movement is not a piece of dead mechanism, but a vital organic force proceeding to still higher forms of organization in accordance with the laws of its own being.

Objects of the Trades Union Congress[9]

Objects.—(a) The objects of the Congress shall be to promote the interests of all its affiliated organizations and generally to improve the economic and social conditions of the workers.

(b) In furtherance of these objects, the General Council shall endeavor to establish the following measures, and such others as the Annual Meeting of Congress may from time to time approve:

1. Public Ownership and control of natural resourecs and of services—

(a) Nationalization of land, mines, and minerals.

(b) Nationalization of railways.

(c) The extension of State and municipal enterprise for the provision of social necessities and services.

(d) Proper provision for the adequate participation of the workers in the control and management of public services and industries.

2. Wages and hours of labor—

(a) A legal maximum working week of 44 hours.

(b) A legal minimum wage for each industry or occupation.

3. Unemployment—

(a) Suitable provision in relation to unemployment, with adequate maintenance of the unemployed.

(b) Establishment of training centers for unemployed juveniles.

(c) Extension of training facilities for adults during periods of industrial depression.

4. Housing—

Provision for proper and adequate housing accommodation.

5. Education—

Full educational facilities to be provided by the State from the elementary schools to the universities.

6. Industrial accidents and diseases—

Adequate maintenance and compensation in respect of all forms of industrial accidents and diseases.

7. Pensions—

(a) Adequate State pensions for all at the age of 60.

(b) Adequate State pensions for widowed mothers and dependent children and mothers whose family breadwinner is incapacitated.

Powers of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress

Duties of General Council.—(a) The General Council shall transact the business in the periods between each Annual Congress, shall keep a watch on all industrial movements, and shall, where possible, coördinate industrial action.

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[9] Standing orders of the Trades Union Congress, 1928.

(b) It shall watch all legislation affecting labor, and shall initiate such legislation as Congress may direct.

(c) It shall endeavor to adjust disputes and differences between affiliated unions.

(d) It shall promote common action by the Trade Union Movement on general questions, such as wages and hours of labor, and any matter of general concern that may arise between Trade Unions and Trade Unions, or between employers and Trade Unions, or between the Trade Union Movement and the Government, and shall have power to assist any union which is attacked on any vital question of Trade Union principle.

(e) It shall assist Trade Unions in the work of organization, and shall carry on propaganda with a view to strengthening the Trade Union Movement, and for the attainment of any or all of the above objects.

(f) It shall also enter into relations with the Trade Union and Labor Movements in other countries with a view to securing united action.

(g) In the event of a legal point arising which in the opinion of the General Council (after consultation with Counsel) should be tested in the House of Lords in the general interest of Trade Unionism, the Council shall be empowered to levy the affiliated societies *pro rata* to provide the necessary expenses. Any society failing to pay the levy shall be reported to Congress.

(h) In order that the Trade Union Movement may do everything which lies in its power to prevent future wars, the General Council shall, in the event of their being a danger of an outbreak of war, call a special Congress to decide on industrial action, such Congress to be called, if possible, before war is declared.

(i) The General Council shall have power, whenever it deems necessary, to convene a Special Congress to deal with any contingency that may arise.

(j) The General Council shall prepare a report of its work for submission to the Annual Meeting of Congress. The report shall contain a list of the General Council meetings with dates, and also names of those members who were present at such meetings. The Standing Orders of Congress and the General Council shall be published with each Annual Report of the proceedings of Congress.

Industrial Disputes

(a) It shall be an obligation upon the affiliated unions to keep the General Council informed with regard to matters arising as between the unions and employers, and/or between one union and another, in particular where such matters may involve directly or indirectly large bodies of workers. The General Council shall, if they deem necessary, disseminate the information as soon as possible to all unions in the industry concerned which are affiliated to the Trades Union Congress, and which may be either directly or indirectly affected.

(b) The general policy of the Council shall be that unless requested to do so by the affiliated union or unions concerned, the Council shall not intervene so long as there is a prospect of whatever difference may exist on the matters in question being amicably settled by means of the machinery of negotiations existing in the trades affected.

(c) In the event, however, of negotiations breaking down and the deadlock being of such a character as to involve directly or indirectly other bodies of workpeople affiliated to the Trades Union Congress in a stoppage of work and/or to imperil standard wages or hours and calling representatives of the unions into consultation, and use its influence to effect a just settlement of the difference. In this connection the Council having ascertained all the facts relating to the difference, may tender its considered opinion and advice thereon to the union or unions concerned. Should the union or unions refuse the assistance or advice of the Council, the Council shall duly report to Congress.

(d) Where the Council intervenes, as herein provided, and the union or unions concerned accept the assistance and advice of the Council, and where despite the efforts of the Council, the policy of the employers enforces a stoppage of work by strike or lock-out, the Council shall forthwith take steps to organize on behalf of the union or unions concerned all such moral and material support as the circumstances of the dispute may appear to justify.

IV. POST-WAR CONSEQUENCES

I. THE MAIN EVENTS

Since the World War we might divide the history of the labor movement into three periods: first, the period up to the fall of the first Labor Government; second, the period of control by the Conservative Party; and, third, the period beginning in 1929 when the Labor Party again assumed power.

During the first period there was a brief time of prosperity, during which trade union membership greatly increased. This was followed by depression. The employers assumed a vigorous offensive against the working class, endeavoring to lower wages and lengthen hours.

During the War labor had permitted itself to be drawn into a Coalition Government. In 1918 labor again became independent and withdraw its ministers from the government. In the election of December, 1918, the Labor Party polled 2,244,945 votes but secured only 57 representatives. In 1920 the Labor Party advocated a capital levy but by 1922 the emphasis had turned to the cure of unemployment. The by-elections continued to favor labor and before the end of Parliament there were 75 representing labor. In the election of 1922 labor secured 4,236,733 votes and elected 142 members, thus becoming the official opposition. In December, 1923, another election was held and this time labor elected 191 members and received a vote of 4,348,379. The Conservative Government, though in a minority, met Parliament and was defeated 328 votes to 256 on January, 1924. The first Labor Government was then formed, with Ramsay MacDonald as Premier. Naturally, since labor had but one-third of the House, it could not carry out many of its proposals. The party did try to aid unemployment, however, and to help in housing, and it settled the Irish Boundary dispute. In its foreign policy it was unusually successful, following a program of international coöperation and peace. At the London Conference it settled the major outstanding reparation difficulties. It also negotiated two treaties with Russia, which were not ratified by its successor. The Labor Government was defeated October 8, ostensibly on its handling of a Communist prosecution but actually on its Russian policy. At the election which followed, the Conservatives published at the last minute a forged letter purporting to be written by the Russian Communist Zinoviev which presumably influenced the election and gave them the majority. In spite of this labor received 5,551,549 votes, although its membership fell to 151.

The general character of the industrial life in Great Britain during this period has altered comparatively little but there has been a tendency to even up income. C. Delisle Burns has decribed the situation:[10]

> "In England and Wales in 1921 about seventeen million persons were 'occupied' of whom over two million were in manufactures. Within this occupied population only 3.7 per cent are employers, 6.3 per cent are independent workers and 90 per cent are 'employed.' This is not abnormal among nations, for everywhere those who work under direction are in the overwhelming majority. But in Great Britain if not elsewhere most of these are sufficiently secure and satisfied, if not enthusiastic nor even conscious supporters of the system under which they live. Apart therefore from the inevitable change of natural circumstances policy is not likely to be radical if the support of the majority is required to make it so. And radical change is even more unlikely.
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> "The income of Great Britain is still very unevenly distributed: but a slight change has occurred since 1911. The rich are slightly less rich than they were: and the wage-earning classes have slightly more individually. There were in 1924, however, about 90,000 persons with incomes exceeding £2,000 a year: among whom 138 had incomes exceeding £100,000.
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> "Rates of taxation have changed very greatly since 1913-14 and they now

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[10] C. Delisle Burns, *A Short History of the World* (1928), p. 267.

place more of the burden upon the very rich. Thus in 1913-14 an earned income of £100 paid about £5 and an earned income of £50,000 paid £4,000; whereas in 1925-26, the same incomes paid £12 and £22,000, respectively. The change in percentages of incomes has been from 5.4 per cent to 11.3 per cent for the £100 income and from 8.4 per cent to 44 per cent for the £50,000 income. In 1925-26 an earned income of £50,000 paid £22,242 in taxes every year."

On May 30, 1929, another election was held and the Labor Party secured 287 members, later increased by one through the transfer of allegiance of one member. The House of Commons then was made up as follows: Labor 288, Liberals 58, Conservatives 260 and independents 9. Among the achievements of the Labor Government since 1929 have been: the recognition of Russia; the withdrawal of troops from the Ruhr; the naval limitation treaty; a declaration that India must soon have "Dominion Status"; the passage of a law which declared that on April 1, 1931, the school-leaving age shall be raised to 15 years; the extension of widows' pensions to include half a million more recipients at an extra cost in 1930 of forty million dollars.

2. LABOR IN OFFICE [11]

The Labor Government of 1924 assumed office under very difficult conditions. It held its position purely upon Liberal sufferance. Any attempt to apply a Socialist policy meant immediate defeat, followed either by a new election, or by a Liberal-Conservative Coalition. The pursuance of a policy which would command Liberal support was likely, on the other hand, to be productive of very scanty results and to provoke strong criticism among its own followers. It elected, however, to follow the latter policy, and to content itself with such small measures as it could carry through with Liberal support. Before its fall in October, the Labor Government passed, besides Philip Snowden's "Free Trade" Budget, four measures of importance—John Wheatley's Housing Act, Noel Buxton's measure restoring the legal minimum wage in agriculture, an Act raising Old Age Pensions, and an amendment of the Unemployment Insurance system. In addition, it reversed the policy of drastic economies in education and other social services, inaugurated by its predecessors in consequence of the slump, and, after granting formal recognition to Russia, negotiated, but did not survive to ratify, a formal Russian Treaty. It also carried through the famous "Dawes Plan" for the stabilization of German finances under Allied control, and attempted, without much success, to persuade the nations of Europe to pursue a more sociable and pacific policy. As an earnest of its good intentions, it restricted naval construction, and suspended work upon the new Singapore naval base. But its term of office was too short for the Labor attitude to foreign policy to exert any really considerable effects.

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[11] Reprinted from G. D. H. Cole, *A Short History of the British Working Class Movement,* Vol. III, pp. 192-196. New York, 1927.

Considering the difficulties in its way, the Labor Government of 1924 really achieved a good deal. Indeed, if we assume the rightness of the policy of assuming and trying to retain office at all under the conditions which then existed, it could not well have done more. For, apart from actual opposition, it had to face the impossibility of "managing" a House of Commons in which its supporters were in a serious minority. The conditions offered the maximum of opportunity for obstruction; and they were exploited to the full in order to delay any business which the Labor Government wished to advance. Ramsay MacDonald and his colleagues may have been right or wrong in the general policy which they followed. Whatever they did was bound to appear wrong at the time to a large number of their followers, and to look wrong, or at best insignificant, in historic retrospect. The Labor Government has been given less than due credit for what it achieved. Philip Snowden's Budget was, perhaps, no more than a perfectly competent exercise in orthodox Free Trade economics; but the Wheatley Housing Act, by far the most important measure of the session, deserves to rank as the initiation of a new policy in social reform. Though the Government disappointed its supporters, that was largely because they were disposed to judge it by an abnormally high standard, and also because of the unfortunate blunders which marred its last days of office. In the difficult parliamentary situation, the Government's position was complicated by a recurrence of industrial troubles. The very existence of a Labor Government, coupled with a distinct, though not very great, improvement in the trade situation, was enough to cause a considerable extension of industrial disputes. A big strike on the railways was actually in progress when the Government was formed. The National Railway Wages Board under the Railways Act of 1921 had decreed considerable adverse changes in railway wages and conditions, particularly at the expense of the locomotive grades. These changes were accepted by the National Union of Railwaymen; but the rival Union, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, struck against them, gaining small concessions, but on the whole failing in face of the maintenance of services by N. U. R. members. In February came a national dock strike, the aftermath of the troubles of 1923; and this time the men were successful in securing advances in wages. Strikes of tramwaymen and busmen followed in March, and were also successful; but an unofficial stoppage on the Tube railways in June ended in defeat. Meanwhile, in April, came yet another national lock-out in the shipyards, arising out of a local wage dispute at Southampton, and ending in the reference of the dispute to arbitration.

In May, the threatened national dispute in the coal mines ended without a stoppage, the miners securing an agreement which raised their wages considerably above the minimum level fixed in 1921. The new settlement, however, was only to last for a year, and was the direct precursor of the troubles of 1925-26. In July came a big builders' strike, met by the employers with a national lock-out, and ending in a compromise on both hours and wages. Also, there were throughout the year a great many minor disputes. The number of strikes rose from 628 in 1923, to 710 in 1924, and of strikers from 405,000 to 613,000. In addition, a large number of workers started negotiations for improved conditions, with indifferent success. Except in the mines, which had been restored to temporary prosperity by the Ruhr occupation, the wage changes of the year were mostly small.

In October, the Government gave an opportunity to the Liberals, who had been growing more and more restive, to trip it up. It first started, and then as suddenly dropped, a prosecution of J. R. Campbell, the Communist editor, for certain articles in his paper, *The Workers' Weekly*. In itself, the incident was trivial; but it coincided with the negotiations over the Russian Treaty, against which most of the newspapers, and many of the Liberals in Parliament, were up in arms. The Campbell case, woefully mismanaged by the Cabinet, furnished a most convenient chance for turning the Government out of office. Defeated in the House of Commons, Ramsay MacDonald dissolved Parliament on October 9th.

In the General Election which followed, one thing—the famous "Red Letter"—overshadowed all others. In the midst of the election the Foreign Office suddenly despatched to the Soviet Government a strong note of protest against its subversive propaganda in Great Britain, producing as evidence a letter of instructions alleged to have been sent by M. Zinoviev, on behalf of the Communist International, to the British Communist Party. This note came as a bombshell, especially as MacDonald was himself Foreign Secretary and presumably responsible for it. Labor speakers, till then actively defending the Russian Treaty, found themselves apparently repudiated by their leader, and knew not what to say. The Communists stated that the "Red Letter" was a forgery, and this came later to be generally believed, at least in Labor circles. But for the time being, MacDonald remained mysterious and equivocal, and the "Red Letter" served both to bewilder his supporters and to rally hundreds of thousands of slack or doubtful voters to the Conservative cause. After the election, a Labor Cabinet Committee reported that there was nothing to show whether the letter was genuine or not. But by then all was over except the shouting. Labor lost 42 seats and the Liberals actually 119 out of 158. The Conservatives gained 152, and returned to Parliament with a huge clear majority over both the other parties. Immediately after the election Ramsay MacDonald resigned, and Baldwin resumed office.

The Labor Government thus ended in inglorious fiasco, as the result of a series of muddles, the making of which is still wholly beyond understanding. Their followers were already restive before these events, and naturally they added to the vehemence of criticism. It seems probable that, in deciding to attempt to govern with Liberal support, MacDonald, whether he was wise or unwise, correctly interpreted the wish of the majority of his supporters. But the most active, though by no means the most numerous, section of the Labor Party consisted of the Socialists organized in the I. L. P.[12] MacDonald was himself the old leader of the I. L. P., and his Government was largely drawn from its ranks. But the I. L. P. as a body, finding that the Government could not, or would not, pursue a definitely Socialist policy, became growingly critical, and came, especially after 1924, to form a sort of organized "left wing" opposition within the Labor Party's ranks. From the episode of Labor in office, in 1924, certainly dates the emergence of a new type of "left wing" Socialism, hostile to Communism on the one hand and to moderate Labor on the other, and grouping itself partly in the I. L. P. and partly round the one really individual figure in the British working-class movement of to-day—George Lansbury. "Socialism in Our Time" became, after 1924, the slogan of these two groups, whose activity—and especially that of *Lansbury's Labor Weekly,* helped to prepare the way for the industrial militancy of 1926.

Labor's first brief term of office brought neither the ruin prophesied nor the benefits for which its supporters had hoped. Its chief result was, both by encouragement and by reaction, to clear the ground for the events of the next two years.

3. THE GENERAL STRIKE

(a) *The Coal Question*[13]

The coal question has been described earlier in this book as the symbolic issue of the post-war labor struggle. The successive troubles in the coal industry were in essence struggles between Capitalism and Socialism as rival social policies and attitudes. This happened, both because the Miners' Federation was incomparably the strongest Trade Union in Great Britain, and because the coal industry was buffeted about above all others by the ups and downs of post-war economic fluctuations. It should be added that miners and mineowners alike are stubborn folk, tenacious and unadaptable, and therefore out of their element in a world of rapid change needing above all the constant application of new methods and new ideas.

After the disastrous struggle of 1921, the coal industry settled down to bad times. Wages, under the dictated terms of the 1921 agreements sank very low; but the beaten miners were in no position to offer any resistance. Then, in 1923, the Ruhr occupation brought a purely temporary prosperity. Coal exports rose higher than in the record year, 1913; and miners' wages rose in sympathy as high as the unfavorable terms of 1921 would allow. Under the influence of the revival, the Miners' Federation set out to negotiate an improved agreement. This the coalowners at first refused; but finally, as we have seen, a new agreement was signed in 1924, providing for a substantially higher minimum wage. There can be little doubt that the principal reason for the coalowners' acceptance of this was the fact that a Labor Government was in power, and would, in default of their agreement, have framed a new Miners' Minimum Wage Act, raising the wages by law. The owners, therefore, signed; but the operation of the new agreement was limited to a single year.

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[12] Independent Labor Party.

[13] Reprinted from *A Short History of the British Working Class.* By C. D. H. Cole, Vol. III, pp. 203-206. New York, 1927.

Long before its expiry in the summer of 1925, both the Labor Government and the temporary prosperity of the coal trade were over. The owners, with criminal stupidity, had done nothing to improve the efficiency of the industry in preparation for the bad times. Exports and export prices were falling fast; and the coalowners, in order to save themselves from their own folly, were demanding, not only a return to the wage conditions of 1921-24, but also the repeal of the Seven Hours Act of 1919, and the resumption of the eight-hour day. Negotiations reached a complete deadlock; and it became clear that a national coal stoppage was imminent.

In deciding to resist firmly the owners' claims, the miners were well aware that the economic conditions were against them. The owners, in face of depression and falling prices, would not greatly mind a stoppage, whereas the miners had not yet fully recovered from the defeat of 1921. In these circumstances, the Miners' Federation appealed to the General Council for help. Arguing that the coalowners' attack was only the first move in a general onslaught on wages and working hours, they urged the whole of the Trade Union movement to make common cause with them in resisting the demands, and in insisting on a solution of the coal industry's recurrent troubles.

The Trade Unions were, indeed, at this time widely threatened with fresh attacks on their standards and conditions. The slight upward movement of 1924 had proved to be purely transitory, and trade generally was again on the down grade. Employers were everywhere arguing that labor costs were too high, and pressing for lower wages as a means of reducing them. Instead of improved efficiency of management, low wages were, as usual, preached as the cure for all troubles. Moreover, among the workers, what counted most of all was an acute sense of shame for the events of 1921. Then, it was felt, the other Unions had left the miners shamefully in the lurch, and "Black Friday" was largely blamed for the working-class tribulations of subsequent years. It was felt to be impossible to leave the miners to fight their battle alone, or to urge acceptance of the owners' drastic terms. In July, 1925, the Trades Union Congress pledged its full support to the Miners' Federation, to the length, if need were, of a general sympathetic strike.

This threat was at once effective in causing the Government to intervene. Baldwin proposed a temporary subsidy to the coalowners in order to allow the existing wages and conditions to be maintained. This subsidy was to continue while a new Royal Commission investigated the immediate issues in dispute and the position of the coal industry as a whole, and prepared a scheme for dealing with both. Though there was trouble over the refusal to allow any Labor representative to sit on the Commission, the offer was finally accepted, and all threats of stoppage withdrawn pending its report.

Thus, for the fourth time since the War, a tribunal of investigation set to work to study the problem of the coal mines. The Sankey Royal Commission of 1919 had definitely recommended, by a majority, nationalization with some measure of workers' control; but its advice had been rejected by the Lloyd George Government. The Buckmaster Inquiry of 1924 and the Macmillan Inquiry of 1925, both under the Industrial Courts Act, dealt only with wages and hours, and did not touch the root problems of the industry. But now the Samuel Commission, composed of two well-known Liberals and two big employers, was instructed to go into the whole question afresh.

It was obvious from its composition that the new Commission would not recommend nationalization of the mines, or any drastic interference with their private control. It did, in fact, propose nationalization of royalties, organization of research, and encouragement of colliery amalgamations designed to improve efficiency, to be backed up by compulsory powers if after some years voluntary methods definitely failed. As a means of dealing with the immediate situation, it suggested wage reductions considerably less than the owners claimed. The increase of working hours it rejected, unless the miners preferred this to the wage reductions otherwise proposed. The coal subsidy, which had been admittedly fixed on the most idiotic basis imaginable, so as to put large sums into the pockets of prosperous owners who did not need them, was to be discontinued.

The Commissioners' Report, issued early in 1926, pleased neither party. The miners repeated their slogan, "Not a penny off the pay, not a second on the day," and called on the Trade Union Movement as a whole for support. The owners reiterated their demand for heavier reductions in wages and for longer hours. The Government, despite the again and again proved necessity for drastic reorganization, and the manifest incompetence of the coalowners, only undertook to adopt the Report on condition that it was accepted by both parties to the dispute—a condition which it knew would not be fulfilled. After a series of futile negotiations a complete deadlock was reached. The miners renewed their appeal to the Trades Union Congress for support, and the General Council found that it must either repeat its strike threat, or ignominiously climb down. A general conference of Trade Union Executives was called, and voted with practical unanimity in favor of strike action. Eleventh-hour negotiations with the Government failed; and on April 30th, 1926, the miners were locked out. On May 4th the sympathetic "General Strike" began. Already it had been made clear that the Government and the coalowners were hand in glove.

(b) *General Strike Order Issued by the General Council Dated April 30, 1926*

Trades Union Congress General Council

THE MINING SITUATION

Proposals for Coördinated Action of Trade Unions

(It should be understood that memoranda giving detailed instructions will be issued as required.)

Scope. The Trades Union Congress general council and the Miners Federation of Great Britain, having been unable to obtain a satisfactory settlement of the matters in dispute in the coal mining industry, and the government and the mine owners having forced a lock-out, the general council, in view of the need for coördinated action on the part of affiliated unions in defense of the policy laid down by the general council of the Trades Union Congress, directs as follows:

Trades and Undertakings to Cease Work. Except as hereafter provided, the following trades and undertakings shall cease work as and when required by the general council:

Transport, including all affiliated unions connected with Transport, i.e., railways, sea transport, docks, wharves, harbors, canals, road transport, railway repair shops and contractors for railways, and all unions connected with the maintenance of, or equipment, manfacturing, repairs, and groundsmen employed in connection with the air transport.

Printing Trades, including the Press.

Productive Industries

(a) *Iron and Steel.*

(b) *Metal and Heavy Chemicals Group.*—Including all metal workers and other workers who are engaged, or may be engaged, in installing alternative plant to take the place of coal.

Building Trade.—All workers engaged on building, except such as are employed definitely on housing and hospital work, together with all workers engaged in the supply of equipment to the building industry, shall cease work.

Electricity and Gas.—The general council recommend that the trade unions connected with the supply of electricity and gas shall coöperate with the object of ceasing to supply power. The council request that the executives of the trade unions concerned shall meet at once with a view to formulating common policy.

Sanitary Service.—The general council direct that sanitary services be continued.

Health and Food Services.—The general council recommend that there should be no interference in regard to these, and that the trade unions concerned should do everything in their power to organize the distribution of milk and food to the whole of the population.

With regard to hospitals, clinics, convalescent homes, sanatoria, infant welfare centers, maternity homes, nursing homes, schools, the general council direct that affiliated unions take every opportunity to ensure that food, milk, medical and surgical supplies shall be efficiently provided.

(c) *Anti-Strike Handbill Issued by the Government*

THE GREAT "HOLD-UP"

STORY OF THE STRIKE

WHAT IS THE GENERAL STRIKE ABOUT?

The story is soon told.

I. Eight months ago the Government appointed a Royal Commission to report on the coal industry. It also gave a subsidy to keep the industry going while its Commission sat.

II. The Commission reported that "a disaster is impending over the industry," as 7 out of every 10 tons of coal are being produced at a loss. It also saw a revision of wages was needed to save the industry.

III. The Government accepted the Report. The Coal Owners have accepted it. The miners refused to work a second longer or take a penny less, even as a *temporary* measure to prevent ruin.

IV. The Government strove day and night to secure an agreement. While negotiations were going on, the Trade Union Council (without consulting the workers) issued notices for a General Strike, which would paralyse transport, factories, public services, printing works, and the entire business of the country.

V. Under this intolerable threat of a national "hold-up" the Government stood firm. It told the T.U.C. that they would not renew negotiations until the General Strike was called off.

VI. The Government then put in force its plans for maintaining food and milk supplies. It called upon all loyal people to offer help, to stand together in meeting the "surrender or starve" challenge.

VII. As Mr. Baldwin said: "The Government found itself challenged with an alternative Government." This alternative Government—this Soviet—is a small group of trade union leaders. It represents only a small section of the people. It did not even consult that section before it held its pistol at the head of the Government.

THE GOVERNMENT STANDS FOR THE PEOPLE

THE PEOPLE WILL STAND BY THE GOVERNMENT

(d) *Letters Sent to the Prime Minister*

How conciliatory was the General Council of the Trades Unions can be appreciated from the following letters sent to the Prime Minister:[14]

1 May, 1926

To the Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin, M. P.,
10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S. W. 1.
Dear Sir,

Mining Lock-out: Essential Foodstuffs.

I am directed to inform you that in the event of the strike of unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress taking place in support of the miners who have been locked out, the General Council is prepared to enter into arrangements for the distribution of essential foodstuffs.

Should the Government desire to discuss the matter with the General Council they are available for that purpose. The General Council will be glad to learn your wishes in this respect.

Yours faithfully,
Walter M. Citrine (Acting Secretary).

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1 May, 1926

To the Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin, M.P.,
10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S. W. 1.
Dear Sir,

Mining Lock-out.

I have to advise you that the Executive Committees of the Trade Unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress, including the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, have decided to hand over to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress the conduct of the dispute, and the negotiations in connection therewith will be undertaken by the General Council.

I am directed to say that the General Council will hold themselves available at any moment should the Government desire to discuss the matter further.

Yours faithfully,
Walter M. Citrine (Acting Secretary).

(e) *The Collapse of the General Strike*[15]

Up to the very last moment, there was a lively hope among the Trade Union leaders that the trouble would be averted. In order to avoid any appearance of "provocative" action, they made practically no preparations for the strike, whereas the Government, with no such scruples, was fully prepared at almost every point. The Unions, indeed, were deceived by the apparent effectiveness of their mere threat to strike in the previous year. They thought that Baldwin had capitulated, when in fact, as the subsequent events clearly showed, his Government had only been gaining time. They thought, if not that the walls of Jericho would fall instantly at the blast of their trumpet, at least that Baldwin, that constant preacher of "goodwill," would meet them half-way. Their hopefulness seems to have lasted through the final negotiations, up to the very moment when, on the flimsy pretext that the *Daily Mail* machine men had refused to print a leading article hostile to the strike, the Cabinet banged the door of the conference room in their face. Then they returned in a bewildered condition to Eccleston Square, to carry into effect a threat which frightened those who made it, and one they were by no means in readiness to implement.

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[14] National Strike: Special Conference: Report of Trades Union Congress, p. 37.

[15] Reprinted from *A Short History of the British Working Class Movement,* by G. D. H. Cole, Vol. III, pp. 207-212. New York, 1927.

The Trade Unions had declared war; but their leaders had not meant to be taken at their word. The Government took them at their word. The shilly-shallying Baldwin was swept aside and the Tory militants, headed by Winston Churchill, took charge of the situation.

Strictly speaking, the "General Strike" was not a general strike at all. The General Council called out only the "first line" of the Labor forces —the railwaymen and transport workers, the iron and steel workers, the builders and the printers. The rest were held in reserve. The aim was to stop transport and certain other key groups, and to shut down the Press, mostly vehement in its denunciation of the strike as a declaration of war against the community. Few doubt now that the stopping of the Press was a mistake. It gave Churchill the chance for his hate-breathing, inflammatory, vile-minded *British Gazette,* and the Government, through its command of broadcasting, almost complete control of the dissemination of news. It enabled Churchill, for example, almost wholly to destroy the effect of an appeal for peace issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury. It left the strikers largely without news; for there were great difficulties in the circulation of the *British Worker,* the temporary paper which replaced the *Daily Herald.* And this, in any case, hardly reached the outside public at all. Above all, it was the one feature of the strike that really made the middle classes believe Churchill's ravings about "revolution." The absence of the morning newspaper was, for the middle-class householder, the symbol of working-class revolt. It is, however, easier to see such errors after the event.

The response to the strike call was practically universal. The manual workers in the trades involved came out solidly, and remained, with only insignificant breakaways, solid to the end. A very high proportion of the non-manual workers came out with them, and remained hardly less solid.

There can be no doubt that the completeness of the stoppage astonished, not only the Government, but hardly less the strike leaders themselves. Everywhere, local Councils of Action were formed to take charge of the situation; and, despite the lack of preparation, effective strike machinery was everywhere improvised with extraordinary skill and rapidity.

The Government, for its part, adopted throughout a highly provocative line, in strong contrast to the counsels of peace, moderation and order constantly issued by the strike leaders. It armed special constables in thousands, called out troops and reservists, and issued what was practically an incitement to violence in the form of a promise of full support to any act these might commit in repressing the strike. It arrested and imprisoned hundreds of strikers under the Emergency Powers Act, which was at once brought into use. And the tone of its pronouncements, alike in the *British Gazette* and elsewhere, was as provocative as could have been. Meanwhile, with the aid of a host of volunteers, it organized emergency services for the transport of food and other commodities. The power of the motor-lorry in supplying for a short period the place of the railway was plainly demonstrated; and the possibility of running road services with chance volunteers, as the railways could not be run save to a very small extent, showed clearly the impossibility under post-war conditions of making even the most extensive strike an effective instrument of national blockade. Doubtless, if the struggle had been protracted, the emergency services would have begun to break down. But no "general strike" is ever likely to last long; and for the purpose in view the Government's methods were certainly efficient enough.

From the first the strikers' only real chance of success lay in frightening the Government into surrender or persuading it into compromise. The temper of the Government throughout the dispute excluded the latter solution, which the strike leaders would, of course, have welcomed. The struggle therefore became one of *morale*—it was a question of the side that would crumple up first. But, with Winston Churchill in command and thoroughly enjoying the "scrap," the Government was not likely to crumple up. Baldwin might have done so; but he had been flung into a corner until he was needed to pronounce the final benediction. All things considered, the strikers had from the first little real chance of winning. Their only chance lay in the emergence of a peace movement so strong as to overthrow Churchill's command of the situation. But this could hardly develop in face of the shutting down of the ordinary means of publicity.

The rank and file of the strikers, however, had little understanding of the situation at headquarters. They had struck, and they were standing firm, and they did not see why they should not win. They had even, for the most part, little understanding of the class-war spirit that had been stirred up against them. Most of them were striking out of loyalty to the movement, and in order to support the miners on what seemed to them a purely industrial issue. There were revolutionaries among them, no doubt; but these were a tiny minority, and even they steered clear of talking revolution to the main body of the strikers. The rest did not understand the savage rally of the men of property round the sacred ark of the capitalist covenant that their uprising had provoked. They did not see why Churchill was shouting about revolution when they only wanted him to give the miners a "square deal."

The strike leaders, meanwhile, were in a vastly complicated state of panic. They were afraid of their own followers—afraid at the same moment that they would drift back to work and that they would get out of hand and imitate Churchill by giving the strike a revolutionary turn. They were afraid of the Government and afraid of themselves, afraid to lead and afraid to admit failure.

Their position was admittedly difficult. They had called the strike (which they had at most only half meant to call at all) in a last moment hurry and without reaching any clear understanding with the miners as to its objects. It was all very well to talk of a "square deal"; but what sort of deal was square, and how much squareness could be secured in face of the coal industry's economic plight, the blockheadedness of the coal-owners, and the Government's refusal to take reorganization in hand? The need for a precise definition of objects became evident. The General Council wanted to work for a compromise on the lines of the Coal Commission's Report; but Herbert Smith and A. J. Cook, the miners' leaders, met every suggestion with a fresh incantation of their formula, "Not a penny off the pay, Not a second on the day." Relations soon became strained between the miners' leaders and their allies.

At this point Sir Herbert Samuel, the Liberal Chairman of the late Coal Commission, made his unofficial incursion into the dispute. Ostensibly on his own authority, and without consulting the Government or anyone else, he produced the "Samuel Memorandum," embodying proposals for a compromise rather better than those in the Commission's Report. The General Council, apparently believing that these terms had the Government behind them (Sir Herbert Samuel is known to have consulted Baldwin about them), agreed to recommend them to the miners. But the miners' leaders would have none of them. A definite breach followed, and without further consultation with the miners of the rank and file, and without any understanding from the Government either as to the Samuel terms or as to reinstatement, the General Council, on May 12th, called off the strike, and, through the various union executives, ordered an immediate return to work, incidentally canceling the order just previously issued calling upon the "second line," the engineers, shipbuilders and certain other trades, to join in the stoppage.

The unexplained order to resume work everywhere bewildered the strikers, who had no idea what had happened. The Government organs and the small newspapers which had gradually reappeared with the aid of blackleg labor announced the utter collapse of the strike and the unconditional surrender of the General Council. When copies of the *British Worker* arrived, they put quite a different complexion on the matter. From the *British Worker* it appeared that the strike had been honorably settled on the basis of the Samuel Memorandum. The General Council were trying to cover up defeat in order to get the men to resume work. Their effort very nearly failed. The railwaymen went to work, but found many of their number refused reinstatement, and instantly came out on strike. Only a hasty settlement between the railway Unions and the companies prevented something like a general resumption of the stoppage. For the strikers did not feel beaten, and as soon as they realized that their leaders had secured no terms there was widespread resentment and disgust. For some days, however, the position remained too uncertain for anyone to be sure just how matters stood. It was but gradually realized that the collapse of the "General Strike" had left the miners still locked out, to make the best terms they could or struggle on alone.

In retrospect, both the declaration of the "General Strike" and its ignominious collapse look inevitable. The General Strike "myth" had haunted the working-class movement ever since the days of Syndicalism and labor unrest before the War. It had revived powerfully in 1919, and had been behind the successive attempts at the consolidation of Trade Union forces. It was by no means, in the minds of the workers, an essentially revolutionary idea. On the contrary, the basis of its appeal was a simple feeling that all the workers were subject to the same dangers, and that all must stand together in meeting them. It was as a weapon of defense, and not of aggression, that the General Strike idea won most of its adherents. The employers, it was said, had their National Confederation and their Federation of British Industries. They did not need a general lock-out to enforce their will, because they were the people who controlled industry as things were. But they did hang together, and they did pursue a common anti-Labor policy. The workers too must act together. When one industry was attacked, the rest must rally to its support. This would probably cause the other side to give way, or at least to accept a compromise. If it would not, then, and not till then, in the very last resort, the workers must fall back upon their last constitutional weapon—the General Strike.

To the Government, however, the "General Strike" appeared in a different guise—as a challenge to the duly constituted authority of the State. Even Churchill can hardly be supposed to have believed that the strikers, or the members of the General Council, were attempting to overthrow the State, or that he and Sir William Joynson-Hicks had heroically saved the country from bloody revolution. But it was easy for them to work up their feelings so as to produce this illusion temporarily on the middle-class mind, and even on their own. And what they did believe was that the time had come to deal with the long-continued uppishness of Labor, and to teach the working classes a salutary lesson. A chance so good that compromise would have been a disaster, and the use of the *Daily Mail* incident for breaking off negotiations was an act of national duty as well as a very "cute" move.

From the standpoint of the workers the "General Strike" can hardly avoid looking rather foolish. Those who organized it embarked upon it without any understanding of its inevitable consequences. They look, in the eyes of history, as inept as the German Nationalists of 1848. The Government looks, if not foolish, wantonly reactionary and perfidious in the extreme. The only people who come well out of the affair are the ordinary strikers; and they, nautrally, got the worst of it. For the return to work was followed by an orgy of victimization.

(f) *Aftermath—The Trade Union Act*[16]

The miners kept up their resistance for more than six months after the collapse of the "General Strike." It was obvious throughout this time to every observer that they were bound to be defeated; but they held out grimly and obstinately even after they themselves had lost hope. The Government, after the collapse, soon turned more and more openly against them. It repealed the Seven Hours Act of 1919, and so opened the way for the coalowners to increase hours as well as reduce wages. It caused pickets to be arrested, and refused to allow the Proclamation under the Emergency Powers Act to lapse. It waged war, through its Minister of Health, Neville Chamberlain, on those Boards of Guardians which sought to use public money for relieving the distresses of the men on strike. It repudiated the Samuel Report, refusing either to nationalize coal royalties or to apply any effective measures of compulsion to the coalowners in any part of their business.

Meanwhile, the workers throughout the country had raised funds in the miners' support until the whole movement was drained dry. Still more substantial support had come from the Russian Trade Unions; but the strain was too great to be indefinitely borne.

In the end, the men were literally starved into surrender. There were sporadic returns to work first in the Midland counties, and then elsewhere. At length, in November, the miners were compelled to accept terms even worse than those of 1921, involving both terribly low wages and the extension of working hours. Many of the coalowners made savage use of their victory, victimizating active Trade Unionists and using every chance of destroying old working customs and making the men smart under the consciousness of servitude. They were getting their own back, they freely said. And, worst of all, the condition of the industry grew more and more desperate, in face of falling prices and intensified competition; and nothing, or next to nothing, was done to set it again on its feet.

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[16] Reprinted from *A Short History of the British Working Class Movement*, by G. D. H. Cole, Vol. III, pp. 213-215. New York, 1927.

The Government, having tasted reaction, wanted more. It felt that the Trade Unions were down, and it could not bear to miss the chance of stamping on their face. Accordingly, the "General Strike" of 1926 was followed by the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act of 1927.

During the "General Strike" there had been a considerable controversy over the question whether the movement was lawful or illegal. The Liberal, Sir John Simon, who took a violent part against the workers, pronounced it illegal, and attempted to frighten the workers with the fear of legal penalties. A certain Mr. Justice Astbury, best known as a judge whose previous decisions on Trade Union law were admittedly unfortunate, took the same side, and in deciding a case during the strike plunged into a long and irrelevant series of *dicta* denouncing it as illegal. Many lawyers held, on the other hand, that there was nothing illegal about it. It was, of course, true that, in striking, many workers had broken contracts of employment and were liable for civil damages on that account. But this was a purely civil and not a criminal matter, and had nothing to do with the legality or illegality of the strike itself. In the Trade Union Act of 1927, ostensibly in order to clear up these doubts, the Government, with the aid of its huge parliamentary majority, pronounced illegal, not only the General Strike, but all sympathetic strikes on any considerable scale. It further drastically altered the law of picketing, so as to put the Trade Union picket back almost into the unenviable position he occupied before the Act of 1859, banned all regular State employees from belonging to any association or federation not consisting wholly of State employees, inaugurated a new and highly dangerous procedure of legal injunction, on the Government's motion, against "illegal" strikes, made it possible, in connection with such strikes, for Trade Union funds to be attacked as in the Taff Vale case, and destroyed the Trade Union Act of 1913 by substituting "contracting in" for "contracting out" in the clauses enabling Trade Unions to spend money on political action. After the passing of the new Act, no Trade Union could collect any money for its political fund except from members who had actually signed a form expressing their desire to contribute for this purpose.

This extraordinarily drastic measure was, in addition, so ill drafted that, pending the decision of actual cases in the courts, no Trade Union could tell what would be its precise effects. As a Bill it was fought line by line in the House of Commons; but the huge Conservative majority carried it through without any substantial changes. They were still engaged in teaching the workers a lesson. Meanwhile, by-elections went steadily and heavily against the Government; and there seemed every chance that the Act would not long survive the next General Election.

The Trade Union world of 1927 was, however, weak and dispirited after its defeat; and the Labor Party, though still gaining political adherents, shared in the general depression. The Independent Labor Party tried to keep matters alive with its slogan "Socialism in our Time"; but, despite its efforts, the movement languished. The Communists undoubtedly made adherents fast in 1926 and 1927 among miners and others disgruntled and inclined to despair of all moderate courses. On the other side, a few Trade Unionists of standing split away, and endeavored to form "non-political" Trade Unions in alliance with the employers, especially in the Midland coalfields. Liberalism, too, began again to bid for working-class support with a policy of social and industrial peace, profit-sharing, and a hotch-potch of similar "remedies" for unrest. Thus attacked from both sides, the working-class movement held sullenly on its way, disillusioned and weary, but showing scant inclination to be torn from its old loyalties. The active minds in the movement were already groping for a new policy of their own; but it was evident that a year or two must pass before the effects of 1924 and 1926—of political and industrial set-back—would wear off, and Labor be ready to resume its gradual, but broken, advance.

4. THE LEGAL STATUS OF LABOR IN ENGLAND

Historical Review

As in nearly all countries, so in England combinations of working men for the purpose of raising wages or withholding labor were first declared illegal. To some extent the effort to secure an improved legal status for labor is a record of the history of the labor movement in Great Britain. The consequent interaction of forces between the employers on the one side and the labor groups on the other has meant that since the beginning of the Eighteenth Century trade union law has presented a picture of constant modification and change.

Until 1799 the State considered it her duty to regulate wages and hours. In that year it was made illegal by the Combination Act of 1799 for any organization to try to improve the conditions of labor. To be sure, it was also made illegal for employers to combine for a similar purpose.

Anatole France said, in referring to the impartiality of the law: "the law in its majestic equality forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep in the streets and to steal bread." It is obvious that the employers did not have the same need to combine that the working class did. As a matter of fact the employers did combine and there is no record of a single employer ever having been penalized. In 1800 the Combination Act was made still more drastic. Any effort to induce a worker to leave his employment or even to attend a meeting to discuss improving conditions was declared illegal. In 1812, certain of the weavers went on strike. The entire committee of strikers was arrested as revolutionists. Certain of the book binders wanted to reduce the hours of labor from twelve to eleven and declared a strike. They were all arrested. The scissors grinders, an important organization of that day, tried to evade the law by organizing a Misfortune Club instead of a union, but the leaders were imprisoned just the same.

In 1824 Parliament repealed the criminal liability of combinations which sought to increase wages or improve working conditions, but there were so many strikes during the next year that in 1825 the law was modified by restricting what was known as molesting and obstructing so that it was almost impossible to conduct a strike successfully. The courts rather inclined toward the employers' side and interpreted intimidation and threats very severely against the workers.

In 1830 an attempt was made to unite all the workers in the National Association for the Protection of Labor. This soon fell to pieces, but in 1834 the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union of Great Britain and Ireland was formed and soon claimed to have three-quarters of a million members. The employers immediately began discharging workers who joined the organization. In spite of this, the organization survived. The employers then began to utilize some old laws passed at the time of the French Revolution. One provision of such a law made it criminal for an organization to administer oaths. In 1834, six Dorchester laborers were actually arrested on the ground that such oaths had been administered. They were tried and sentenced to seven years and deportation. The employers at that time, one hundred years ago, were utilizing the same methods that are in vogue in many parts of the United States to-day. For example, they compelled all employees to sign "the document," which was a statement pledging the worker not to join a union. In the United States this is called by labor a "yellow dog" contract. In general in this period the middle class, the statesmen, and the clergy opposed the trade unions. John Bright said that trade unions were a bad thing for every one, Lord Shaftesbury prayed that the workers "might be delivered from the tightest thraldom they had yet entered."

Starting in 1858, trade councils uniting various unions were formed in the largest cities. In 1859, the London building trades went on strike for the nine-hour day. The employers met them with "the document."

The workers retaliated by organizing the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. It is interesting to note that injustice on the part of one class usually calls forth in time its own prophylactic.

In 1859 the Molestation of Workmen Act was passed which modified the law of 1825 by stating that working men had the right to enter into agreements for the regulation of wages and hours and also peacefully to persuade others to cease or abstain from work for the same purpose.

In 1871 a trade union act became law providing that a trade union was not to be deemed unlawful merely because it was in restraint of trade. Another act in the same year repealed the law of 1859 so that peaceful persuasion was expressly legalized. In 1875 the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act was passed, which provided that no combination among members of a trade union was indictable as a conspiracy unless such an act, if committed by one person, would be punishable as a crime. This act very definitely prevents the courts from acting against labor in Great Britain by injunction, as they have acted in the United States.

In 1901 a strike took place on a small railroad in South Wales. There was some violence. The railroad company, instead of arresting the individuals who did the deed, sued the trade union. This action was taken against the advice of the railroad's lawyers, on the insistence of the general manager of the railroad. The case was carried through on appeal to the House of Lords and—contrary to all expectation—they held that although the trade union was not a corporate body it could be sued for damages and that an injunction could be issued against it. The railway union, which had not authorized the strike or any wrong acts committed by the strikers, was compelled to pay in the neighborhood of $115,000 in damages and also put to a total expense of over $200,000. The decision naturally caused consternation in the ranks of the trade unions. Webb estimates that from first to last this decision cost the trade union over a million dollars. The result of this legal decision was in many cases to paralyze the executive committee of the trade unions in the event of a strike. This meant that in the future a corporation would not sue the man guilty of committing a criminal act but could sue the union. If they could get some one from their own employ into the union as a spy and if he committed damages they could compel the union to pay and even force it into bankruptcy. Another result was to arouse the unions to aggressive action. In one year they had doubled their membership, in five they had trebled it. It also stimulated labor to enter the political field and in 1906 twenty-nine labor members were elected to Parliament. They brought enough pressure to bear on Parliament to secure the enactment of the Trades Dispute Act. This provided without any qualification or exception that no civil action may be entertained against a trade union for any wrong act committed by or on behalf of the union. It also gave three privileges to trade union officials: first, by declaring that an act done jointly shall not be actionable if it would have been legal if done individually; second, peaceful picketing was declared to be lawful; and, third, inducing another person to break a contract of employment was legalized. The trade unions thought they were now completely secure.

It was not long, however, before the employers attempted to retaliate. The trade unions had secured the Trades Dispute Act largely because of political action. The trade unions had been contributing to political campaigns. The employers felt that this was wrong and that action on the part of trade unions in the political life of the country was very harmful. The railway companies objected to the presence in Parliament of the secretary of the largest railway union. They therefore persuaded W. V. Osborne to bring suit against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants to prevent it from using its money for political purposes. Mr. Osborne, being a member of the union, claimed that his money was being used for purposes for which he had not donated it. With the aid of the railroads the case was carried up to the House of Lords, where the judgment was in favor of Mr. Osborne. The trade unions were prohibited from making a levy on their membership for the support of the labor party or maintaining members in Parliament. The decision further declared that although the trade unions were not incorporated, they could not lawfully do anything outside the purposes laid down in the Trade Union Act of 1876. Thus the trade unions discovered that they were prohibited from doing anything, even if all their members desired it, which was not within the terms of the Act of 1876. In particular, this prevented educational work, participation in municipal administration, and association in trade councils.

This Osborne judgment received the commendation of property owners, professional men, the liberal and conservative parties. It is small wonder that Gladstone, for long a leader in Great Britain, stated in his *Memoirs* that in fifty years of public life on every great moral issue he had found the propertied classes, the aristocratic class, and the educated classes to be wrong. The Osborne decision remained in force for four years. The Liberal and Conservative Parties were not concerned in changing it. During this period the trade unions were agitating all over the country. One indirect result of this judgment was that Parliament felt called on to provide to elected members a salary of $2,000 a year. This was necessary, since under the law an elected labor union member could not receive a salary paid by the trade union.

In 1913 a law was passed permitting a trade union to include in its constitution any lawful purpose, providing that its principal objects were those of the trade union as defined in the Act of 1876. Money could be spent for any of these purposes. In the case of political work, however, payment was to come from a special fund and any members of the trade union could secure exemption from subscription to it. Although the hostile decisions by the lower courts had probably delayed increases in wages for thousands of workers, the final result was to give trade unionism an established place in the law. Workmen were allowed to combine, they could strike, peaceful picketing was allowed, working men could withdraw from employment even in breach of contract. The trade unions could take part in political activity and they were completely immune from being sued. Sydney Webb makes clear that a rise in wages of a penny an hour for the railroad workers would have cost between twenty-five to thirty million dollars a year. The courts probably had prevented some such rise for a ten-year period, so that the gain to the owners of stocks in the railroad companies amounted to some two hundred fifty million dollars.

During the War, in the Munitions Act the Government provided that no worker on munitions could be discharged on the ground that he was a member of a trade union or had taken part in a trade dispute.[17] This was moving in the other direction: the Government, instead of handicapping organized labor, was placed in the position of protecting it.

The 1913 law remained in force until the Conservative Government came into power and enacted the Trades Dispute Act of 1927. This act provides that a strike for any other object or in addition to the furtherance of a trades dispute within that trade or union in which the strikers are engaged is unlawful, if it is designed to coerce the Government either directly or by inflicting hardship on the community. It is apparently clear that if the object of cessation of work is something more than a dispute with the employers over conditions of work, a strike would be unlawful. There is no definition of what constitutes hardship upon the community and as any strike of necessity involves some inconvenience to the public it might be declared unlawful; certainly this would apply to a sympathetic strike.

According to the Act of 1927 it was declared to be illegal to utilize any money for such illegal strikes. Any one instigating others to take part in such an illegal strike could be summarily imprisoned for a period not exceeding three months, and following conviction on indictment imprisoned for not over two years. It further provided that the Trades Dispute Act of 1906 did not apply in the case of illegal strikes, which means that union funds would be liable for any injury or loss suffered by employers. The Trades Dispute Act of 1927 further made it unlawful to picket, if the pickets attempted to do their work in such a manner as to intimidate any person or to obstruct the approaches to a place of business. This section applied to all strikes either legal or illegal. The difficulty with the law is that it is so easy to say it has been violated. In the State of Massachusetts a law was passed legalizing peaceful picketing. The writer, however, has been in a court of that State where in spite of this law the judge ruled that it is impossible during a strike to have peaceful picketing, thereby nullifying the law. The Trades Dispute Act of 1927 could be similarly interpreted by any judge, who could rule that the number of pickets was calculated to intimidate some one or that they would obstruct the approaches, since there is no definition in the act as to what this may mean.

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[17] Munitions of War Act, 1917, 7 & 8 Geo. V, ch. 45.

The law of 1927 also prohibited the union from discharging any worker who refused to take part in a strike. It also provided that it is unlawful to require any member of a trade union to make any contribution to a political fund unless a personally signed notice to the effect that the member wished to contribute to the fund had been sent to the head office or a branch office. Even in such a case the worker can at any time withdraw this approval. Any political levies which are made have to be secured separately, to be distinct from all the other funds of trade unions, and to be kept separately. The practical effect of this provision is to make it much more difficult for the trade union to secure political funds. It is easy to vote funds for political purposes, it is not so easy to induce a member to make a written request that his money be so used. The attendance at trade union meeting usually embraces but a small fraction of the working forces. Political funds must now be secured after personally interviewing and securing the written consent of every individual in the trade union. This is not so different from the methods which the other political parties use in approaching the general public.

The Act of 1927 furthermore provided that it should be unlawful for any local or public authority to require a worker to be a member of the trade union. It also permitted any person to sue for an injunction to restrain the application of funds of the trade union which might be used in violation of the Act. The result of this drastic law, enacted by the conservative government, was enormously to increase trade union political agitation throughout the country. It contributed materially to the victory of the Labor Party at the polls in 1929. It is probable that the Act of 1927 will, therefore, very shortly be modified or repealed.

Besides this brief sketch of the present legal status of labor in England certain other aspects should be considered.

5. SOCIAL INSURANCE

(a) *Workmen's Compensation*

The first Act, passed in 1925, gives the worker a number of advantages. Any occurrence is considered accidental unless it is expressly designed by the workman himself. Thus a teacher in an industrial school who was assaulted by the boys was held to be able to secure compensation. Those who are protected by the Act include manual laborers; clerical workers, except the following: any person employed in any other way than by manual labor whose remuneration is over $1,700 a year, a person whose employment is of a casual nature not for the purpose of the employers' trade or business, a member of the police force, a member of the employer's family. It can thus be seen that the act was very much more sweeping than the provisions of workmen's compensation in most states in America. It also applies to any workman who is suffering from industrial disease.

(b) *National Health Insurance*

England also has a National Health Insurance law unlike anything we have in the United States. Under this Act, passed in 1924, every person sixteen or over who is at work must be insured and the total number now exceeds fifteen millions. There are, of course, exemptions which cover those who receive pensions of over $130 a year, not the result of their personal services, and those who are dependent on others for a livelihood.

The cost of the Scheme is shared by the insured persons, their employers, and the national government. The revenue is derived, in the first instance, from weekly contributions paid partly by the workers and partly by the employers in the form of health insurance stamps affixed to contribution cards. The rates in 1926 were 9*d*. (about 18 cents) a week in the case of the men (employer 4½*d*., worker 4½*d*.), and 8½*d*. a week in case of women (employer 4½*d*., worker 4*d*.), consequent upon the modifications in the benefits of the Scheme which follow from the provision of pensions at sixty-five under the recent Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act. The contribution from the National Exchequer towards the cost of the Scheme, apart from the cost of the Central Departments, takes the form of the payment of two-ninths of total cost of benefits, and of their administration.

The benefits provided under the plan are:

(1) Medical benefit, i.e., medical treatment and attendance, including provision of proper medicines and of prescribed medical and surgical appliances.

(2) Sickness benefit, i.e., periodical payments during incapacity for work through illness. The ordinary rates of sickness benefit are 15*s.* a week for men, and 12*s.* a week for women, commencing on the fourth day of incapacity and continuing for a maximum period of 26 weeks.

(3) Disablement benefit, i.e., a continuance of periodical payments during illness at the reduced rate of 7*s.* 6*d.* a week for both men and women after the title to sickness benefit has been exhausted.

(4) Maternity benefit, i.e., payment of the sum of £2 on the confinement of an insured woman or the wife of an insured man. (A total sum of £4 is payable in the case of a married woman who is or has recently been herself an employed contributor.)

(5) Additional benefits, which may be provided by an Approved Society having a disposable surplus on valuation, and may take the form either of an increase of the normal cash benefits, or payment towards the cost of various forms of treatment, such as dental, ophthalmic, hospital, or convalescent home treatment.

The Act makes provision for variation from normal contributions or benefits in the case of certain special classes of insured persons, such as women who cease employment on marriage, men serving in the armed forces of the Crown, seamen of Mercantile Marine, and others. There are also special provisions on a non-insurance basis for that class of persons known as deposit contributors, who can not, or do not attempt to, obtain admission to an Approved Society.

(c) *Unemployment Insurance*[18]

As is well known, the workers of Great Britain are also protected by unemployment insurance. This was first made obligatory in 1911. At that time it was restricted to certain trades, such as building construction of railroads, and docks, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, iron foundries, sawmilling, and vehicle construction. However, this law was amended by the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920 which makes virtually all persons between the ages of sixteen and sixty-five who are employed under contract of service in Great Britain, including apprentices in receipt of a money payment, fall under its provisions.

The following classes do not have to be insured:

Persons employed in agriculture, horticulture and forestry; private domestic service; established civil servants; non-manual workers receiving

[18] See R. C. Davidson, *The Unemployed,* pp. 275-290.

remuneration at a rate exceeding £250 a year; persons to whose employers the Minister has granted a Certificate of Exception, which can only be issued to Government Departments, Public and Local Authorities, Railway Companies, Public Utilities, and employers whose employees have superannuation rights under an Act of Parliament; regular sailors, soldiers and airmen; teachers in established posts; female professional nurses and probationers; members of police force; commission agents who are mainly dependent upon some other occupation or who are employed as commission agents by more than one employer and are not mainly dependent upon any one such employer; persons casually employed for private purposes; persons employed in certain part-time subsidiary employments specified in Special Orders made by the Minister; share fishermen wholly remunerated by share; persons employed by their husbands or their wives, or by their parents and receiving no wages or other money payment; persons maintained by the employer and not receiving wages or other money-payment.

The decision on questions of insurability lies with the Minister of Labor, but any person aggrieved by a decision of the Minister may appeal to the High Court, and the Minister may, instead of himself deciding any question, refer the question to the Court.

The following persons may apply for a Certificate of Exemption during the currency of which they are not liable to pay contributions and are not entitled to receive benefit: (a) Persons in receipt of a pension or income of the annual value of at least £26 not dependent on their personal exertions; (b) persons ordinarily or mainly dependent for their livelihood on some other person; (c) persons ordinarily and mainly dependent for their livelihood on earnings in an uninsurable occupation; (d) persons who are employed in a seasonable occupation not usually extending over more than 18 weeks in a year and who are not ordinarily employed in any other insurable occupation.

The employers of persons holding Certificates of Exemption are still required to pay the employer's share of the contribution.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE CONTRIBUTIONS

Contributions are payable by employers, employed persons and the Exchequer

Present Rates of Contribution (since July 2, 1928)

Class of employed persons	*Employer's contribution*	*Employee's contribution*	*Exchequer contribution*	*Total contribution*
Boys aged 16 and 17........	4*d.*	3½*d.*	3*d.*	10½*d.*
Girls aged 16 and 17........	3½*d.*	3*d.*	2¼*d.*	8¾*d.*
Young men aged 18, 19 20...	7*d.*	6*d.*	5¼*d.*	18¼*d.*
Young women aged 18, 19, 20	6*d.*	5*d.*	3¾*d.*	14¾*d.*
Men aged 21 to 65..........	8*d.*	7*d.*	6*d.*	21*d.*
Women aged 21 to 65.......	7*d.*	6*d.*	4½*d.*	17½*d.*

Any person entering an insurable employment obtains an unemployment book and hands it to the employer, who is, in the first instance, liable to pay the joint contribution of himself and the employed person. This is in general done by affixing an unemployment insurance stamp to the unemployment book issued in the name of the employee. The unemployment book has a currency of one insurance year. In general, contributions must be made before wages are paid. The employer is entitled to recover the employee's contribution by deduction from his wages. Employers of persons aged sixty-five or over who are in insurable employment pay the employer's share of the contribution only, and pay it whether or not the employee is in receipt of a State Old Age Pension. . . .

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT

Class of Insured Person *Weekly Rate*	*s.*	*d.*
Men aged 21 to 65	17	0
Women aged 21 to 65	15	0
Boys aged 16 and 17	6	0
Girls aged 16 and 17	5	0
Young men not in receipt of dependents' benefit:		
Aged 20	14	0
Aged 19	12	0
Aged 18	10	0
Young women not in receipt of dependents' benefit:		
Aged 20	12	0
Aged 19	10	0.
Aged 18	8	0
Dependents' benefit:		
For an adult dependent	7	0
For a dependent child	2	0

Young men and young women aged 18 to 20, if in receipt of dependents' benefit, get the same rates of ordinary benefit as adults aged 21 to 65. Persons aged 65 and over are not entitled to receive benefit.

Benefit for Dependents

The dependents in respect of whom the above-mentioned additional rate of 7*s.* a week may be paid are as follows: A wife living with the claimant or being maintained wholly or mainly by him; a female person residing with the claimant (male or female) wholly or mainly maintained by claimant, if she has the care of the dependent children of claimant; a dependent husband if he is prevented by physical or mental infirmity from supporting himself and is maintained wholly or mainly by claimant, his wife; a widowed mother, widowed step-mother, unmarried mother, or mother whose husband is permanently disabled and unable to work, if living with claimant and wholly or mainly maintained by him or her.

An additional benefit of 7*s.* per week can be received only for one dependent at a time, and is not payable for wife or female person in receipt of unemployment benefit or in regular wage-earning employment, or engaged in occupation ordinarily carried on for profit.

An additional benefit of 2*s.* a week is payable to any child under fourteen maintained wholly or mainly by claimant, and any child fourteen or fifteen under full-time instruction in day school maintained by claimant. Two shillings may be claimed for step-child, adopted child or illegitimate child.

Waiting Period and Continuity Rule

There is a waiting period of six days for which no benefit is payable. Once claimant has completed waiting period, another waiting period is not required so long as unemployment is continuous. . . .

Statutory Conditions for Receipt of Benefit

(1) That not less than thirty contributions have been paid in two years immediately preceding date of application for benefit. (See exception below.) A person who has been for two years in receipt of a pension for disability contracted during the late War and who, by reason of disability, fails to satisfy this condition need only prove payment of ten contributions instead of thirty. If a person is unfit for work because of sickness, the period of two years may be extended by the period of sickness, provided the total period shall not exceed four years. If a claimant satisfies the condition at the date of claim, he is regarded as satisfying it for the next three months.

(2) Proof that the insured person has been continuously unemployed since application date.

(3) That the claimant is capable of work and available for work.

(4) That the claimant is genuinely seeking work, but unable to obtain suitable employment.

(5) That the claimant, if so required, has duly attended an approved course of instruction. (Specially applied to juveniles.)

Moreover, a person does not fail to satisfy conditions merely because he declines an offer of employment in a situation vacant in consequence of stoppage of work due to trade dispute; nor because he declines an offer of employment in his usual occupation in his usual locality at a lower rate of wages under less favorable conditions than he might reasonably have expected to obtain; nor because he has declined employment in his usual occupation in any other district at lower wages under less favorable conditions than those generally observed in that district by agreement between Associations of employers and employees, or than those generally recognized in that district by good employees.

After the lapse of a reasonable interval, a claimant may be required as a condition of receiving benefit to seek and to accept employment of a kind other than his usual employment, under favorable wages and conditions generally recognized by good employers.

Transitional Conditions for the Receipt of Benefit

Up to April 19, 1929, or the end of a benefit year beginning before that date (whichever is the later), a claimant who can not satisfy the first Statutory Condition (the thirty contributions condition referred to above) may in lieu thereof satisfy the following three conditions:

(1) That eight or more contributions have been paid in two years before the date of claim:

or

that thirty or more contributions have been paid at any time; and

(2) That he is normally employed in insurable employment and that he will normally seek to obtain his livelihood by means of insurable employment; and

(3) That he has during the past two years been employed to such an extent as was reasonable, having regard to all the circumstances of the case and in particular to the opportunities for obtaining insurable employment during that period.

Men who have during the last two years been in receipt of a pension for a disability received in the late War are excused from condition (1).

Disqualifications for the Receipt of Benefit

(1) An insured contributor who has lost employment by reason of a stoppage of work due to a trade dispute in the factory, or workshop, is disqualified for receiving benefit, so long as the stoppage of work continues. If he obtains other employment during the stoppage of work, this disqualification may be removed. Such disqualification is not imposed if the insured contributor can prove that neither he nor other members of his own grade or class were participating either directly or indirectly in the dispute which caused the stoppage.

(2) An insured contributor losing his employment through misconduct or leaving work voluntarily, may be disqualified for six weeks or such shorter time as may be determined.

(3) An insured contributor is disqualified while he is an inmate of any prison or workhouse or other institution supported out of public funds, or while he is residing outside the United Kingdom.

(4) An insured contributor is disqualified while receiving sickness or disablement benefit, or blind person's pension.

Administration of Benefit by Local Education Authorities

Certain local education authorities have undertaken duties in connection with payment of benefit for boys and girls aged 16 and 17. In such areas, boys and girls must claim their benefit at the Bureau of the Education Authority.

Arrangements with Associations for the Administration of State Benefit: Indirect Claims

The Minister may make an arrangement for the administration of State benefit with any trade union or with a society approved under the National Health Insurance Act, or a body subordinate to it. The society or association must be one whose rules provide for payments to its members while they are unemployed.

Financial Provisions

There is established, under the control and management of the Minister, an Unemployment Fund into which are paid all contributions and out of which are paid all unemployment benefits, and any other payments payable out of that fund.

The Treasury may advance sums required for the purpose of discharging liabilities of the Unemployment Fund, provided the total amount of advances outstanding at any time does not exceed £30,000,000 [subsequently extended to £40,000,000]. Interest on such advances is paid out of the Unemployment Fund, and the sums advanced are repaid from time to time. The cost of the administration is paid by the Unemployment Fund itself up to a limit fixed at 12½ per cent. of the income of that fund.

There are three classes of workers who need help: the regular worker who is temporarily out of work, the worker who because of inventions and improvements is no longer needed, and the worker who because of deficiencies of character or physique is subnormal. The difficulty with unemployment insurance is that in England it is a blanket law which has been applied to all three of these categories when perhaps each one needs special treatment. Nevertheless, Americans may well ask why, if England can have unemployment insurance, the United States—which is economically more stable and prosperous—can not have it.

Conclusion

It can thus be seen that although the British worker has to constantly appeal to Parliament to protect him and although the British courts favor the employer on the whole, the legal position of the British worker is very much better than that of the American. In all the history of the labor movement in Great Britain there are no records of such conditions as our mob violence in Ludlow, Colorado; industrial warfare in West Virginia, deportations and treason trials in South Carolina, and the brutality of the mounted police in Pennsylvania. In Great Britain during the railroad strike of 1919, over one hundred football games were played between the railroad strikers and the state troops and the *proceeds went for the benefit of the strikers.* This would be unheard of in the United States. During the miners' strike, when four million were unemployed, or even during the General Strike there was virtually no violence.

In another respect the British laborer is more secure than his American fellow-worker. He usually has the right of freedom of speech even in time of strike and the injunction is not issued against him. If a British labor leader is arrested he is brought into open court and tried just the same as any one else. He is not jailed for contempt of court without a trial, as so often happens in the United States.

6. CONCILIATION MACHINERY

One result of the collapse of the General Strike was to make the more conservative union leaders eager to reach some agreement with the employers on how to avoid disputes. At a joint meeting of employers and trade union representatives in 1928 the following plan was adopted. How successful the plan will be remains for the future to tell, but it seems clear that association, contact, and coöperation between workers and employers should mitigate the intensity of misunderstanding and hate which often appears when employer and trade union representative are completely cut off from each other.

The Prevention of Disputes

(Scheme adopted by The Conference on Industrial Reorganization and Industrial Relations, 4th July, 1928)

A. Preamble.—Successful as the machinery for negotiation between Employers and Workers has been in avoiding the outbreak of industrial disputes, it is felt that there are various ways in which the existing machinery for negotiation might be improved or strengthened. The historical review on conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes given in the Survey of Industrial Relations by the Balfour Committee demonstrates the great amount of anxious thought which has been given in this country during the last forty years toward evolving machinery for the avoidance of strikes and lockouts. In no industrial country has so much been done, and it is only fair to say that the existing machinery has, on the whole, been successful in dealing with the great majority of disputes. On the other hand, this does not blind us to the fact that during the last few years the existing machinery has failed to deal with certain disputes of a serious magnitude.

The main problem would, therefore, appear to be finding means of avoiding the outbreak of disputes which have failed to be settled by the ordinary negotiating machinery in the industries concerned. From the outset it is agreed that:

(I) Nothing should be done to interfere with the beneficial work which is being carried on by existing joint machinery.

(II) Wherever possible the existing joint machinery should be improved or strengthened.

(III) The application of the element of compulsion would be unacceptable and undesirable.

This Conference is convinced that the most valuable and helpful element toward seeking a means of preventing disputes lies in the main objective of the Conference—the strengthening of good relations between organizations on both sides and their recognition of joint industrial responsibility. This Conference believes that a broader acceptation of the responsibility of industry as a whole for the avoidance of stoppages of work should be developed.

To enable this to be done under the best auspices it is felt that Joint Conciliation Boards should be formed, composed equally of representative Trade Union leaders and of employers representative of industry.

B. Elective Bodies.—In view of the proposal to establish a National Industrial Council, consisting of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress on the one side and an equal number of representatives of employers to be nominated by the Federation of British Industries and the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations on the other, it is agreed that the elective bodies to a Joint Standing Committee to appoint Joint Conciliation Boards should be as follows:

(I) That the Joint Standing Committee should consist of ten representatives of the workers and ten representatives of the employers.

(II) That the ten representatives of the workers should be nominated by the General Council members of the National Industrial Council.

(III) That the ten representatives of the employers should be nominated by the representatives of the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations on the National Industrial Council.

The Joint Conciliation Boards should be at liberty to discuss and consider in relation to industrial disputes all questions of any character relating to the industry under consideration.

It is understood that the members nominated to the Joint Standing

Committee and the Joint Conciliation Boards would be as representative on the one side of employers as on the other side of the workers, and should be equal in number.

C. Recommendations.—Accordingly it is recommended that:

1. A Standing Committee of the National Industrial Council nominated as to half its members by the General Council representatives of the National Industrial Council and as to half by the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations representatives of the National Industrial Council should be set up to act as the elective and executive authority for the provision of Joint Conciliation Boards for industrial disputes.

2. The Joint Standing Committee should lay down the detailed nature of the Joint Conciliation Boards, their procedure and functions, but that in doing this they should be guided by the following considerations:

(a) When a dispute has failed to be settled within an industry, on the application of either party the Joint Standing Committee would make available a Joint Conciliation Board to investigate and report upon the matters tending towards a dispute.

In order to facilitate investigation it is desirable that both parties should arrange that on an application made to the Joint Standing Committee no stoppage of work or alteration in conditions should take place pending the report of the Joint Conciliation Board.

(b) The report of the Joint Conciliation Board should be reported to the parties and to the Joint Standing Committee before publication.

(c) The personnel of the Joint Conciliation Boards should not be permanent. The Joint Standing Committee should appoint in each particular case referred to a Joint Conciliation Board, the most suitable representatives to deal with the particular industry or matter tending towards dispute.

(d) The Joint Standing Committee should have authority to reject application for reference to the Joint Conciliation Board if, in their opinion, the dispute was not of such a nature as should be referred.

(e) The Joint Standing Committee should also fix a time limit for the stages of reference, hearing, and report to a Joint Conciliation Board so that the matters in dispute should be reviewed promptly and reported upon without undue delay.

V. SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES

In nearly every country the labor movement has not sprung up overnight, nor has it had the protection of the government. It has had to win for itself the legal right to exist against the bitter opposition of the propertied classes and the government. It would be possible to show that this has been true in practically every country which has had a genuine industrial revolution. It is impossible to do this within the limits of this volume. Nevertheless, it has seemed desirable to remind the reader of some of the outstanding events in the history of the American labor movement in order that he may contrast it with that of Great Britain.

I. A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

The American labor movement was not an outgrowth or development from Great Britain. It has been a natural product of American conditions. The reasons why American labor could not develop along the lines of English experience are many. In the first place, we never have had feudalism in the United States. The workers are not bound down into a class organization. Each laborer hopes to rise into the capitalist ranks himself. In the early period of our history, if things went wrong, he could always go West and become an independent farmer. Furthermore, the American worker received his ballot without fighting for it. He had not secured so many gains through distinctive political action as the English worker. The size of the United States makes labor organization much more difficult here than in Europe. A single state in the United States may be larger than all of England. If the workers organize in one locality they may not be able to do so in another where freedom of speech and assembly may be illegal and prohibited. American labor has had to face a stream of foreign immigrants, who could be used to break the high standards which they had secured. Again, capital is better organized in the United States than in any other country. Labor unions have had to face billion dollar corporations. Moreover, the skilled workers are better paid than in Europe; conditions for them are reasonably tolerable, so "why waste much energy on trade unions, particularly of the unskilled," is their argument.

To be sure the leaders of the American Federation of Labor would probably say that they are deeply interested in having unskilled workers organized but that it is a much more difficult task than in the skilled field. They feel, "It is pretty generally true that workers in what are generally regarded as the more skilled trades are persons of greater intelligence and they were the first to see the value of unionism and the first to act, but there is nothing to prevent the unskilled from taking action and joining the trade union movement." All this simply means that in the past while accepting unskilled unions where they developed, the American Federation of Labor leadership did not devote itself unsparingly to the organization of this class. Furthermore, the individualistic psychology of America with its materialistic emphasis has been against idealistic and Utopian philosophies and favorable to the practical type of labor leadership.

Bearing these features in mind, let us consider briefly some of the outstanding events in the American labor movement.[19]

Beginnings: 1785-1835

The development of the labor movement in various countries throughout the world has shown that effective unions have not usually been formed unless the following conditions were present:

1. There must be some degree of general education, so that the labor leaders are literate and the rank and file must have been educated to the necessity of organization by those leaders.
2. The basic tools of production must not be owned by the workers.
3. The workers must come together in close contact through their occupation.
4. To some degree at least the opportunity to rise from the ranks of labor must be curtailed.
5. There must be factors which are creating dissatisfaction among the workers.

In the United States this development had not taken place until about 1835. Nevertheless, as early as 1785 we find New York workingmen organizing a society to reduce the cost of living, a sort of coöperative, and in the first quarter of the nineteenth century guilds of workers had begun to form organizations. They gradually found it wise to prohibit employers from membership. In nearly every case they were purely local organizations. A first instance of collective bargaining, i.e., negotiation between employers and employees occurred in Philadelphia when the shoemakers of 1799 sent a deputation to wait upon the employers with an offer of compromise. In 1786 the printers of Philadelphia stopped work jointly to enforce their demands and precipitated one of the first strikes in the United States. As soon as labor organizations began to fix definite conditions of labor they needed to send a committee to the various factories to see if the workers were living up to these conditions. This was called at first the "tramping committee."

As in other countries, the courts were often used to suppress efforts for justice on the part of the workers. Although our American movement is quite distinct from that of Great Britain, our legal traditions were inherited from England. Consequently, the American courts took over the doctrine of conspiracy in reference to combined action. Such a legal precedent was natural enough in a country with a monarchy. It was rather out of place in a democracy, but it suited the purposes of the wealthy owners. As far back as 1305 in England a statute had been enacted against all persons who combined for a "malicious enterprise." This was a convenient weapon to use against organized labor. Moreover, the doctrine which came across the Atlantic from England prohibited all combinations in restraint of trade. The result was that, when in Philadelphia, for instance, the cordwainers called a strike in 1805, they were tried for conspiracy and found guilty. Although at that time children under sixteen worked twelve hours or more a day it was considered unlawful conspiracy to try to decrease working hours. About the end of the first quarter of the century the carpenters of Boston struck for a ten-hour day, but lost. It is interesting to remember that the first real trade union was organized in Philadelphia in 1827 under the name of the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations. This antedated the organization of a similar union in Manchester, England, by two years, although the idea and the name had come from across the Atlantic. The following year this union started the first labor paper—*The Mechanics' Free Press.*

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[19] The student who desires to have a more adequate idea of the American labor movement is urged to turn to the study by John R. Commons and associates, *History of Labor in the United States,* or to Mary Beard, *A Short History of the American Labor Movement,* or to Samuel P. Orth, *The Armies of Labor.*

The movement for political action started in Philadelphia as a result of the carpenters' strike for a ten-hour day. In 1828 the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations proposed to the various other trade organizations that they should unite in electing those who were friendly to the interests of the working class in the city council and the state legislature. A large number were elected. This movement soon spread. In at least fifteen cities local labor centers were formed and fifty labor papers were founded. Their program was for free and equal public education, the ten-hour day, and the abolition of sweat shops. Then, as now, the press declared the movement for shorter hours to be of dangerous foreign origin. One of the Boston papers declared it "could not believe this project has originated with any of the faithful and industrious sons of New England, but was compelled to consider it an evil of foreign growth." In March, 1834, the trade unions of the country at a convention in New York City urged equal universal education. The next year they demanded free libraries. In large measure it may be said that the public school system is the result of the efforts of labor sympathizers. However, political activities had the effect of taking time and attention away from the trade union organization. The result was that labor turned back again to industrial action.

Trade Unionism

(From 1836 to the Civil War)

In 1836 it is estimated that membership in organized unions numbered over 300,000. During 1835-1836 five different organizations held conventions on a national scale: the cordwainers, carpenters, printers, combmakers, and hand-loom weavers. At this time there were 58 unions in Philadelphia, 52 in New York City, 16 in Newark, N. J., and 13 in Pittsburgh. Organizations for women were also beginning. During this period the courts were used vigorously against strikers. For instance, in 1836 in New York, where the tailors were on strike, twenty of them were convicted of conspiracy and fined fifty dollars or more. Afterwards mass meetings were held denouncing the courts for declaring union activity illegal and a resolution was passed declaring "to all acts of tyranny and injustice resistance is just and therefore necessary." Handbills were circulated declaring

> The Rich against the Poor!
>
> Twenty of our brethren have been found guilty for presuming to resist a reduction in their wages! . . . Judge Edwards has charged . . . the Rich are the only judges of the wants of the poor. On Monday, June 6, 1836, the Freemen are to receive their sentence, to gratify the hellish appetites of aristocracy! . . . Go! Go! Go! Every Freeman, every Workingman, and hear the melancholy sound of the earth on the Coffin of Equality. Let the Court Room, the City-hall—yea, the whole Park—be filled with mourners! But remember, offer no violence to Judge Edwards! Bend meekly and receive the chains wherewith you are to be bound! Keep the peace! Above all things, keep the peace!

In 1834 the National Trade Union had been formed and annual conventions were held until the panic of 1837. The result of the panic was again to turn labor temporarily toward political action because the unions were so badly weakened. With prosperity, however, there was again a tendency to turn back to the trade union movement. Gradually the ten-hour day began to win its way. In 1847 the British Parliament passed such a law. In the same year the New Hampshire Legislature enacted it, while Pennsylvania did so the following year. New Jersey, Ohio, and Rhode Island followed suit by 1853, and the ten-hour day was won.

The Civil War caused great hardship among the workers because the increased wages did not keep pace with the rising cost of living. Nevertheless, by the end of the War the number of local unions had increased.

National Organizations: 1866-1877

The growth of the railroads, with the rapid development of commerce on a nation-wide scale, led to the establishment of various national trade unions. The order of the Knights of St. Crispin was organized to protect the unskilled shoe workers, for instance, and in 1866 a national labor congress was held in Baltimore which was attended by delegates from thirteen states. It demanded control of immigration, the eight-hour day, and national amalgamation in Congress of all organized labor. By 1868 the movement for shorter hours was successful in securing the enactment of such a law for Federal employees. This organization was successful for a time, gaining 640,000 members, but the majority decided to affiliate with the Labor Reform Party in 1870. This split the membership and after 1871 it disappeared. There followed the organization of industrial brotherhoods in 1873 which was a radical movement but against political action. In 1876 this resulted in the organization of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. This period saw the start of the Molly McGuires, a secret society which used terroristic methods against the bosses. Their organization and methods no doubt came about because after a seven months' strike in 1874-75, the mine owners and the state authorities had used violence against the workers. Afterwards it was made impossible to organize openly in these districts and the Molly McGuires resulted. Violence usually begets violence. In 1875 a general textile strike in Fall River was lost by the workers. In 1877 there was a railroad strike. It started on the Pennsylvania and spread to other lines, with the result that Federal troops were called out and a powerful stimulus was given to the building up of state militias. Following the panic of 1873 the number of national craft unions fell from thirty to eight.

The Knights of Labor

As a result of the panic there rose the Greenback Labor Party and later the Socialist Labor Party. As far back as in 1869 H. Smith Stevens and other garment workers had founded the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor as a secret local order. Its secrecy caused many to misunderstand and fear what it was trying to do. As a result of the hostility, especially of the Catholic Church, the Knights finally gave up the secret character of their organization in 1881. The organization was most democratic, admitting all laborers, skilled and unskilled, men and women, white and black. They believed in the public ownership of all public utilities and the coöperative production and distribution of goods. The growth of the organization was slow at first, so that in 1873 they had only six assemblies, all in Philadelphia. However, so quickly did the movement spread, that in 1875 they were able to call a national convention in which Socialist participation was welcomed. By 1885 the members numbered over 700,000 and at one time they boasted a membership of over a million. Naturally, it was a conglomeration of all sorts and conditions of men, including radicals, conservatives, and intellectuals. To a limited extent it carried on union activity. For instance, for a number of years the miners were united in an organization under its leadership. There were also some local and district assemblies that functioned as craft or industrial organizations.

The Knights of Labor, in addition to political work, supported many strikes. It was often impossible for the executives to know whether the strikes were justified or not. In the single year 1886 there were nearly 500 such labor disputes. In the same year the Knights of Labor vigorously supported a strike on the Southwestern Railroad. After two months of violence the strikers lost. This and many other defeats were very damaging to the prestige of the organization. In Chicago, during a strike of some 60,000 workers on the railroad, some one threw a bomb into a mass meeting in Haymarket Square. Seven people were killed and sixty wounded. As a result seven anarchists were hanged. The Knights of Labor demanded clemency for the murderers. This did much to impair the reputation of the Order in the public mind. The next year, in the Grand Lodge of the Knights, a vote of sympathy for the anarchists was voted down, whereupon the radicals seceded from the organization. In the meanwhile the American Federation of Labor was beginning to organize on a craft basis, appealing to the more highly skilled workers. The decline of the Knights of Labor had begun.

The Rise of the American Federation of Labor: 1886-1900

Some of the disaffected Knights of Labor had formed an amalgamated union. The trade union element predominated and looked to the British movement as their model. At a meeting of this group in 1881, together with the Knights of Industry, a new organization was begun under the name of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. In 1886 it met at Columbus in a convention representing the trade unions. A federation was effected, representing twenty-five organizations, under the title of the American Federation of Labor. Whereas the Knights of Labor had allowed almost any one who was sympathetic with the labor movement to join, the American Federation of Labor actually seemed to center about the skilled workers and was an organization largely on a craft basis, although officially it refused to advocate the "trade" union to the exclusion of the "industrial" union [20] or vice versa. The Knights of Labor attempted to rule dictatorily from above; the American Federation of Labor placed complete autonomy in the hands of the member unions. There was also a difference of policy. Wage consciousness was substituted for class consciousness. It was considered better to accept the present economic order and work within it for greater benefits for all union members. Collective bargaining with employers and written trade agreements now received chief stress. As a result its membership grew rapidly. In 1889 alone over 70,000 new members were reported and in 1900 over 200,000. A rivalry quickly developed between it and the Knights of Labor, with the result that the American Federation of Labor won the workers to its support, while the Knights of Labor gradually disintegrated. The open break between the two organizations was precipitated because of jurisdictional disputes with the Knights of Labor. Non-union goods condemned by the regular trade unions were often made by members affiliated with the Knights of Labor. Thus the two organizations were constantly in conflict. In 1886 the Knights declared open war on the American Federation of Labor, but lost the battle.

From 1900 to the World War

During this period the membership of the American Federation of Labor increased very rapidly. Under Samuel Gompers' leadership the Federation continued to promote industrial action, following the settled policy of non-partizan political action, rewarding friends and punishing enemies, but not supporting any one political party. Samuel Gompers believed in a policy of extreme economy. Under his leadership the American Federation of Labor demanded only small funds from the trade unions and paid modest salaries. Gompers insisted on democratic methods in debate and referendum in reaching important decisions, and he did not act until he had the majority behind him. He thus remained the unchallenged leader of the American Federation of Labor until his death. At the beginning of the World War the American Federation of Labor maintained neutrality, but with the declaration of war by the United States all the energies of the officers were thrown into its support.

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[20] An industrial union is one which embraces all the workers in a given industry irrespective of their particular skill. The United Mine Workers of America is such a union.

From the World War to the Present Time

The officials of the American Federation of Labor during the War accepted positions on government boards and in general opposed strikes. It also strongly opposed the I. W. W. and other radical groups. It received strong support from President Wilson and succeeded in securing the enactment of the Clayton Act, which declared that labor combinations could not be considered in restraint of trade. The American Federation of Labor emerged from the World War with a larger membership than ever before in its history. However, it had to meet the militant efforts of the employers to reduce wages after the peace settlement, which resulted in several strikes in the coal fields and elsewhere. Labor lost, at least partially, most of the struggles. In the last coal strike it was forced to settle on an individual district basis instead of a national one.

Besides the American Federation of Labor there are four railroad brotherhoods, of which the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is the oldest and most powerful. There is constant talk of the railway brotherhoods joining the American Federation of Labor, but up to the present time this has not been effected. During the War the government aided the railroad boards by permitting organization on the lines controlled by the government, and both McAdoo, the Director-General of the railroads, and his successor gave large increases to the workers.

Another successful union which is independent of the American Federation of Labor is the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. This arose because of sweat shop conditions in the clothing industry and has to-day in the neighborhood of 100,000 members. It has a standing request for admission to the American Federation of Labor, but because of the fact that the United Garment Workers in the same field had a prior charter, this has not yet been granted.

The American Federation of Labor has lately seen the necessity of changing from a craft basis in certain large-scale mass-production industries and has talked about organizing the automobile industry on an industrial basis, but thus far without success. In 1930 a serious inner revolt within the United Mine Workers resulted in the establishment of a dual union. The A. F. of L. is also facing radical Communistic action which has recently assumed leadership of strikes in the textile centers in the South. In its Convention of 1929 it voted to start organizing the Southern worker. Up to the present time the American movement has not developed political tendencies akin to that of Great Britain, although a small group has organized a conference for Progressive Labor action.

The labor movement in the United States is decidedly American, a product of our individualistic philosophy; it is intolerant of Utopian schemes of reform and is beginning to undertake coöperative work with the employer. Provided it can secure adequate wages and hours, it is content to leave more radical programs to the intellectual liberals who are interested in social movements in the United States, but are without much power. Nevertheless, there has always been a radical movment: at one time the Knights of Labor, later the I. W. W. and the Socialist Party, and since the War we have in addition the Communist group. No one can predict when or if these more radical groups may grow into the majority. Anything may happen in the future, especially in a period of depression.

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The provisions of the Clayton Act affecting labor are so important that we give the exact wording and also a resolution of the American Federation of Labor tending to show that, contrary to the impression of many business leaders, it is willing to aid in increasing production.

Section 6 of the Clayton Act of 15th October, 1914; 38 Stat. l. c. 323.

"Sec. t. That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agricultural, or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purpose of mutual help, and not having capital stock or conducted for profit, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof; nor shall such organizations, or the members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, under the anti-trust laws."

Resolution adopted by the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1926. Proc. 1925, p. 271.

"We hold that the best interests of the wage-earners, as well as those of the whole social group, are served, in increasing production in quality as well as in quantity, by high wage standards which assure the sustained purchasing power to the workers and, therefore, higher national standards for the environment in which they live, and means to enjoy cultured opportunities. We declare that wage reductions produce industrial and social unrest, and low wages are not conducive to low production costs. We urge upon wage-earners everywhere that we oppose all wage reductions, and we urge upon managements the elimination of waste in production in order that selling prices may be lower and wages higher.

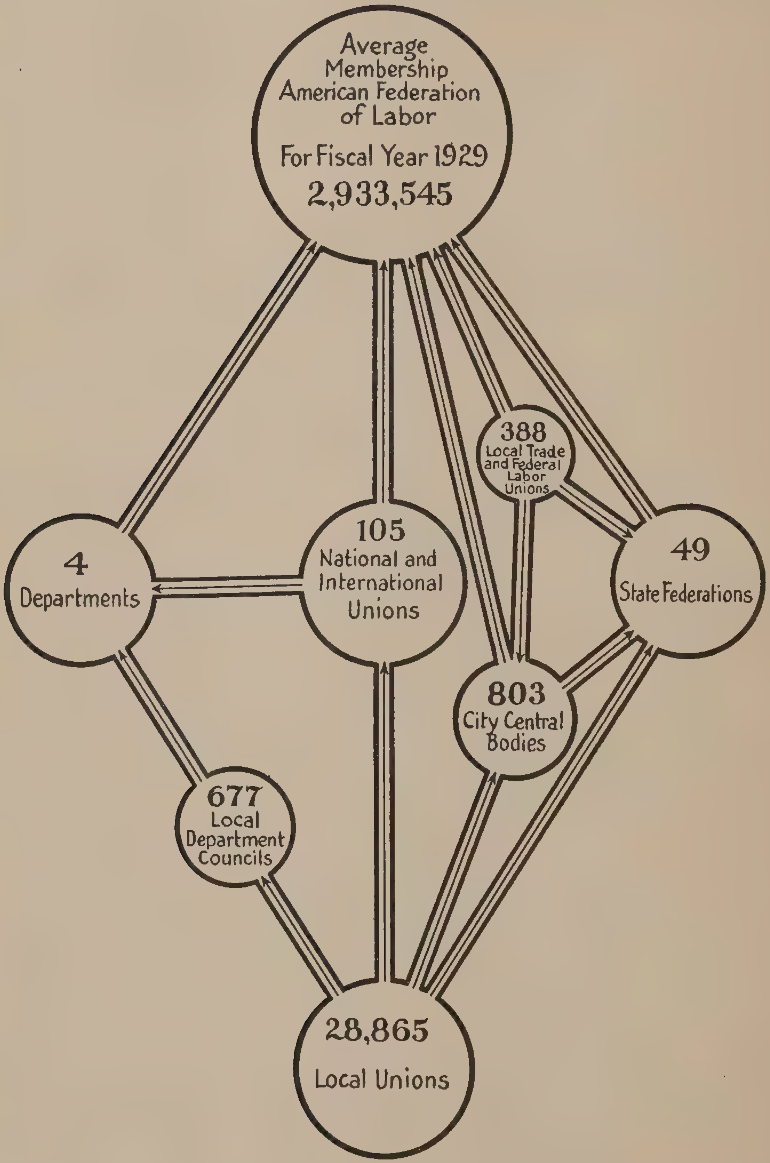
"To this end we recommend co-operation in the study of waste in production, which the assay of the Federated American Engineering Societies, covering important industries, has shown to be 50 per cent attributable to management, and only 25 per cent attributable to labor, with 25 per cent attributable to other sources. . . . Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages—the purchasing power of their wages—coupled with a continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day, are progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production."

2. THE STRUCTURE OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Since the American Federation of Labor is the most important organization in the United States affecting labor, its organization should be clearly understood by the student. It is purely a voluntary federation made up principally of international trade unions, so called because they include the workers of the United States, Canada and, in some instances, Mexico. It also combines federal unions for workers who are not organized in sufficient numbers to justify the creation of an international organization. In the case of international unions the American Federation of Labor has the right to settle conflicts of jurisdiction, to see to it that no two internationals have in their membership workers engaged in the same character of work, or, in other words, that there should be no overlapping. The main function of the Federation of Labor is to act as the central policy making agency for the entire labor movement and to assume leadership in putting these policies into effect. The Federation does important work in the political, as well as in the economic and social fields. At the present time, with industry changing its machinery so rapidly, this is extremely difficult. The only power the American Federation of Labor has to enforce its decision is to revoke the charter of an international union. This can be done by a two-thirds vote at the annual convention. The American Federation of Labor has salaried organizers who help to strengthen and develop unions. It also has nearly a thousand volunteer organizers who receive no salary, although they are given an honorarium for each union they help to organize. The income of the American Federation of Labor comes from a fixed monthly *per capita* tax of one cent per member.

The international unions are the real powerful units in the federation machinery. They usually have centralized authority and power, although their internal government differs widely. Nearly always the officers have the power to disapprove of strikes. However, the international unions usually permit their locals to initiate collective agreements or to inaugurate strikes, provided they do not receive the disapproval of the national organization.

The following chart gives a rough picture of the American Federation of Labor to-day.



Average Membership American Federation of Labor
For Fiscal Year 1929
2,933,545
4
Departments
105
National and International Unions
388
Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions
49
State Federations
803
City Central Bodies
677
Local Department Councils
28,865
Local Unions

The above chart outlines the organic structure of the American Federation of Labor, with its 105 national and international affiliates, four departments (metal, building, railway shop employes and union label trades), State federations, city central bodies, local department councils and local unions.

Wherever there is not a sufficient number of workers in a particular trade to organize an international union, they can usually affiliate directly with the American Federation of Labor as a federal union. To-day there are approximately four hundred of such small unions. In the case of federal unions the officers of the A. F. of L. are the officers of the subordinate organization. To-day there are approximately five hundred such small groups with over 30,000 workers in their membership. Members in these unions pay twenty-five cents a month to the A. F. of L.

The locals in each city of the United States are usually affiliated into city centrals. These local city federations are directly authorized by the American Federation of Labor and pay the latter ten dollars annually as dues. The city federations usually meet twice a month and promote any measures which are in the interest of all the unions of that particular locality. State federations of labor are similarly organized, except that they embrace the unions throughout an entire state. They similarly receive their charter from the American Federation of Labor and pay ten dollars in dues. The final authority of the A. F. of L. lies with the annual convention. City and state federations are represented by one delegate. International unions have one delegate for any organization up to 4,000 members; two delegates if they have 4,000 members or more; three delegates for 8,000 or more; four delegates for 16,000 or more, and so on. Each delegate has one vote, except that on a roll call he casts a total number of votes equal to the membership of the entire international union although the city and state federations have but a single vote each. Sometimes the entire convention votes in favor of organizing a particular group of workers. This happened in 1929, when it was voted to actively assist in organizing the textile workers in the South. The executive council of the Federation which is elected annually consists of a president, eight vice-presidents, a secretary and treasurer. Since the Convention meets only annually, the executive council handles all matters between the conventions. The chief activities of the Federation between conventions is to represent the point of view and needs of labor in conferences and in various policy-making groups concerned with political, social and economic problems, to work for legislative measures, to seek to elect those favorable to labor, to give out information and publicity, to work for better education, both in public schools and in the workers' field and to provide legal information and help.

There are four chief departments of the Federation: Railway, Metal Trades, Building Trades and Union Label. The first three departments promote methods by which the different trade organizations employed in a common industry can better coöperate for the mutual advancement of all. In the case of the Railway Employees Department, the unions act as a unit in all matters including negotiation of wages and working conditions. The Union Label Trades is a department, as the name implies, for coöperation among all unions which use the union label.

3. AMERICAN LABOR IN POLITICS[21]

The American Federation of Labor has sent most hearty congratulations to British labor on its political victory. The Labor government is a victory for democratic government and foreign policies that seek peace between nations. The Labor government was elected to carry through a constructive program. In the campaign the Labor party proclaimed that it was neither Communist nor Bolshevist and that it was opposed to force, revolution and confiscation as the means for carrying out its objectives. The representatives of the British labor movement who occupy places in the Cabinet are able, stanch trade unionists. The major economic problem has been entrusted to that able tactician and legislator, James H. Thomas. The Labor Department is entrusted to a distinguished woman, Margaret Bondfield, an efficient trade unionist of many years' service.

British labor assumes this new responsibility purged of all delusions as to the value of the general strike as a method for securing constructive results, and with a declared policy of union coöperation with employers for mutual progress. Since the Labor party will need the support of the Liberals, it seems probable that those social measures will be pushed to which the Liberal party has given its sanction. The fundamental purpose of every labor movement is to promote the social welfare of the under-privileged. As the British trade union movement is the bone and sinews of the Labor party, we may be sure that labor ideals will have real influence in the government.

Methods Must Differ

That the American labor movement rejoices in the victory of British labor in no way means that we believe that the same methods would bring us the results we need. Policies must be adapted to the conditions and circumstances in which they must operate; not only must a method be theoretically good, but it must be practical under specific conditions in order to be effective.

Though the labor movements of all countries have the same ultimate ideals, we find each movement evolving its own distinctive methods and practices. This is because nations, even when separated only by an artificial boundary, have distinct personalities as expressed in national institutions.

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[21] William Green, reprinted from the Sunday New York *Times*.

The labor movement of each country is one of these distinguishing national institutions.

In Great Britain, when the trade union movement was facing the urgent need for legislation legalizing the labor movement and its essential activities, it decided that the most effective method was to mobilize labor's political strength in an independent labor party. The United Kingdom is a compact industrial country where industrial communities are practically continuous. The population is about 490 persons per square mile. It has a homogeneous population, speaking the same language, with pretty much the same standards of living and with the same social ideals, without color or race problems—the product of centuries of national development. Political activity in Britain, as compared with the United States, has had a very different place in national life. For a number of years British labor had been electing independent candidates to Parliament. They were accustomed to think of themselves as a separate class. Independent party action seemed to promise practical results.

The results have justified the policy. Within a short time the Trades Disputes Act legalized peaceful union picketing and other legitimate union activities. During wartime the Labor party, serving as the medium of labor opinion, achieved a new influence and prestige. In a very tangible way it expressed the democratic ideal which the World War popularized. It came into power when the old political policies broke down under the new problems, and lost under the worldwide tide of reaction that put Conservatives and reactionaries in power.

Labor in the United States has to meet very different conditions and practices. The United States is in the New World, which has been the land of opportunity for men and women of all nations. The adventurous and the oppressed of many countries have sought home and better fortunes here. A virgin continent had to be brought under control. Even to-day there are frontier communities where settlers must cope direct with primitive forces and where they must rely upon individual resourcefulness. We have a population of forty persons to the square mile.

Until recently the United States was definitely an agricultural country with widely separated urban and industrial communities. The distances of this country are practically incomprehensible to those who live in Western Europe.

We have been the melting pot for the citizens of the whole world, so that we have a most cosmopolitan population. In our industrial cities, and in agricultural communities as well, we have national blocs that have as yet resisted assimilation into our nation. We have foreign language problems, race and color prejudices, and even among our own native born we have still the aftermath from our Civil War.

In addition to these elements of separation, wage earners in the United States have never regarded themselves as a distinct class. There have always been wage-earning groups, but there have been many doors open to opportunities in other fields. There has also been the modifying fact that wage-earners were politically equal with all other groups after manhood suffrage became an accepted practice. Wage earners became members of the old line parties and through these parties exercised a more or less effective influence for social ideals.

The Anti-Trust Law Decision

When labor in the United States came to face the problem of being practically outlawed after the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law were interpreted as applying to trade unions and injunctions were issued to prohibit trade union activity, even to the disbursing of union funds, we faced the problem of what kind of political activity would get us remedial legislation in the shortest time.

The American Federation of Labor had followed a non-partizan policy in politics after it experienced the disruptive consequence of an endorsement of free trade. We knew that many early labor organizations had found partizan politics fatal. We had seen the National Labor Union wrecked by an attempt to nominate a Presidential slate. Politics contributed to the dissolution of the Knights of Labor. Endorsement of free silver had brought us difficulties in the Bryan campaign. We found that wage earners responded to appeals to support friends or causes, but resented efforts to control party affiliation.

Third party movements in the United States have never had real success. Though there have been more than two parties at times, the situation has repeatedly resolved itself back to the two-party system. Even the Bull Moose party, led by Theodore Roosevelt, the most romantic and magnetic leader of the last fifty years, did not last longer than one campaign.

Labor has always been able to find persons in both parties willing to support its humanitarian purposes and its pleas for justice. This remained true until organized opposition of anti-union employers barricaded opportunities for labor legislation. Accordingly it was the organized labor movement that led the movement to secure reform of Congressional rules to break the dictation of the Speaker and to secure open consideration of legislative proposals.

When the Federation came to consider its urgent need for legislation it had this background of political experience against which to judge proposals for action. Weighing the difficulties of an independent labor party against the urgencies of our need, we decided that to mobilize labor votes in support of principles offered greater promise. We began to systematize and direct more efficiently the methods we had been using. We drafted a bill of grievances which we submitted to Congress and told them that if they did not heed our pleas we would appeal to the electorate. We developed a system of Congressional records so that we might advise all trade unionists how their representatives had voted on measures of special concern to labor and urged them to use their ballots to further the best interests of labor. It was in 1906 that the Federation entered the Congressional campaign.

When the Presidential campaign opened in 1908 the executives of the Federation submitted to the platforms of both parties labor's legislative needs and asked their endorsement. The reactionaries ridiculed us and tried to discourage us; the radicals tried to persuade us to independent labor partyism. But the Federation continued unperturbed. Changes began to happen in Congressional elections; outstanding reactionaries encountered opposition and frequently defeat at the polls.

A new voice had challenged the consciences and intelligence of voters. Organized labor earned a respected standing politically. This, in turn, helped workers identified with both parties to get more sympathetic consideration for labor proposals. By 1914 we had helped effect such changes in Congress that there were incorporated in the Clayton Antitrust Law labor provisions intended to correct the two major grievances from which we had suffered. Six years is a short time in which to secure action on any important subject. We feel a justified pride in the record. That the Clayton Act has not been found adequate is quite outside this discussion of political tactics. The important thing is that we have developed an effective method of meeting our political needs.

In the Last Campaign

In the last Congressional campaign we supplied labor in each district with labor records for candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives. We have had letters from many elected, attributing the success to labor's support. An illustration of how the method works is the following: Of fifteen candidates for the Senate, friends of labor, only one was defeated in the last campaign.

We have secured the enactment of a long list of labor laws. Major laws in this list include the creation of a Federal Department of Labor, establishment of postal savings banks, Federal commission on workmen's compensation and liability and the Federal compensation legislation, parcel post, vocational education, strengthening the Bureau of Mines, promoting railroad legislation such as the Adamson and Howell-Barkley acts, the Watson-Parker bill, extending the eight-hour day to various groups of Federal employees, organic law for Porto Rico, war risk insurance for enlisted persons in the World War, creation of the women's bureau, vocational rehabilitation, etc. This list of Federal legislation has been supplemented by State laws protecting the interests and rights of labor under State jurisdiction.

In addition to Federal organization to secure Congressional legislation, State federations of labor have been pursuing the same tactics within States. Our problems of securing legislation with sovereign States, a sovereign Federal Government and a Supreme Court undertaking to interpret the meaning and pass upon the sovereign Federal Government and a Supreme Court legality of all legislation, makes progress complex and a bit slow.

Outstanding in importance is compensation legislation. In every State except four, compensation law protects wage earners against accident losses. Compensation procedure is simple and avoids legal difficulties that obstruct justice. We have aided in the development of State labor departments and the compilation of labor statistics. We have looked to the government for certain major services and have expected our trade unions to make the most of the opportunities secured.

The final criterion by which the political and all other policies of the American Federation of Labor are to be judged is the well-being that has been brought into the home and work lives of those who carry out work orders.

Striving for Fundamentals

We find distinct progress in reducing the work time—both the work week and the work day. We have doubled the application of the five-day week in the past two years. A new standard of a six-hour day for men in railroad operating service has been raised. Comparing our progress with that of unorganized groups, we find proofs of the wisdom of our methods.

Wage incomes in the United States are higher than in any other country. The index numbers of comparative real wages in the following cities based on that of London, for October, 1928, are:

Amsterdam	83	Milan	48
Berlin	85	Ottawa	152
Brussels	55	Philadelphia	189
Copenhagen	107	Prague	50
Dublin	107	Rome	41
Lodz	53	Stockholm	86
London	100	Vienna	48
Warsaw	43		

These indexes are calculated from returns of wages and retail prices with allowance for rent.

Our trade unions expended in benefits through their central offices the sum of $28,269,790 in 1928. This does not include benefits paid by local unions.

Standards of living are higher in the United States than in other countries. This is due to increased production and higher wages. The technical progress of the past years has put in our markets things that provide comforts and opportunities for wage earners. We have achieved a standard of living that includes the automobile. There is in the United States one automobile for every five people. A study in a typical community showed that 29 per cent. of the automobiles were owned by laborers, firemen, artisans and motormen. Since 1913, 11,000,000 baths have been installed in the United States; there are 11,500,000 residence telephones; radio sets and phonographs are common in labor homes throughout the United States.

Higher Standards Still

The major problem of the present age is to finance the consumer. Mass production relies upon mass consumption. Unless wage earners, who constitute the mass of the population, have incomes that enable them to enjoy the products of our land, we shall find our progress checked by an oversupply in our markets. The problem itself indicates a new development in progress, which we confidently expect to see result in higher standards of living for all.

Organized labor more than any other group was active in establishing our policy of a free public school system. We have continued to urge expansion of educational opportunities. Our program now includes provision for adult education.

The estimated expenditures for education in the United States for 1925-26 were $2,744,059,000. This was an increase of 250 per cent. over 1913-14. During the same time enrolment in elementary schools was increased to 2,984,000, or over 17 per cent.

More leisure and higher national standards of life we hope to turn into higher opportunities for wage earners and all other citizens. We believe that the progress of any one group is interdependent upon progress in all other groups. As organized wage earners, the American Federation of Labor plans to use its political strength to secure continuously greater opportunities for individuals and organized constructive groups.

4. Why We Need a Labor Party in America [22]

An increasing number of men and women in the United States at the present time are becoming tired of the existing political line-up and its social results. They are becoming tired of political governments—local, state and national—that do little or nothing to bring security to the great masses of our people. They are becoming tired of the growing and inadequately regulated power of private monopoly. They are becoming tired of supporting the special privileges which overburden the many and bring untold riches to the few. They are becoming tired of the lack of any fundamentally constructive program for our sick industries, among them agriculture, textiles and mining. They are becoming tired of the constant use of the courts and other forces of government for the repression of free speech, free assembly, freedom of peaceful action so necessary to the many who are engaged in the struggle for a good life. They are becoming tired of an economic, military and diplomatic policy that carries in it the germs of another war.

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[22] By Paul H. Douglas, Professor of Industrial Relations, The University of Chicago. Printed with the permission of the League for Independent Political Action.

I. Adventures in Old Party Politics

They have sought repeatedly to secure relief from the two old political parties—Republican and Democratic. In 1908 many of them or their forebears supported Bryan, because of his promises to curb anti-labor injunctions; but by 1912 they had persuaded themselves that they were indeed standing at Armageddon, not only with Roosevelt, but with the Lord as well. Four years later, it was again the Democratic party under Wilson which was the hope of pacific liberals. In 1920, like Stephen Leacock's hero, they mounted and rode off in all directions. Some supported Cox in order to ensure our entrance into the League of Nations. Others, at the advice of Hoover and Hughes, rallied behind the statesman from Marion, in order to obtain the same end more effectively. Still others felt that Harding was just the man to end the imperialistic policy in the Caribbean which had been fostered by their erstwhile hero, Woodrow Wilson. A few supported the struggling Farmer-Labor party, only to desert it immediately after election.

In 1924 hopes ran high for the hastily organized candidacy of La Follette, but when the Progressives found that only between four and five million others had voted similarly (or approximately as large a proportion of the votes as the Socialist party has at times commanded in France!) they were immediately plunged into the deepest dejection. Some took the boat for Europe; others, like Candide, cultivated their gardens. In 1928 there was again hopeless division among progressive forces.

From these experiences, many Progressives who supported the old parties have discovered certain things. They have discovered that usually, in voting for "the lesser of two evils" among the candidates of the old parties, they were supporting candidates who had no more chance of success than the humbler parties of labor which they had rejected. They have discovered that in those few instances when their hero in the old parties succeeded, events almost invariably showed him to be far less progressive-spirited than they had imagined, while the terrific pressure from selfish business and nationalistic interests to which he was inevitably subjected usually alienated him sooner or later from the cause of the masses.

Their experience has thus taught increasing thousands that, in trying for social change through old party candidates, they have been indulging merely in aimless political philandering. They have been throwing their votes away. They have actually lost strength and have failed to construct any real political home.

The Lesson from British Labor

In recent years the thinking voters, animated by a desire to make politics count for the common good, have been increasingly impressed with the slow growth extending over forty years of the British Labor party, culminating in its brilliant maturity. They have realized that its present strength is due largely to the maintenance of an independent organization through years in which there was absolutely no prospect of political success. There were Worldly Wisemen galore in England during the nineties who whispered to Keir Hardie and his followers that it was folly to set up an Independent Labor party, and that labor should, instead, pin its faith upon either the social-reform sympathies of Joseph Chamberlain or the Gladstonian Liberalism of Morley and Campbell-Bannerman. But Keir Hardie and his men had what is rarer than intellectual subtlety; namely, moral courage, and they knew that they were building, not for a few years only, but for decades—indeed, for all time itself. It was the presence of the Independent Labor party which later furnished the political nucleus upon which the trade unions, in their resentment over the Taff-Vale decision, could build, and it has ever since impregnated the larger body with the stimulus of its own imaginative devotion.

Thus both the negative experience of America and the positive experience of England have demonstrated that, if a strong labor party is desired, the way to secure it is patiently to build through the years an independent and aggressive political party, and not to swing constantly from one of the old parties to the other for those short-run gains which are generally illusory.

The Parties of the "Interests"

As a plain matter of fact, it is idle to hope that either the Republican or the Democratic parties as at present constituted can ever be forged into honest or progressive instruments. High-minded individual leaders may appear from time to time within the parties, as in the case of Wilson and Hoover, but their powers will always be greatly limited and their permanent influence slight. The fundamental composition of the party machines is in fact such as to prevent any effective reform.

Thus the Republican party is dominated by the manufacturers and financial interests of the East who have been able to hold the farmers of the Middle West in thralldom for the last sixty years through the memory of Abraham Lincoln and the Homestead Acts. Their state organizations are in general composed to an extraordinary degree of corruptionists and reactionaries. In Maine, for example, the party machine is now controlled by the Insull interests, while in Rhode Island the large textile and banking groups dominate the organization, and, by maintaining a system of rotten boroughs, prevent an eight-hour law from being enacted by the legislature. To avert this and to prevent a redistribution of seats, the Republican members of one branch of the legislature fled out of the state a few years ago to the Berkshires.

In Connecticut, the Warwick of the organization is Mr. J. Henry Roraback, who is the head of the dominant public utilities group. In New York, the chairman of the state committee has until recently been Mr. H. E. Machold, connected with the power interests. The case of Pennsylvania is notorious. The Vare machine in the eastern part of the state and the Mellon machine in the western compete for the honors in corruption, while the reactionary figure of Mr. Joseph Grundy permeates the politics of the entire state.

Equally malodorous is Ohio and its notorious gang. The immediate group of cronies who surrounded and disgraced President Harding have nearly all come to an end which almost convinces one of the retributive nature of fate, but the system which produced them and the Hanna and the Foraker machines before them is still grinding out its docile and corrupt hacks. If Hynicka has been temporarily checked in Cincinnati, Maschke is still dominant in Cleveland and Walter Brown in Toledo.

Moving westward we come to Indiana, where the Ku Klux Klan still largely dominates the Republican Party and where high officials are apparently always in the process of either starting towards or leaving the penitentiary. Next comes Illinois which differed from Indiana for a long time only in that its corresponding officials should have been in the penitentiary but weren't. Illinois Republican politics are as a matter of fact perhaps the most sodden in the country. Small, Thompson, Crowe, and Barrett are public disgraces. Ruth McCormick is a personally charming but reactionary figure, while Deneen is commonplace and uninspiring.

These are the groups which control the Republican Party and they will in the future continue to subdue the La Follettes, the Norrises, and the Borahs who from time to time may arise to question their control.

Wooing the Democratic Party

Nor is the Democratic Party much better. It has its sprinkling of liberal spirits, but it is basically controlled by conservative Southerners and the corrupt political machines of the North. Both of these groups hate each other, as the campaigns of 1924 and 1928 testified, and neither has any constructive forward program for the future. In the North, the proud boasts of a New Tammany, which were advanced during the last campaign by the pro-Smith liberals, have completely collapsed. The district leaders have shown themselves to be in complete control, with their election of Curry to the leadership and the continuance of the inefficient playboy, Jimmy Walker, as the mouthpiece and vaudeville artist for the group.

In the neighboring state of New Jersey, Hague of Jersey City continues as the dominant figure and his refusal to admit the sources of his wealth furnishes more than a ground for suspicion as to its origin. In Indiana, the Taggart machine was never known for its integrity, while in Illinois the Democratic factions are about as waterlogged with corruption as are the Republican. George Brennan made many bi-partizan deals with the Thompson-Crowe factions and his supporters included many of the toughest elements in Chicago, of whom one has only to mention Tim Crowe, the late chairman of the Sanitary Board and lavish spender of public money for fancy parties. Only babes in the wood can expect to forge an instrument for decency and progress from such a political aggregation as this.

Capturing the Primaries

Despite their belief in the hopelessly corrupt character of the two old parties, certain progressives have urged that much could be accomplished by launching a mass movement to capture the old parties through going into their primaries as was done by the Non-Partizan League a decade ago, in the Northwest. Whatever the advantages of this form of action, an increasing number of progressives are realizing that the disadvantages are far greater.

Canceling Your Vote

1. In the first place, the policy of trying to capture one or the other of the old parties generally results during presidential elections in a very considerable canceling of votes cast by men and women who think similarly, but who, for strategic reasons, are affiliated in different states with different political parties. For local and state conditions largely determine which party the labor and progressive forces will attempt to control and at the time of the presidential elections and indeed at many state elections, the progressive and pro-labor groups find themselves in different camps in different districts. This situation was strikingly evidenced in the elections of 1920. In North Dakota, the members of the Non-Partizan League were Republicans, in Idaho and Montana they were Democrats, while in Washington and South Dakota they were members of the Farmer-Labor Party. In Wisconsin and New York men with much the same political philosophy supported Debs and the Socialists. The ridiculous spectacle was thus pre-

sented of people with very similar beliefs supporting no less than four different presidential tickets.

It may be argued that there is no necessity for the leaders of a party in one state to support the presidential candidate of that party and that it would be possible for labor and progressives to be affiliated with different parties in different states and yet for them to break over party lines in a national campaign to support a common presidential ticket. This was done for example during the last campaign by Senators Norris and Blaine. But this view overlooks the mighty influence of sentiment and patronage which serve to keep the state leaders faithful to their respective national tickets. The voters who are Republicans and Democrats by inheritance and sentiment may support a man who bears this label, even though he disbelieves in the historic principles of their party. But such an inward heretic must pay at least a decent outward tribute to the totem poles of his party, and if he openly works for candidates who wear opposite political stripes, the rank and file will attack him with the utmost vigor.

The second pressure which operates to produce regularity is the power of patronage which the executive possesses. If a party leader in a given state supports the candidate of another party for the presidency, then he cannot expect the candidate of his own party, if victorious, to reward him by allowing him to name those who are to fill the federal offices. The executive will naturally want to build up a group in that state which will be loyal to him and to his national party and the available jobs will consequently be used to attain that end. Since jobs furnish most of the legal tender which keeps the present organization together, the leader who has been deprived of patronage finds his own position greatly weakened and tends either to go down in defeat or to capitulate.

The attempt to bore from within the old parties, the progressive is learning, inevitably leads therefore to a mutual frustration of purposes. This is almost equally as true of different localities within a state as it is between states.

Capitalism in the Saddle

2. Certain advocates of the plan of capturing the old parties in the primaries naively believed in the past that the other groups were not organized and that labor and the progressives really held the balance of power. The truth of the matter, of course, is that capital is now far more cohesively and powerfully organized than labor. It exercises more influence over the two old parties and their candidates because it has abundant funds which it can either give or withhold. The old parties are in general much more afraid of estranging the business vote than they are of alienating the labor vote. For the business interests are far more non-partizan than are the workers. If the former are generally Republicans, it is because that party is so identified with their economic interests that when they

support it they are really supporting themselves. But let the Republicans falter seriously in any locality in the protection of their interests, and the business group will turn to the Democratic party. The latter is generally delighted to be taken up by so affluent a suitor and will generally promise to do as it is told.

Frequently the business interests find it safest to own both groups outright. Such has been the more or less tacit practice in Chicago. In the days of Roger Sullivan, who was a high official in the Gas Company, the public utilities were able through him to control the Democratic Party for a considerable percentage of the time. Through Lorimer and later Thompson, they were at the same time able to exercise domination over the Republicans, except for such sporadic outbursts as that led by Charles Merriam in 1911. Individual laborers on the other hand cannot be delivered by their leaders to one party or the other with the same fine impartiality as that displayed by the business group. Less inclined to think in coldly realistic terms than their employers, they are far more influenced by political shibboleths and war cries, by advertisements supplied out of campaign funds, and by the warming influence of political personalities.

The net result is that the two old parties are more afraid of estranging the business groups than they are the workers. In consequence organized capital is almost invariably able to get either an open or secret pledge to maintain or to put through policies which are favorable to it. Labor will be put off with soft words and generalities which, when the test of action comes, seldom bear practical fruit.

Aid and Comfort to Backsliders

3. Progressives are also finding from hard experience that there is far greater danger of backsliding among the political representatives of labor, if they are elected to office as representatives of the old parties, than if they are chosen as representatives of a continuing progressive and labor party. A liberal or radical who is elected to office as a member of an old party is subject to many insidious temptations to betray the group which elected him. He is surrounded by party politicians with whom he is forced in some degree to affiliate. He is exposed to the blandishments of the social lobby of the wealthy—a type of temptation which is peculiarly strong in Washington and which frequently robs Senatorial Samsons of their radical virility. Not having a firm and cohesive group behind him, he tends always to be in a very precarious position and is always in great danger of being unhorsed and denied a renomination. Since nearly every one who once tastes public office wishes to continue, it follows that unless he is a man of unusual principle, he will look for allies from other and from frequently contradictory sources. He thus tends to become a compromiser and a trimmer and the virtue gradually passes out of him.

It would be idle to pretend that all of these dangers would be removed if such a man were to become the representative of a labor party, but they would certainly be lessened. The British Labor Party has for example had its David Shackleton; its G. H. Roberts; its G. N. Barnes and its Frank Hodges. But its casualties have not been so heavy as those amongst the ranks of American politicians who have first climbed into office through the labor vote. The reason is plain. The British have had behind them a separate party organization which both encourages and admonishes them. If their representatives serve faithfully, they are virtually sure of renomination for as long a period as they wish. They may look forward therefore to a lifetime of appreciated service within the party and to the opportunity of sharing whatever good fortune may befall it. This produces a greater stability of character on the part of the representatives and consequently makes the advocacy of labor and progressive causes more coherent and more continuous.

Failures of Compromise

4. Under the policy of trading with the old parties for the support of a legislative program, labor frequently supports candidates who in general are unworthy but who, on a particular set of issues, will agree with labor. Here again Illinois furnishes a lurid example. John Walker and Victor Olander, President and Secretary respectively of the Illinois Federation of Labor, are honest and devoted servants of the labor movement; but by the exigencies of this type of politics they were forced to become the political allies of the malodorous Len Small and the equally notorious Frank Smith. They found the Small group in control of the legislature and of the state but menaced by the Deneen faction and attacked by the *Chicago Tribune*. In return for the support of labor, Small either explicitly or implicitly promised to do the following things: (1) to prevent the passage of the bill creating a state constabulary, which was being pushed by the Illinois Manufacturers Association and other anti-union groups; (2) to pass a law which would prevent injunctions from being issued to restrain peaceful picketing; and (3) to see to it that the administration of the miners' certificate law, which is the chief instrument by which the coal mines of Illinois are prevented from going non-union, was kept in hands favorable to the miners' union. There was perhaps also an understanding that Small would pardon certain corrupt labor officials such as William Quesse who had been convicted. Walker and Olander, though not approving of these men, felt the pressure of the unionists as a whole to be so strong that they were compelled to seek a pardon for them, although by their record these leaders were guilty of disgracefully dishonest and criminal practices.

Labor, therefore, supported Governor Small in his campaign for renomination and also supported Colonel Frank Smith in the race for the Republican Senatorial nomination. They thereby allied themselves with men who were of a very low order of political integrity. Smith, as all the world now knows, was the favorite of Mr. Samuel Insull, whose utilities Smith, as chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission, had been regulating, and his campaign was indeed largely financed by Insull.

Nor did labor gain in the long run from its support of Governor Small. The bill which ostensibly prevented the issuance of injunctions against peaceful picketing has been vitiated in practice by the determination of the courts to decide for themselves what constitutes "peaceful" picketing and to issue injunctions against all acts which they do not regard as "peaceful." The Illinois labor movement has thus been besmirched, while little tangible gain has been secured in return.

The same is true in New York where Tammany judges time and again have issued sweeping injunctions against every form of picketing, while the Tammany controlled police have during the past few years arrested many hundreds of strikers engaged in exercising their rights as citizens.

Trading the Labor Vote

5. Frequently, however, the results of trading with the old parties are even more disastrous. John Walker and Victor Olander are honest men who neither profited personally nor sought to profit from their support of Smith and Small. But all too frequently, the leaders try to trade labor's support in return for jobs or money for themselves. Thus in Chicago, Oscar Nelson, the Vice-President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, is Mayor Thompson's floor leader in the Board of Aldermen and regularly tries to line labor up behind the Thompson-Barrett program. The official leaders of the labor movement in New York and Boston are in close alliance with Tammany in the former city and with the corrupt coteries who, with rare interruptions, control the latter. Similarly in California Mr. P. H. McCarthy, the erstwhile czar of the San Francisco building trades unions, was discovered in 1922 to have accepted a large retainer from the utility interests to oppose a publicly owned super-power project. Sidney Hillman, the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, once summed up the situation succinctly when he said, "non-partizan political action means giving to the labor skate the power of selling the labor vote."

Retards Education

6. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, progressives are discovering that the attempt to bore from within the two old parties deprives labor of both a continuing and a permanent political organization and the ardent enthusiasm which are both needed to educate the public mind to the

necessity of great and fundamental changes in our economic and political organization. Our government cannot be made a creative agency in promoting internal welfare and external peace without an outpouring of earnest spirit and of research, together with long continued and intelligent education and organization. It is virtually impossible to build or man such an organization if it merely aims to raid the primaries of the two old parties and then choose on election day what is generally only the less of two evils. The British Labor Party could not have exercised the influence on English public life, which it has, had it remained what John Burns would have made it, namely, merely a group within the Liberal Party. A "coming-out" from the two old parties focuses attention sharply upon the issues for which the group stands and the party organization can then carry on a concerted program of education which is impossible for a loosely organized bloc.

A growing number of progressives have thus concluded that in the long run the support of the old parties is both sterile and corrupting and have resolved to break themselves of the habit of never looking forward to the day after tomorrow and instead to plan for the America for the future.

Moreover many progressives are now realizing that the building of a separate progressive-labor party is a powerful stimulant to the old parties to advocate and to put into effect certain immediate reforms, lest votes be taken away from them by the new party. The creation of such a party seems then not only ultimately to promise more but also to yield greater immediate returns as well.

II. A Program for the New Party

The party destined to take the place of the Republican and Democratic parties in the government of the country must be based on the needs and aspirations, conscious or unconscious, of the great masses of industrial workers and farmers and reflect the ideals of all who would abolish the gross inequalities and wastes and autocracy of modern industrial civilization; and which would build up in America, industrially as well as politically, a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Its immediate program must seek to cure some of the worst evils in present-day America. To that end it must include demands for:

1. The protection of the workers by hand and brain against the four great risks of industry and indeed of life itself—accidents, illness, old age and unemployment. The United States is years behind most other civilized countries in the protection of its workers. The increasingly rapid changes in industry, leading to technological unemployment; the scrapping of men in middle age in our heavy industries, after ten or fifteen years of ex-

hausting toil; the refusal of great numbers of corporations to employ new workers after reaching forty, forty-five or fifty years of age—these and other factors are leading to increasing insecurity as the years go on. Society, not the individual, should assume the burden, through various forms of social insurance of these risks which now bring so much tragedy into the life of tens of thousands of our people. Supplementing social insurance, a third party program should call for a long-range plan of public works in city, state and nation and a comprehensive system of public employment agencies.

2. The restoration of an increasing share in the wealth created by society to the community for social purposes, through the imposition of higher income and inheritance taxes on the higher income levels and of land values taxes. Society should have at its disposal for health, for educational, for recreational and other public activities a far larger fund than it can now depend upon. Higher taxation would increase this fund and at the same time lessen the unjust inequalities of income which are vitiating our whole national life.

3. The reorganization under public ownership and operation of such strategic industries as are now being grossly mismanaged or which are gouging the public through excessive charges and the regulation of which has broken down. In the forefront of these two types of industrial undertakings come the chaotic coal industry, and the highly concentrated electric power industry. Domestic consumers in the cities of northern New York under private ownership have to pay two to three times as much for their electricity as do housewives in Ontario cities, where electricity is generated, transmitted and distributed by public agencies, while large power consumers pay from 60 to 170 per cent more in the New York centers and large commercial users pay from about 40 per cent to more than three times the costs for similar service in the Ontario cities.

4. The freeing of labor from unfair legal restrictions upon their activities which take such forms as yellow dog contracts, the virtual prohibition of boycotting and effective peaceful picketing, and the rigorous use of injunctions to hamper almost their every action. The very life blood of the labor movement beats through the channels by which it may organize and consolidate its group concerns. If these are choked, the labor movement cannot live; and the protection of labor in these essentials should be a first charge upon any party which honestly seeks to promote the basic interests of the laboring millions.

5. A program of farm relief which will reduce the disparity between urban and rural prices, not by giving a bonus to stimulate the export of food products and thus artificially increase the prices of agricultural goods, but by removing as rapidly as possible the high tariffs on manufactured goods. This will at once lower the prices of the goods which the farmer

buys, such as textiles, farm machinery and fertilizer. Moreover by permitting foreign countries to sell more manufactured goods to us, we will be able to sell more agricultural products such as cotton, wheat and pork to them. This will bring higher prices to farmers on their agricultural commodities and thus help in a double way to restore the balance between industry and agriculture which is so sorely needed. The agricultural program of a true party of labor and farmers must also include far greater aid to coöperative effort than has hitherto been attempted. The party's program on publicly owned electrical power, on taxation, on public works, on social insurance, etc., would also constitute a direct boon to the rural population.

6. The freeing of Western civilization from the menace of another war. Unless the forces of destruction in our present nationalistic system are checked, the Western World at best will be hurried into another far more disastrous war than that from which we emerged a decade ago. Despite the peace efforts of such individual leaders as President Hoover, neither of the two old parties represents any earnest desire to work for the limitation of armaments nor for a policy of conciliation with the countries of Europe or of Central America.

More concretely, the party should insist on withdrawal of the marines from Haiti and Nicaragua, the removal of financial and military dictatorships, sponsored by the citizens or government of the United States, from Latin American countries and the restoration of their national sovereignty; the carrying out of America's promise to restore Filipino independence; the radical reduction of naval and army forces and the government building of naval vessels under government auspices to the end of taking the profit out of armaments pending the day of complete disarmament; the recognition of the Russian Republic; the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations; and the organization of international economic commissions on raw materials, tariffs, investments, etc., in an attempt to minimize economic friction among various countries.

7. The reorganization of the judicial system of the country to the end that the courts may work more speedily, more justly, and with less autocracy than in the past.

The progressive-labor party should likewise possess a philosophy. Nor can this any longer be an individualistic, *laissez faire* philosophy, formulated to fit a primitive agricultural and handicraft civilization, and based on the false hypothesis that we are still living in the days of "rugged individualism." We are now living in the twentieth century, in the days of huge aggregations of people in crowded cities, of enormous private monopolies and combines. Only a philosophy of coöperation, of collectivism, of associated effort for the common good, is applicable to the needs of the common people to-day. And this must be the social philosophy underlying the great future party of the masses.

III. The New Party and the Socialist Party

Finally, the modern progressive is asking himself what form the new political alignment should take.

There are some who believe that the party they are looking for is already in existence in the form of the Socialist Party and that it is the duty of all economic progressives to get into that party and strive to make it the effective organ of the economic interests of the farmers and the workers by hand and brain. Here is the machinery, they say, ready at hand; all that is needed is more workers and the movement will grow to power.

The Socialist Party has been and is a useful force in American political life. During the period 1900-1906, it was the pioneer in advocating social legislation and its efforts were more than justified by the stimulating effect which it had on the programs of both the Democrats and the Progressives. Although the former rather rigid membership requirements deterred many thousands from joining it, these barriers have now been swept away by the new constitution which requires as a prerequisite for membership only a belief in the democratization of industry and in independent political action by the workers of hand and brain. In the last national election, both its platform and its candidates represented the very best spirit of progressive economic thought. Moreover, by the revision of its constitution, the Socialist Party can now accept groups as affiliated members and can in turn affiliate with other political bodies which are working in a bona fide manner for the same ends.

The believer in economic progressivism can therefore only hope that the Socialist Party, as at present constituted and directed, will grow rapidly in strength and influence. An indication of just how valuable its services may be is afforded by the excellent manner in which it has administered the municipal affairs of Reading and Milwaukee, two of the cities where it is now in power; by the work of the hundreds of Socialist aldermen and legislators who at one time or another secured office in Eastern and Western states, and by the magnificent educational campaign conducted by Norman Thomas and his running mates during the New York municipal campaign of 1929, resulting in a vote of 175,000. The Socialist Party can therefore be depended upon to form an important element in any progressive political alignment and it should be encouraged to become as strong as possible.

When the new political alignment develops, the Socialist Party may well find that it can render its best service to the movement of independent political action by occupying within the larger grouping a position similar to that of the Independent Labor Party within the larger British Labor Party. While the I. L. P. has a separate organization with about 30,000 ardent members, it is, to use a mixed metaphor, at once the yeast and the spearhead of the larger organization of which it is a member. It carried on a continuous campaign of education in most of the Parliamentary districts and furnishes indeed a very large percentage of the candidates. So could the Socialist Party operate in this country. Its strength would then further the general ends of the movement and the stronger it was, the better it would be for the other elements in the movement. Yet it could at the same time maintain its own individuality and in its program could step out ahead of the larger and necessarily more slowly moving body.

Moreover, in these localities such as Milwaukee, Reading and New York City where the Socialist Party has already established itself as the real progressive political force, it should by all means not only be allowed to continue as such but the full strength of the movement should be thrown behind it. As it develops strength in other cities it should be accorded similar coöperation.

Relation to Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party

In Minnesota the Farmer-Labor Party is to-day the party of opposition representing progressive action. In six years it has elected two United States Senators and three Congressmen, and has to-day approximately one-third of the members of each house of the legislature affiliated with the party. It controls or has a large place in many of the municipal administrations. It is likely to elect the next governor of the state. It constitutes the party of vision in Minnesota, and the Democrats have practically disappeared from the picture. In any new alignment, therefore, that element will constitute the Minnesota contribution to the new party and the fullest coöperation should be extended it.

IV. Recognized Difficulties Are Involved

Economic progressives who have concluded, as large numbers have, that a new political alliance should be developed, and that work on this alliance should be begun immediately, are under no illusions regarding the element of time. They know they are not facing the work of a day or a year. In the case of Great Britain they realize that more than a generation elapsed between the formation of the Independent Labor Party and the victory of 1929, although they recognize that, when a movement once gets started in America, it usually gains momentum faster than in other countries. An extreme instance of this rapidity of movement is of course the rise to power of the Republican Party in the early sixties, when it stood for a new political concept and when it incidentally indicated that despite the two-party tradition in this country a third party with an ideal can become a first party.

Progressives face obstacles perhaps greater than those abroad, which must be overcome before the party can be a dominant force in American political life. There is the higher standard of living here, despite the tragic condition in the textile, mining, farming and certain other industries. There is the drift of many more capable workers from the ranks of labor to those of the capitalist class. There is the lack of trade union organization among the unskilled, and the control of the American Federation of Labor by the more conservative leaders in the skilled trades.

Indeed, as long as skilled trades like the building crafts, the molders, and the more skilled printing crafts control American labor policy, a real obstacle will be found in the way of a labor party in America. For if a labor party were formed, it would be led inevitably by the very laws of its being not to stop merely with freeing the economic power of the unions. In order to provide itself with campaign material to secure the vote of unskilled labor, it would inevitably be moved to advocate collectivism and state control of industry. Political labor parties, like trade unions, must have something with which to occupy themselves. Once such an organization is set up, it will be forced to create issues which run strictly counter to the political philosophy of the present leaders. Forays into the primaries of the old parties in order to redress individual grievances can be controlled more effectively, and no machinery is created to thirst for further political power once the immediate end has been obtained.

Broadhurst and Gompers Identical

British labor during the seventies and eighties was dominated by similar crafts and had an identical policy. The carpenters, the masons, the iron-molders, and the engineers (machinists) together with the cotton weavers and spinners, under the leadership of Henry Broadhurst, George Howell, and John Burnett controlled the Trade Union Congress. Having secured what they believed to be immunity from the law by the Employer's and Workmen's Act of 1876, just as Mr. Gompers believed he had attained immunity for American labor by the passage of the Clayton Act, the English leaders settled back and proceeded to oppose the state regulation of hours of work, to vote down proposals for universal manhood suffrage, and of course, to regard collective ownership of industry as anathema.

It was the organization of the unskilled, first in 1886 and increasingly since 1900, that swept these leaders and their followers from power and replaced them with Ben Tillett, J. R. Clynes, Will Thorne, Robert Smillie, and others representing the humbler workers, who had come to demand that the state should cease its ostensible neutrality and should be used to redress the weakness in the economic bargaining power of the unskilled laborers.

The extraordinary similarity of Mr. Gompers to Henry Broadhurst is indeed most striking, and those who think that the Gompers-Green policy is an anachronism should reflect upon the fact that Broadhurst was the idol of the British labor movement less than forty years ago.

Other obstacles in the way of a progressive-labor political movement are the racial heterogeneity of the working class population and the political structure of the country—the division of the country into forty-eight states, each with its own legislature the preoccupation of many workers with state affairs; the veto power of the Supreme Court; the existence of the primary system and the lack of proportional representation, with the consequent fear—however ungrounded—of "throwing one's vote away"; and the election of the Chief Executive by the people, rather than by the Cabinet (the cabinet form of government in Europe has often given a small handful of progressives very large powers over the selection of the Premier and the make-up of the cabinet).

The new progressive, while facing these obstacles, realizes that they can be overcome. Economic and social forces are on his side. The growing insecurity in our midst, the increasing development of private monopoly, the increasing exhaustion of our natural resources for lack of a conservation policy, and the danger of imperialism, with our development as an investing nation—are all forces accentuating the need for a new alignment.

If progressives take advantage of this situation and with intelligence, patience and unselfish devotion consecrate themselves to the task of building up the party of the future, nothing can stand in the way of their ultimate triumph. There is no richer field of political effort than this for those who want to make their political activities accrue to the benefit of that great society of which we are all necessarily members.

V. Some Methods for the Task Before Us

The genuine progressive is not only deciding, in view of the situation as a whole, to cast his lot with an independent political movement; he is also beginning to block out a method by which the party may take on form and substance. The following lines of attack are appealing to him with increasing force:

1. Every assistance should be given to the organization of skilled and unskilled labor, as a better basis for a powerful progressive-labor party.

2. A working alliance should be developed between the industrial workers of the city and the farmers. Both groups, as before was indicated, are economically interested in a taxation program which ensures that an increasing amount of the social surplus be used to promote education and public health. Both would be benefited by a publicly owned giant power system which would furnish them power at cost. Both are deeply concerned in having a peaceful and non-imperialistic America.

In addition both would gain from state insurance against natural calamities and technical changes, and from the fostering of coöperatives.

They would both gain also from a reduction of the tariff. The reduction of tariff on manufactured goods would lower the prices of the goods which the farmer buys. The worker would be benefited in the last analysis since, with the tariff greatly reduced, labor and capital would tend to flow into those lines of industry where the natural and comparative advantages were greatest, but which were not before fully exploited because of the drafting off of productive reserves by the tariff into artificial channels. Some shift would have to take place in the meanwhile, but with proper measures of social insurance, with competent public employment agencies, these shifts could take place with little actual hardship. And as the party grew the gains to both groups through fundamental change would be incalculable, both in status and actual well-being.

3. An appeal should be made to the progressivism of the middle class and professional groups. Such a program as is outlined would be of benefit not only to manual workers but to most professional workers and to large numbers of persons now conducting business in these days of uncertainty.

4. The social idealism of the churches might also be harnessed in the task of improving the conditions of those who suffer most in our society.

5. This new Party should not content itself with purely national or state issues but should work out municipal programs and engage vigorously in municipal elections. Parties, as Frank R. Kent has pointed out in *The Game of Politics,* are primarily built from the precinct up and depend on workers in small local units for their vitality and strength. But participation in local politics is an end in itself, as well as a means towards national strength. The two old parties tend to be even more corrupt in local than they are in national affairs and most American cities need a civic house-cleaning. Reforms in the methods of assessing property are needed to relieve the small home-owner of disproportionate payments. Political employees need to be dropped from the pay rolls. The schools need to be administered more democratically and the streets paved and cleaned more economically. Our police systems are notoriously inefficient and corrupt. Reforms are needed in the provision of municipal services, while in the provision of electricity and in the furnishing of reliable local transportation and decent housing for the workers, a rich field for municipal collectivism is opened up. These tasks and many others offer a great opportunity for progressive-labor parties to operate on a local scale. The immediate and direct interests of citizens can thus be harnessed in the cause of local reform and federated on matters of state and national concern.

Emphasize Congressional Elections

6. A campaign during the off years in a number of strategically situated congressional districts would be a very valuable means of building up a congressional group which would push fundamental issues to the fore. The movement has been crippled in recent years by the fact that only the Presidential campaigns have been stressed. The Progressive Party in 1912, the Farmer-Labor Party of 1920 and the La Follette movement in 1924 were necessarily organized hastily while the weakened character of the organization of the Socialist Party prevented much active work on their part in the congressional elections of 1926. But while Presidential years may create an enthusiasm for a third party which might be lacking at other times, it is also true that there is always an obstacle in the fear, no matter how unreasoning and shortsighted, of throwing away one's vote, and allowing the more conservative candidates to get in the seats of national power.

It would be highly desirable therefore for a vigorous progressive labor party to pick out at least ten or twelve strategic congressional districts where there are strong local movements as perhaps in St. Paul, Duluth, Reading, Buffalo, New Bedford, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, New York City, and possibly Chicago; and, in coöperation with the local organizations, to set up candidates. A national platform could be drawn up and stressed in all the districts, together with specific important local issues. Funds could be raised on a national scale and speakers and literature sent into the districts. Out of a dozen or so candidates, it is probable that at least three or four congressmen could be elected. These men would then be able to stress the party's demands in Congress and would consequently attract public attention to the merits of the program to a degree which, without such a sounding board, would otherwise be impossible. They could moreover keep a white light of criticism constantly playing upon the two old parties and contribute to the latter's legitimate discrediting.

In the attempt, therefore, to gather together the new party forces for the campaign of 1932, the congressional elections of 1930 should be stressed. Since less is at stake, more progressives will be willing to vote for their party candidates than in a Presidential year and any success attained then will inspire large groups to go on to the following campaign. Because of the notorious tendency of Americans to flock to the support of a party which promises to win, once the Progressive-Labor party can point to concrete successes, latent support will undoubtedly come to it.

A Call to Action

To-day we find in American life a political alignment that is largely meaningless. There is no essential difference between the economic and social creeds of the Republican and Democratic parties. Both stand essentially for the interests of the few as opposed to the many. Both are in the hands of corrupt political machines. Neither has any adequate solution for the burning questions of insecurity, of gross inequality, of industrial autocracy, of imperialism. Neither has any sense of the direction in which our economic system should move. Attempts of reformers to purge the old parties of their reactionary elements have proved futile. A new and powerful political party controlled and directed by the plain people of the country on our farms, in our factories and mines and in professional life is needed to start our country on its way to comfort and security for the masses, to peace and democracy; to bring hope, where there is now despair. The time is ripe for the new alignment.

5. CONCLUSION

It would be possible to make a further analysis of the reasons for the differences in the present status of the labor movement in Great Britain and the United States. Professor Douglas and President Green have attempted to do this to some extent, reaching diametrically opposite conclusions. The reader may draw his own conclusion. Is it because in the United States we have until recently been a pioneer country with vast undeveloped resources? Is it because of our individualistic philosophy? Does the size of America and our mixture of races have any effect on the organization of labor? What is likely to be the trend in the future in the matter of labor organization? Is it possible to chart the sociological forces which have made the Labor Party inevitable in England and, until the present, extremely difficult of promotion in the United States? These and other questions we leave for your consideration.

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BOOK VIII

THE PEACE MOVEMENT

QUESTIONS ON THE PEACE MOVEMENT

1. List the causes of war in the order of their importance, giving your reasons under the first five why you think they are of major importance.
2. Outline the major events in the history of the crusade for peace.
3. Which one of the peace plans prior to the League of Nations do you consider of most importance, and why?
4. Do you think that the United States is now maintaining her leadership in the peace movement? Why? Why not?
5. What are the main provisions in the League of Nations Covenant?
6. Do you believe the United States should or should not now join the League of Nations? Why?
7. What is the greatest weakness in the League? What is its greatest strength?
8. Do you believe that the United States should or should not now join the World Court? Why? Why not?
9. What is the greatest weakness in the World Court? What is its greatest value?
10. Explain the practical effect of the Kellogg Pact in an international difficulty. Do you think it will prevent war in most cases? Why? Why not?

QUESTIONS FOR THOUGHT

(*To be answered or not, as desired*)

1. Do you think that compulsory military drill is consistent with the spirit of the Kellogg Pact? Why? Why not?
2. Are we in danger of another war in the next two decades? Why? Why not?
3. In the light of the economic interpretation of history, would your reply be valid?
4. In the light of the foregoing social movements, how must we deal with the war system?
5. In your intended profession, do you see any way by which you can help forward any of the movements studied in this course? How?
6. Will you help to defeat any of them? How?

I. HISTORY OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT[1]

I. WAR AND EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE

SO FAR in our discussion we have largely centered attention upon group conflicts in the economic realm or movements which have attempted to ameliorate economic conditions. We now turn to a movement, almost as old as history itself, which aims to prevent international conflict.

When we consider what war is, it would be difficult to find a better definition than that of General Sherman, "War is hell." The difficulty with this description is that it means so many different things to different individuals. Not long ago a German summarized one definition in describing his experiences under the title *All Quiet on the Western Front.* It is almost impossible for those who have not experienced it to visualize all that is involved in the actualities of modern war. We shall not attempt to describe them here. We would remind the reader, however, that the last world conflict resulted altogether in thirty-five million dead, not to mention the colossal social suffering, the ruined homes, and the maimed bodies of the wounded. The material cost of the war was three hundred billions of dollars—a sum so vast that we cannot comprehend it.[2]

War might be characterized as a disease that breaks out between groups at certain periods. In order to prevent the illness, it is consequently necessary to eliminate the germ of conflict. One of the first symptoms of approaching war is the group hypnosis which inflames the public mind and causes it to look with unreasonable suspicion and hatred upon some other group. Probably the first casualty in war is that of the truth. An example of this in the last world conflict follows:

The Growth of a Press Legend[3]

Cologne *Zeitung* (Germany):

"When the fall of Antwerp got known the church bells were rung." (Meaning in Germany.)

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[1] In the peace movement we have departed from the topical arrangement used elsewhere. This is done because there is no one particular theory on which the movement is based. Instead, the forces for peace embrace pacifists, militarists, radicals, conservatives, indeed those of every shade and color of opinion. The number of concrete plans to usher in a warless world are legion. At present the major proposals seem to be the League of Nations, the World Court, and the Outlawry of War. We are consequently considering each one in turn, but of necessity briefly.

[2] E. L. Bogart, *Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War,* Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

[3] From *The Power of the Press for Peace and War* (pamphlet), published by the National Council for Prevention of War.

The Matin (Paris):

"According to the Cologne *Zeitung,* the clergy of Antwerp were compelled to ring the church bells when the fortress was taken."

The Times (London):

"According to what *The Matin* has heard from Cologne, the Belgian priests who refused to ring the church bells when Antwerp was taken have been driven away from their places."

The Corriere della Sera (Milan, Italy):

"According to what the *Times* has heard from Cologne via Paris, the unfortunate Belgian priests who refused to ring the church bells when Antwerp was taken have been sentenced to hard labor."

The Matin (Paris):

"According to information to the *Corriere della Sera* from Cologne via London, it is confirmed that the barbaric conquerors of Antwerp punished the unfortunate Belgian priests for their heroic refusal to ring the church bells by hanging them as living clappers to the bells with their heads down."

Since the entire public mind is held in a sort of hypnotic state of hatred against the enemy and the true facts are unknown, religion unites with other agencies in supporting the holocaust.

Mark Twain has aptly illustrated the absurdity of this in the following prayer.

Mark Twain's "War Prayer"[4]

O Lord our Father, our young patriots, idols of our hearts, go forth to battle—be Thou near them! With them—in spirit—we also go forth from the sweet peace of our beloved firesides to smite the foe.

O Lord our God, help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to drown the thunder of the guns with the wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief; help us to turn them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended through wastes of their desolated land in rags and hunger and thirst, sport of the sun-flame of summer and the icy winds of winter, broken in spirit, worn with travail, imploring Thee for the refuge of the grave and denied it—for our sakes, who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with their tears, stain the white snow with the blood of their wounded feet! We ask of one who is the Spirit of love and who is the ever faithful refuge and friend of all that are sore beset, and seek His aid with humble and contrite hearts. Grant our prayer, O Lord, and Thine shall be the praise and honor and glory now and ever, Amen.

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[4] From *Mark Twain: a Biography,* by Albert Bigelow Paine, Vol. 3, pp. 1233-4. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1912.

When we seek the causes of this terrible disease which afflicts mankind, we find there is no one first cause. David Starr Jordan, the noted educator, describes what he believes to be one of the most important, in the following words:[5]

> "In the recent Pujo investigation of the 'money power' of New York, one phrase came to the front—'the interlocking directorate.' We should hold on to this phrase, before we let it slip back into the dark vaults of the bank, for it has a wealth of significance, and it will have much more.
>
> "In brief, 'the interlocking directorate' is a device whereby one great financial institution keeps itself in touch with many others, ensuring unity of action and preventing cross-purposes in the industry of making money.
>
> "By placing an active member of a great banking house on the inside of every one of many large enterprises or exploiting corporations it is possible to exert an effective influence on all financial matters as well as on questions of peace and war, these resting fundamentally on finance.
>
> "Whether this great force of unanimity in finance is used for good or evil in our country, I do not pretend to say. But it is not an answer to criticisms of American conditions to say that 'the interlocking directorate' is a successful method in Europe, that it is the avowed policy of all the other great nations of the world, that it is everywhere else 'approved by governments and public sentiment as essential to the great enterprises of these days, whether governmental or corporate.'
>
> "It is indeed the method of Europe. It is highly developed in Europe because it fits perfectly into schemes of imperialism. In Europe as in America, it promotes financial stability. It also provides for the steady movement of money from 'the careless hands of the public' to the vaults of the rich. It is especially the agency by which the resources of weak or barbarous countries are drawn to swell the wealth of the great centers of exploiting Christendom. The degradation of 'world politics' to the ape and tiger level is accomplished by such means. Through its agency war is no longer a matter of emotionalism or of patriotism. Where war is permitted it is strictly a matter of business. Where war would interfere with business, it cannot break out.
>
> "The French have a phrase when a crime is committed: *'Cherchez la femme'* —find the woman. Now when war is threatened or a revolution breaks out: *'Cherchez le banquier'*—seek the banker. Find out who makes money from the disturbance, and then trace the chain of interlocking directorates which leads to the center."

There is no one cause for war. Whatever causes friction between groups is a potential cause of conflict. The Conference on the Cause and Cure of War held in Washington, D. C. in 1925 drew up the following list of possible causes:

I. Psychological:
  1. Fear
    a. Feeling of national insecurity
    b. Fear of invasion

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[5] David Starr Jordan, *War and Waste*, pp. 97-104, New York, 1913.

   c. Fear of loss of property
   b. Fear of change
2. Suspicion
3. Greed
4. Lust of power
5. Hate
6. Revenge
7. Jealousy
8. Envy

II. Economic:
1. Aggressive imperialism
   a. Territorial
   b. Economic
2. Economic rivalries for
   a. Markets
   b. Energy resources
   c. Essential raw materials
3. Government protection of private interests abroad without reference to the general welfare
4. Disregard of the rights of backward peoples
5. Population pressure
   a. Inequalities of access to resources
   b. Customs barriers
   c. Migration barriers
6. Profits in war

III. Political:
1. Principle of balance of power
2. Secret treaties
3. Unjust treaties
4. Violation of treaties
5. Disregard of rights of minorities
6. Organization of the state for war
7. Ineffective or obstructive political machinery

IV. Social and contributory:
1. Exaggerated nationalism
2. Competitive armaments
3. Religious and racial antagonism
4. General apathy, indifference and ignorance
5. War psychology created through various agencies, e.g.
   a. The press
   b. Motion pictures
   c. Text-books
   d. Home influences
6. Social inequalities
7. Social sanctions of war
8. Lack of spiritual ideals

It is natural in view of the terrible effect of war that there should have been continued movements to abolish it. Ever since the dawn of history we find men fighting. The tales of antiquity are replete with the heroic achievements of the battlefield. Even when we get back beyond written history we find the remains of stone implements which have doubtless been used in warfare. Nevertheless, the efforts to prevent war have been almost as ancient and as constant as war itself, and in a more closely populated and intelligent world these efforts have increased. At the present time as we have noted the world is smaller in point of time than the United States of America at the foundation of the republic. International problems closely resemble to-day what interstate problems once were. We have instant telegraphic and radio communication throughout the world. A disaster in South Africa is known almost immediately in New York. Aeroplanes are capable of making regular trips around the globe.

It is becoming more and more doubtful if war can be localized. A major conflict that breaks out in any one spot is likely to involve us all. Hence the growing endeavors to prevent war.

In the past two thousand years there have been many periods of change. One came with the fall of the Roman Empire, another with the Magna Charta, and a third with the Renaissance and Reformation. Others embraced the establishment of the republic of the United States and the crushing of the monarchy in France. A further effort perhaps started at the close of the World War. There has been a constant trend towards giving more power to the common people. It seems to be true that there has been a slow change in ideas and ideals. It is possible that mankind is now approaching the time when war will be relegated to the same niche in the museum of history that the duel has already been accorded. Certainly as we look back it seems to be clear that the efforts against war have been slowly increasing in effectiveness. In the Middle Ages the apostles of peace cherished a dream of a warless world. The great poet, Dante, who lived in the Thirteenth Century, in his book, *De Monarchia,* proposed a universal federation of peace and prosperity under a single monarch.

Pierre de Bois of France in 1305 proposed a plan for securing a peace between all the Catholic princes of Europe. His scheme was a council with the power to appoint arbitrators. The final court of appeals was the Pope. In 1462 the Bohemian king proposed an alliance between European nations primarily directed against the Turks but also calculated for the maintenance of peace between the Christian powers.

Some of the Utopians discussed earlier in the course pictured a world in which conflict had been done away with.

In the Seventeenth Century, Emeric Cruce (1673) published *The New Cineas or Discourse of the Occasions and Means to Establish a General Peace, and the Liberty of Commerce Throughout the World.* The title of this book refers to Plutarch's *Lives of Illustrious Men* in which the old philosopher Cineus is discussing war with the famous general Pyrrhus. The philosopher asks the general what he will do if he conquers the Romans. The general replies that it is self-evident he and his army will be the conquerors of all Italy and will then press on to Sicily. The philosopher asks if the conquest of Sicily will put an end to all war. "On the contrary," said the general, "victory there will enable us to reach Carthage and after that we shall be able to conquer Greece and the world." The philosopher asks what the general and his army would then do since there are no more worlds to conquer. "Oh," said the general smiling, "we will live at our ease, my dear friend, and drink all day and divert ourselves with pleasant conversation." The philosopher asks this disquieting question, "If that is your goal, why not enjoy it now without the carnage of blood and the possibility of defeat since you have prosperity and plenty and can now live in this ideal way."

Cruce in his book advocates a union of the nations and the settlement of their disputes in a general conference of arbitrators with the use of force if necessary to secure obedience. Two years later Grotius proposed not a union of states but periodic conferences of independent nations in which their disputes when not otherwise solved were to be settled by diplomatic negotiations.

Perhaps the most famous proposal of the Seventeenth Century has been known as the "Grand Design," devised by Sully but attributed to Henry IV. It contemplated the establishment of a Christian republic composed of fifteen states with a general senate of about seventy persons from the various European states. The senate was to deliberate on all conflict of interests and to assist in the civic, political, and religious life of the world. Europe was to be equally divided among all the powers in such a way that none of them would have any envy or fear from the power of the others. The result would be universal peace. Part of the program, however, necessitated the division of the Empire of Austria, of Germany, Italy and the Low Countries. In other words this plan really proposed a military venture against Austria in order later to secure peace. This seems rather farfetched to the modern mind but after all it is not so different from the slogan which was used in the last world conflict that we were fighting the war to end all war.

In 1693 William Penn wrote an essay, *Towards the Present and Future*

Peace of Europe. He justifies his proposal by referring to the "Grand Design" of Henry IV. Under Penn's plan the kings of Europe were to be represented in a congress according to their revenues rather than on a plane of equality. The congress was to meet yearly or every second or third year. He suggested that if any of the kings should refuse to submit their claims to the congress all the other kings should unite against the one. In the Eighteenth Century Abbe de St. Pierre published *A Plan for Perpetual Peace* (1712). The Abbe thought that it might be possible to perpetuate the *status quo* under the Treaty of Utrecht. This contemplated a union of all Christian sovereigns with a standing congress in which the king should be represented by deputies. Once fourteen nations had joined the union any king who refused to enter was to be immediately considered an enemy and war was to be declared against him and his territories taken away. All complaints and difficulties of the various nations were to be decided by a three-fourths vote of the congress. If any king refused to abide by the decision, war was to be declared against him and he would finally be forced to pay the costs of the conflict. The various provisions of the rule by the central congress could only be changed by unanimous vote. Following this plan Rousseau amplified and justified St. Pierre's views with the following argument. He proposed first that since with the exception of Turkey there is a close social connection between all the peoples of Europe, and second, since the imperfections of this society make the conditions worse than would be the deprivation of all society among them, and third, since the primary bonds which make the society harmful make it at the same time easily capable of improvement, it should be possible to do away with war permanently and usher in abiding peace. He believed that war and monarchy were natural comrades and peace must be brought about by the people. He simplified the proposal of St. Pierre and proposed that, instead of immediately declaring war on a king who violated the decisions of the congress, they should place him under the ban of Europe and that war would be declared only in the event of his taking up arms. He also proposed that the decisions of the congress should be by a majority vote, but that the final decision should require a majority of three-fourths acting under instructions from their governments. It is probable that Rousseau's plan powerfully affected the thinking of the various nations at that time and the arguments which he used in support of it were certainly very skilfully drawn and were probably the most effective statement up to that time.

A few sentences from his comment on St. Pierre's plan are valuable in showing the fearless way in which he attempted to draw up a plan for peace. "Nor must we believe with the Abbe de Saint-Pierre that even with good-will, which neither princes nor their ministers will ever have, it would be easy to find a favorable moment for the execution of this system, as it would be necessary in such a case that the sum of private interests should not outweigh the common interest, and that each should believe he saw in the well-being of all the greatest good to be hoped for himself. Now, this demands a union of wisdom in so many heads and a union of relations in so many interests that we can hardly hope for a fortuitous union of all the necessary circumstances. However, if this agreement does not happen there is only force to take its place, in which event it is no longer a question of persuading but of compelling, and instead of writing books we must raise troops.

"Thus, although the project might be very wise, the means of executing it betrayed the simplicity of the author. He imagined in his goodness that it was only necessary to assemble a congress and propose therein his articles, that they would be signed and that all would be ended. Let us admit that in all the projects of this honest man he saw well enough the effect of things when they were established, but that his judgment was that of a child as to the means of putting them into effect.

> "I do not need to add more to prove that the project of the Christian republic is not chimerical than to name its first author, for assuredly Henry IV was neither a fool nor Sully a visionary."[6]

About 1788 Bentham wrote a Plan for Universal and Perpetual Peace. He proposed a reduction of armaments and an emancipation of the distant independencies of each state. His principal proposition, however, was the establishment of a judicial court for settling the differences between the nations, but the court was to have no armed power to enforce its decisions. He says, "Establish a common tribune, a necessity for war no longer follows from a difference of opinion. Just or unjust, the decision of the arbitrators will save the credit, the honor of the contending party." The tribunal he proposed was virtually a congress where each government sent two deputies. Its power resided in public opinion because if a state refused to abide by its decision it would be put under a ban by all the other states and the pressure of public opinion throughout the world would enforce compliance. He felt that a free press could be trusted to create a public opinion in favor of the judgments of the court and that force would be unnecessary. His plan is very significant because it is one of the earliest to renounce armed authority in enforcing decisions. The prerequisites to the plan, renunciation of colonies and disarmament, are still, in the twentieth century unacceptable to the majority of the nations of the world. The philosopher Kant drew up six preliminary articles which he thought would insure peace. They are as follows:

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[6] Rousseau's *Jugement sur la Paix perpetuelle, loc. cit.*, Vol. 6, pp. 452-6.

1. No treaty of peace shall be regarded as valid, if made with the secret reservation of material for a future war.
2. No state having an independent existence—whether it be great or small—shall be acquired by another through inheritance, exchange, purchase or donation.
3. Standing armies (*miles perpetuus*) shall be abolished in course of time.
4. No national debts shall be contracted in connection with the external affairs of the state.
5. No state shall violently interfere with the constitution and administration of another.
6. No state at war with another shall countenance such modes of hostility as would make mutual confidence impossible in a subsequent state of peace: Such are the employment of assassins (*percussores*) or of poisoners (*venefici*), breaches of capitualation, the instigating and making use of treachery (*perduellio*) in the hostile state.

Kant believed that a representative government would prevent war because the genuine elected representatives of the people would refuse war and favor peace. Kant specifically mentions a League of Nations with differences settled by law. His proposal is so far in advance of his time that we quote again directly from his words.

"Such a general association of states, having for its object the preservation of peace, might be termed the permanent congress of nations. Such was the diplomatic conference formed at The Hague during the first part of the eighteenth century, with a similar view, consisting of the ministers of the greater part of the European courts and even of the smallest republics. In this manner all Europe was constituted into one federal state, of which the several members submitted their differences to the decision of this conference as their sovereign arbiter. . . .

"What we mean to propose is a general congress of nations of which both the meeting and the duration are to depend entirely on the sovereign wills of the several members of the league, and not an indissoluble union like that which exists between the several States of North America founded on a municipal constitution. Such a congress and such a league are the only means of realizing the idea of a true public law, according to which the differences between nations would be determined by civil proceedings as those between individuals are determined by civil judicature, instead of resorting to war, a means of redress worthy only of barbarians."[7]

In the Treaty of Vienna of June, 1815 arbitration was utilized in the reorganization of Germany under the name of the Germanic Confederation. Article 63 reads as follows:

[7] *Perpetual Peace,* Immanuel Kant, 1795.

> Art. 63. The states of the confederation undertake to defend not only the whole of Germany, but also each individual state of the union, in case it should be attacked, and mutually guarantee all of their possessions which are comprised in that union. When war is declared by the confederation, no member may enter upon private negotiation with the enemy, nor make peace nor an armistice without the consent of the others. The members of the confederation, while reserving the right to form alliances, nevertheless bind themselves not to contract any engagement which would be directed against the safety of the confederation or of the individual states which compose it. The confederated states, moreover, undertake not to make war among themselves under any pretext and not to pursue their differences by force of arms, but to submit them to the Diet. It will try the path of mediation through the medium of a commission; if this does not succeed and a juridical award should become necessary, it will be provided by an Austregal judgment (*Austregal-Instanz*), well organized, to which the litigant parties shall submit themselves without appeal.

While the Germanic confederation was being set up the South American states were becoming independent. Many of them enacted treaties which declared for arbitration of all disputes of whatsoever character. In 1913 out of thirty-three arbitration treaties in force providing for absolute and unconditional arbitration, twenty-three came from Latin America. Out of thirteen additional treaties which provided for arbitration in everything except matters affecting constitutional provisions of the state all were Latin American. Shortly after the Congress of Vienna, the peace movement in England had begun. By 1840 there was a small but effective group urging universal peace. This group attempted, but without success, to prevent the Crimean War. When the war ended, a deputation of eighteen members of Parliament went to the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, from the Peace Congress Committee urging the government to establish some system of international arbitration which would bring the interests of nations within rules of justice and right. The Prime Minister replied in rather cool terms that "he could not go with them to the full extent." He urged them to influence general public opinion as to the advantages of peace. In spite of this setback the Committee sent a deputation to the Peace Conference at Paris and there Lord Clarendon, head of the British delegation brought the matter to the attention of the congress. The effect of Lord Clarendon's advocacy of arbitration resulted in the following resolution.

> The plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express, in the name of their Governments, the wish that states between which any serious misunderstandings may arise, should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, so far as circumstances might allow, to the good offices of a friendly power.

The plentipotentiaries hope that the Governments not represented at the congress will unite in the sentiment which inspired the wish recorded in the present protocol.

It can thus be seen from this brief sketch of the development of the peace idea that it was an ideal which was constantly held before the "civilized" nations. It is true that many of the projects which we have outlined did not make a great or lasting effect on public opinion. Many of them were woefully at fault in disregarding the economic causes for conflict and in providing for a forcible peace movement based on armies and war. However, they undoubtedly did affect the leaders of public thought to some extent and so are important. In another contribution we will trace the part which America has played in the peace movement which culminated in the League of Nations, the World Court and the Outlawry of War.

2. GANDHI AND NON-VIOLENCE

No treatment of the movement for peace would be complete without some mention of Gandhi, the most picturesque leader of the non-violence movement in the world to-day.[8] He was born in the year 1869 at Porbunder in the northwestern part of India into a wealthy and cultured family. Both parents were devoutly religious, subscribing to a faith which taught sincere devotion to God; fellowship with the universe; service to all and violence to none. Gandhi was married without any choice in the matter at twelve. At nineteen he was sent to London to finish his work in law. Upon his departure his mother made him take three religious vows which he faithfully observed during all his stay in England: abstention from wine, meat, and sexual intercourse. He returned to India in 1891 and began the practice of law. He was much influenced by the "uncrowned king of Bombay," Dadabhai, who urged heroic passivity, i.e., fight evil not by evil but by love. He was also deeply moved by the ideas of Tolstoy.

In 1893 Gandhi was called to Africa on an important law case and while there learned of the desperate condition of some 150,000 Indians who lived chiefly in Natal. The South African government proposed to enact drastic legislation discriminating against them. Gandhi decided to remain in South Africa and champion their cause. It was here that he first actively used the method of passive resistance. Romain Rolland describes what happened as "an epic struggle between spirit on one side and governmental power and brute force on the other." He organized a self-sustaining colony for the Indians. His closest followers took vows of poverty and non-violence, and throughout two decades of struggle did no injury to their oppressors. Finally, in 1914 his cause had won: the hostile legislation was withdrawn and Natal was opened to Indians on fair terms. Thus within a period of about twenty years he had won the respect of the British in South Africa, welded the Indians into a united group willing to make sacrifices for their cause and had given an impressive example of the powerful effect of non-violent resistance. He himself describes his theory in the following words:[9]

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[8] Space limitations forbid an exhaustive treatment of Gandhi's philosophy of life, but this brief section is given because of the unparalleled influence of his personality and ideas on the peace movement. Students who are interested to read further should consult *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas,* by C. F. Andrews (1930). This has a good bibliography.

"The term 'Passive Resistance' does not fit the activity of the Indian Community during the past eight years. Its equivalent in the vernacular, rendered into English, means Truth-Force. I think Tolstoy called it also Soul-Force, or Love-Force, and so it is. Carried out to its utmost limit this force is independent of pecuniary or other material assistance. Violence is the negation of this great spiritual force, which can only be cultivated or wielded by those who will entirely eschew violence. It is a force that may be used by individuals as well as by communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility. It can be used alike by men, women, and children.

"It is impossible for those who consider themselves to be weak to apply this force. Only those who realize that there is something in man which is superior to the brute nature in him, and that the latter always yields to it, can effectively be passive resisters. This force is to violence what light is to darkness.

"In politics its use is based upon the immutable maxim that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed. We did not want to be governed by the Asiatic Act of 1907 of the Transvaal, and it had to yield before this mighty force. Two courses were open to us: (i) to use violence when we were called upon to submit to the Act; or (ii) to suffer the penalties prescribed under the Act, and thus to draw out and exhibit the force of the soul within us, for a period long enough to appeal to the sympathetic chord in the governors or the law-makers. We have taken long to achieve what we set about striving for. That was because our Passive Resistance was not of the most complete type. All passive resisters do not understand the full value of the force, nor have we men who always from soul-conviction refrain from violence.

"The use of this force requires the adoption of poverty, in the sense that we must be indifferent whether we have the wherewithal to feed or clothe ourselves. During the past struggle all passive resisters were not prepared to go that length. Some again were only passive resisters so-called. They came without any conviction, often with mixed motives, less often with impure motives. Some even, while engaged in the struggle, would have resorted to violence except for most vigilant supervision. Thus it was that the struggle became prolonged; for the exercise of the purest Soul-Force in its perfect form brings about instantaneous relief. For this, prolonged training of the individual soul is an absolute necessity, so that a perfect passive resister has to be almost, if not entirely, a perfect man.

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[9] From the Golden Number of *Indian Opinion*. Edited by H. S. L. Polak, Natal, South Africa.

"We cannot all suddenly become such men, but the greater the spirit of Passive Resistance in us the better men we shall become. Its use, therefore, is indisputable, and it is a force which, if it became universal, would revolutionize social ideals, do away with despotisms, and destroy the ever-growing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and are being almost crushed to death, and which promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East.

"If the past struggle has produced even a few Indians who would dedicate themselves to the task of becoming passive resisters as nearly perfect as possible, they would not only have served themselves in the truest sense of the term, but they would also have served humanity at large.

"Thus viewed, Passive Resistance is the noblest and the best education. It should come, not after the ordinary literary education of children; it should precede it. It will not be denied that a child, before it begins to write its alphabet and to gain worldly knowledge, should know what the soul is, what truth is, what love is, what powers are latent in the soul. It should be an essential of real education that a child should learn that, in the struggle of life, it can easily conquer hate by love, untruth by truth, violence by self-suffering."

In 1914 Gandhi returned to India. During the war he supported the government believing that after the conflict was over India would be granted a new freedom as a reward for her service. In this he was bitterly disappointed and immediately assumed leadership in a movement to free his fellow countrymen. The striking feature of his work, however, is that here again he followed the technique of passive resistance and consistently urged all his followers to use *ahimsa* or non-violence. During his campaign against British rule he has at various times urged such radical tactics of non-coöperation as:

1. The surrender of all titles of honor and honorary office;
2. Non-participation in government loans;
3. The settlement of all disputes by private means;
4. The boycott of government schools;
5. Non-participation in any government party or other official function;
6. Refusal to accept any civil or military post;
7. Refusal to purchase or use articles made in foreign countries and the practice of *khaddar* or home spinning.

Gandhi has not hesitated to urge his followers to violate the law. He considers that India should have *Swaraj* or self-government and that all

British laws are consequently illegal. It was thus that in 1930 he publicly violated the law that salt making was a government monopoly. Gandhi has several times been arrested as he was following his "salt campaign" in May, 1930.

The exact effect which Gandhi's personality and spirit has had on India, indeed on the peace movement of the world, it is difficult to determine accurately. Two unpublished estimates of Gandhi by American leaders will help to make his personality and influence real to the American student. The first is by Sherwood Eddy, author and International Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, who saw Gandhi in December 1929; the other is by a well-known American sociologist, Professor Herbert A. Miller, of Ohio State University, who interviewed Gandhi in March, 1930. Both strikingly corroborate each other.

1. "I shall always remember Gandhi at his spinning wheel with the warm light of the Indian sun falling upon him as he sat upon the floor of his simple room and talked with us quietly of the approaching crisis in India's history. His bodily presence, like that of the Apostle Paul or of Socrates, is at first sight weak and unprepossessing; a small, emaciated figure, weighing less than a hundred pounds, bearing the marks of days of fasting, of five imprisonments, and of long hours of work, beginning daily with his hour of prayer at four every morning. Three times he has been beaten by mobs and once left prone in the gutter as dead. He has a round, close-cropped head, large ears, a rather long nose, a quiet, pensive face, save when it lights in a smile or ripples with laughter as it so often does. But this only reveals his few remaining front teeth. It is characteristic of the man that he makes use of artificial dentistry at meal time for practical purposes, but will have no 'false' teeth for the sake of appearance between times.

"After three days spent in his Ashram or social settlement, he impresses us as the most childlike, the most transparent, the most lovable of men. His whole character is centered in his unique passion for truth and reality. His autobiography reveals the most inflexibly honest man of our times. His principle of *satyagraha,* meaning truth-force or soul-force as opposed to brute force, leads logically to *ahimsa,* meaning non-killing, non-injury and non-violence to any living being. This is embodied in his character as love, sympathy and identification with all human suffering. He believes that moral suasion or love, and love alone, is sufficient to meet every situation in life. This in turn leads to non-possession or poverty, whereby one shall not keep for himself anything which he does not really need. This results in the progressive simplification of life. His utterly selfless humility and shyness are strangely coupled with quiet boldness. It is difficult to realize that this frail man was once silent and timid before all strangers, a dumb failure in his first law case, a confessed 'coward' afraid to sleep in the dark, yet now is perhaps the most fearless man in the world. His description of the former Indian leader Gokhale might be applied with even more truth to himself: 'Pure as crystal, gentle as a lamb, brave as a lion and chivalrous to a fault. He was and remains for me the most perfect man on the political field.' He is a saint strayed into politics who is working in the spiritual, social and political spheres as one undivided whole of life."[10]

2. "The visit with Gandhi was perhaps at one of the great moments in history and certainly the most romantic one of all time. I say this without qualification. The contrast between the extravagant Viceroy's palace and the humble *ashram* of Gandhi is antipodal and the men they house are admittedly the only two representatives of power in India. The events of the last two days have shown that the hold of Gandhi on the imagination of countless millions of people is without parallel.

"For ten years Gandhi has been compared to Jesus. In all this time he has not made a slip to break the comparison. He has, however, subjected himself to criticism for his political policies. This is inevitable, because political policies are temporal and open to differences of opinion; but for his eternal qualities he has lived in the presence of God. Buddha and many other Indians, and, perhaps, Tolstoy, have been as consistent, but those religious leaders were primarily interested only in the souls of men. Tolstoy admitted the difficulties of seeing his way through practical problems though personally true to his ideals. Gandhi is the first saint actually to identify a spiritual technique with a program for the solution of social problems. This spiritual side you cannot escape when in his environment. Of course some of his followers are fanatics, but Gandhi is not a fanatic; he is a saint. To him only one thing is bad and that is sin, and he tries to escape it by constant communion with God. There is no cant or ritualism in the prayers and fastings that he performs. The English papers are treating the present movement with ridicule, but they never fail to say *Mr.* Gandhi. The Indians say Gandhiji or Mahatmaji. The 'ji' suggests special honor. 'Mahatma' means great soul, and Gandhi always repudiated it, but it is fixed upon him.

"Gandhi was in the best of health and spirits, running and skipping with the children on his daily walk, and on all occasions full of laughter and banter. He has girded his loins for the battle of his life to arouse and free India, with absolute confidence that the final outcome will be victory. When I asked him how large was his following he said that he did not know but it was necessary to start in order to find out. He likened his efforts to arouse the people to a surgeon applying a blister to make a cure, always with the possibility that he may kill instead. Then he laughed and said 'But I am a good surgeon for I have been practicing for twenty-four years.' In reply to the claim that the English have been of great benefit to India he said there was no doubt they had done many good things, hospitals, for example, though a good thing, reached only a microscopic percentage of those needing them, and do not make up for the killing of self-reliance and the impoverishment of the masses. Much of the good they have done was a by-product and unintentional and deserves no credit, as for instance the arousing of the people to resistance. To the government's claim that its continuance is necessary for the keeping of peace between Hindu and Moslem, Gandhi said that the two religions had gotten on harmoniously before the English came. When the Mohammedans had shown a tendency to draw away, naturally the English, seizing this basis of difference, had stimulated it on the principle of 'divide and rule.' 'Hindus must be developed to such a point of self control that the Moslems can have no fear,' he said."[11]

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[10] From an unpublished letter.

3. THE EFFORT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BRING ABOUT WORLD PEACE[12]

It is not mere chance that the three plans to substitute law for war which have recently held the attention of the world—the League of Nations, the Outlawry of War, and the World Court—are all of American origin. The effort of the United States to rid the world of war began with the founders of the Republic and has been persistently carried on by her greatest statesmen until the present day, in spite of enormous odds against the effort. It is, in all probability, because the effort has not yet succeeded that this great national contribution remains an unwritten chapter in our histories. When the plan which will substitute law for war is finally worked out, Americans will point with enduring pride to the courageous struggle by which peace has been advanced step by step under the leadership of the great men of this nation.

Colonial Days—William Penn's Holy Experiment, and Parliament of Europe

The first example in the history of the world of a government unsupported by armies was to be found among the American Colonies in the seventeenth century. In 1682 William Penn brought his group of Quakers to America with the idea of making an experiment in peaceful government. Before he left England he said that one motive which urged him on was this: "There may be room there for an Holy Experiment in government which shall be as an example to the nations." He set up his colony in Pennsylvania and the century of peace which it maintained in an unsettled country, among hitherto hostile, warring savages, proved government without force practical.

Not content with the example of an isolated experiment, Penn drew up a plan for a "parliament of Europe," of which the basic idea is not unlike plans which we are considering to-day. He proposed that the sovereign princes of Europe should appoint representatives to meet yearly to settle their differences. If any sovereign prince refused to submit a dispute to the Diet or failed to execute its judgments, all the other states were to unite to compel submission of the difference, performance of the settlement, and payment of damages to the party wronged and costs to the states which were compelled to force submission.

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[11] From an unpublished letter.
[12] By Florence B. Boeckel. Washington, D. C., 1927.

Under the Federation of States Congress Requested to Work for World Peace

This determination that the new Republic should lead the world to peace did not exist only in the mind of William Penn, the Quaker. The Revolution was no more than over—the Constitution, indeed, had not yet been adopted—when Samuel Adams drew up for the General Court of Massachusetts the following letter of instructions for the Massachusetts delegates in Congress:

"You are hereby instructed and urged to move the United States in Congress assembled to take into their deep and most serious consideration whether any measures can by them be used, through their influence with such of the nations in Europe with whom they are united by treaties of amity or commerce, that national differences may be settled and determined without the necessity of war, in which the world has too long been deluged, to the destruction of human happiness and the disgrace of human reason and government."

Though no definite action could be taken on this recommendation, the Massachusetts delegates were instructed to have the letter entered in the Journals of Congress, to remain for the inspection of delegates from Massachusetts in future time.

The earnestness with which George Washington shared this desire of the people of his country to promote world peace is evidenced in his public utterances before he was President, in his final admonition to his countrymen when he gave up office, and in his official acts during the time he served as President. In 1785 he wrote to David Humphreys, the secretary of the first United States commission sent abroad to negotiate treaties of commerce:

"My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth and the sons and daughters of this world employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind."

To Lafayette, in 1788, he wrote: "Would to God the harmony of nations were an object that lay nearest to the hearts of sovereigns."

George Washington and John Jay Responsible for the First Modern Treaty of Arbitration

During his first term as President, Washington was able to carry these principles into action. Following the French Revolution, conflict broke out between England and France and a powerful group in this country demanded that America take part in it. Washington resisted the demand and sent his Chief Justice, John Jay, as a special representative to England. Jay worked out and embodied in the famous Treaty of 1794, which he arranged with England, the first modern experiment in international arbitration. In large part because of this arbitration clause, Jay was burned in effigy by his political opponents! Yet in the century and a half which has followed, more than six hundred international disputes have been settled in accordance with the principle which he laid down.

Washington's Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, Defines Rights of Neutrals

Thomas Jefferson, as Secretary of State under Washington, likewise made a lasting contribution to international law. When American commerce was at the mercy of French and British alike he drew up principles defining the rights of neutrals on a basis so broad and progressive that they are recognized to-day.

Succeeding George Washington as President, John Adams followed the policy of peace, even against the advice of men in his own party. The conflict between England and France continued, and the people who under Washington had cried for war with England now cried for war with France. Adams, however, on his own responsibility, sent commissioners to France and negotiated a just and peaceful settlement. Twenty years later he said that he would rather have inscribed on his tombstone, "Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility of the peace with France in 1800," than to have recorded there any other event in his public career.

Benjamin Franklin's Notable Treaty of Amity and Commerce

Through all these early days the influence of Benjamin Franklin was very great and it was an influence constantly exerted in behalf of peace. "There never was," he said, "a good war or a bad peace." He preached peace not alone to his own countrymen but to every nation with which he came in touch. Upon one statesman after another he pressed his conviction: "All wars are follies, very expensive and very mischievous ones." His reiteration of the fact that it is cheaper for one nation to pay another nation for the territory or the privileges which it desires than to go to war for them may well have influenced the later policies of this country in its western development. Two specific things Franklin tried to embody in international law—the abolition of privateering, which he declared an encouragement to war, and the protection of the interests of merchants and of "all fishermen, all cultivators of the earth, all artisans or manufacturers, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified places, who labor for the common benefit of mankind, and of unarmed vessels employed in commerce." These provisions he embodied in the last treaty which he negotiated in Europe, a treaty of amity and commerce between the United

States and Frederick the Great. Washington himself pointed out the importance of the principle laid down in this treaty of amity:

"It is perfectly original," he said, "in many of the articles, and should its principles be considered hereafter as the basis of connection between nations it will operate more fully to produce a general pacification than any measure hitherto attempted amongst mankind."

This treaty was but one of the results of the policy pursued by the statesmen of this country from the beginning, designed to promote a general system of free international organization and coöperation, and persisting into the present-day demand for the Open Door in the East.

It was Franklin's belief that the most practical way to approach world peace was for a group of nations to arrange an alliance against all aggressors and agree to refer all disputes to some third party. If such an arrangement were made among a few nations he believed they would be joined by others and that the manifest advantage of arbitration would lead to its universal adoption.

When Thomas Jefferson became President, he continued the peace policies of Washington and Adams in spite of the fury of the Napoleonic Wars, into which we might so easily have been drawn. Jefferson stated his theory in a letter to Thomas Pinckney in 1797: "War is not the best engine for us to resort to. Nature has given us one in our commerce, which, if properly managed, will be a better instrument for obliging the nations of Europe to treat us with justice." Again, he wrote: "I love peace and I am anxious that we should give the world still another useful lesson by showing them other modes of punishing injuries than by war, which is as much a punishment to the punisher as to the sufferer." He did not believe war the most certain means of enforcing principles:

"Those peaceful coercions which are in the power of every nation, if undertaken in concert and in time of peace, are more likely to produce the desired effect. . . . However we may be reproached for pursuing our Quaker system, time will affix the stamp of wisdom upon it, and the happiness and prosperity of our citizens will attest its merit; and this, I believe, is the only legitimate object of government and the first duty of governors, and not the slaughter of men and devastation of the countries placed under our care in pursuit of a fantastic honor unallied to virtue or happiness."

Jefferson Wishes the United States to Set Example

Jefferson's policy is best described by Henry Adams, descendant of John Adams, in his history of Jefferson's administration:

"That the United States should become a nation like France, England or Russia, or should conquer the world like Rome, was no part of his scheme. He wished to begin a new era. Hoping for a time when the world's ruling interests should cease to be local and should become universal; when questions of boundary and nationality should become insignificant; when armies and navies should be reduced to the work of police—he set himself to the task of governing with this golden age in view. Few men have dared to legislate as though eternal peace were at hand, in a world torn by wars and convulsions and drowned in blood, but this was what Jefferson aspired to do. Even in such dangers, he believed that Americans might safely set an example which the Christian world should be led by interest to respect and at length to imitate. As he conceived a true American policy, war was a blunder, an unnecessary risk; and even in case of robbery and aggression, the United States, he believed, had only to stand on the defensive in order to obtain justice in the end. He would not consent to build up a new nationality merely to create more navies and armies, to perpetuate the crimes and follies of Europe; the central government at Washington should not be permitted to indulge in the miserable ambitions that had made the Old World a hell and frustrated the hopes of humanity."

When the first peace society was organized in Massachusetts in 1815, Jefferson became an honorary member.

President Madison stood as firmly as his predecessors for the principle of peace, but under his administration that group in the nation known as "War Hawks" gained the ascendancy and, in 1812, persuaded the government to declare war on England. Of this War of 1812 John W. Foster, Secretary of State under President Harrison, said:

"The War of 1812, our first foreign conflict, was far from being inevitable. While it was justifiable, the better sentiment of the country was opposed to it. President Madison did all in his power to prevent it but was overruled by a few fiery spirits in Congress. The declaration of war was passed by Congress after a heated debate with a large minority vote against it."

The Treaty of Ghent Promotes Arbitration, Establishes First Unarmed International Boundary and Principle of Limitation of Armaments

In the Treaty of Ghent, which ended this war, Madison definitely promoted the use of arbitration as a method of settling international disputes. By the terms of the treaty three commissions were appointed to determine various boundary questions between the two countries.

Most notable of all, the Treaty of Ghent, and the negotiations following it, completed in 1817, provided for a great unarmed international frontier which has established the validity of the principle of the limitation of armaments. When the War of 1812 ended, the United States and Canada had each some forty-six forts on the shores of the Great Lakes, and many shipyards employing hundreds of men. Plans were immediately under way for building additional warships. A special order from the British Admiralty encouraging more rapid local construction of warships for the Great Lakes caused American officers to urge upon Congress the necessity for immediately increasing military and naval appropriations and building larger and more destructive warships for our own border defense. At this point, Richard Rush, of Quaker descent, who shortly afterward became Attorney General for the United States, consulted with the British Ambassador, Charles Bagot, and suggested that in the mutual interest of both nations steps be taken to limit the number of men and ships along the boundary, instead of to increase them. Bagot heartily agreed and Rush drafted an arrangement which was signed shortly after the Treaty of Ghent. Its immediate effect was to stop work on nearly one hundred fortifications, disband local armies and navies, and cause the immediate disarmament of more than one hundred warships. As a result, for over one hundred years peace has been maintained along this three-thousand-mile border and a little sheet-iron steamer, the "Wolverine," has been sufficient to protect the interests of the United States. The fact that this unarmed boundary between the United States and Canada is now accepted entirely as a matter of course has unfortunately decreased the force of its example.

Having arranged to live in peace with our northern neighbor, under the next administration a step was taken to protect this hemisphere against wars of conquest. In 1823, President Monroe, supported by England, whose merchants desired to continue their relations with South American republics, issued his famous doctrine, which declared that the American continents were closed to future colonization and that the democratic governments established on this side of the world should be unmolested. Except in our relations with Mexico and Central America, the United States has lived up to the principle and policy of peace in this hemisphere.

Peace in the Western Hemisphere

Almost immediately after the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, a Pan-American Conference was called at the instance of Colombia. John Quincy Adams, then President of the United States, accepted the invitation and sent delegates. In the instructions of Henry Clay, then Secretary of State, to the delegates, the development of arbitration among the American nations is one of the chief points emphasized.

Fifty years later, the United States took the initiative in resuming conferences between the countries of North and South America, and Secretary of State James G. Blaine, in 1881, called a Pan-American Congress to meet in Washington "for the purpose of preventing war between the nations of America." This Congress was delayed, but finally met in 1889 and has been followed by others in 1901, 1906, 1910, and 1923, with Central American Peace Conferences in 1907 and 1922.

The results of these American conferences have been notable. The Pan-American Union resulted from the first. At later ones, treaties of compulsory arbitration were agreed upon by nine Latin-American countries, and Latin America was brought definitely into the world movement for peace by association with the nations of Europe at the Second Hague Conference. At the last Pan-American Conference, in 1923, the question of the limitation of armaments was introduced and, although not settled, opened a broad field for further conference and negotiation.

The Central American Peace Conference, called on the initiative of Mexico and the United States, in 1907, put into effect the plan of Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, for an International Court, a concrete forerunner of the present World Court in the foundation of which Mr. Root also played the leading part. The five Central American nations bound themselves "to submit all controversies which might arise among them, of whatsoever nature and no matter what their origin may be" in which their departments of foreign affairs failed to reach an understanding. This was the first permanent judicial body to sit in judgment of nations. It successfully settled a number of international differences, and established an important precedent. The convention under which it was established expired in 1917 and has not been renewed. The responsibility for the abolition of the court rests upon the United States.

Legislatures and Congress Favor Arbitration

That the Government of the United States, in its efforts to substitute law and arbitration for war, had the support of the people of the country is attested in many ways. In 1832, the Senate of Massachusetts adopted a resolution expressing the opinion that "some mode should be established for the amicable and final adjustment of international disputes, instead of resort to war."

Five years later, both the Senate and the House of Massachusetts passed a resolution, "that a Congress of nations for the purpose of forming a code of international law and establishing a high court of arbitration . . . is a scheme worthy the careful attention of all enlightened governments." In 1844 the legislature of Vermont commended the popular suggestion that a congress of nations be called by the United States for the purpose of establishing an international tribunal.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reported to that body in 1851 a resolution that "in the judgment of this body it would be proper and desirable for the Government of these United States whenever practicable to secure in its treaties with other nations a provision for referring to the decision of umpires all future misunderstandings that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiation in the first instance, before a resort to hostilities shall be had."

Two years later the same committee reported a resolution of advice to the President suggesting a stipulation in all treaties hereafter entered into with other nations referring the adjustment of any misunderstanding or controversy to the decision of disinterested and impartial arbitrators to be mutually chosen.

In 1874, both the House and the Senate adopted resolutions favoring arbitration.

Again, in 1888, the Committee on Foreign Relations proposed to the Senate a resolution requesting the President "to invite, from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that the differences or disputes arising between the two governments which can not be adjusted by diplomatic agency may be referred to arbitration, and be peaceably adjusted by such means." In 1890 Congress adopted this resolution.

After the first tentative Pan-American Conferences, following the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, the efforts of this country toward the development of plans for arbitration and world peace were interrupted by a policy of development by conquest which we adopted in the Southwest. According to many historians, we were led into this policy by the slave interests and it has been regretted by many of our later statesmen, including Roosevelt, who declared our war with Mexico to have been an unjust war of unholy aggression.

When President Tyler brought about the annexation of Texas, he said that "the question of boundaries was purposely left open for negotiation" and he expected these would be adjusted "by pacific arrangement." But his successor, President Polk, sent the army to occupy the disputed territory with no authority from Congress, and the war with Mexico was precipitated.

During the Civil War the tradition of peace did not die out. The attitude of Lincoln throughout the war—the attitude even of our great generals, such as Grant, who stated, . . . "There never was a time nor a day when it was not my desire that some just and fair way should be established for settling difficulties, instead of bringing innocent persons into conflict, and withdrawing from productive labor able-bodied men," and Lincoln's policy of magnanimity at the close of the war, strengthened the will of the people of this country to peace and prevented the development of a spirit of militarism which might easily have resulted from the conflict.

Immediately following the Civil War there was a strengthening of our ties with Latin America. In 1871, during Grant's first term as President, the mediation of the United States resulted in the settlement of the war between Spain and the three countries, Peru, Chile, and Ecuador. President Grant's own influence toward the development of arbitration is reflected in the following statement which has especial interest to-day:

"I look forward to a day when there shall be courts established that shall be recognized by all nations, which will take into consideration all differences between nations, and settle by arbitration or decision of such courts, these questions."

In 1880 President Hayes was chosen as perpetual arbitrator by Chile and Colombia, and the series of Pan-American Conferences referred to above followed.

During this same period America was also playing a leading part through the Hague Peace Conferences in promoting closer international relations in Europe.

The Hague Conferences

The First Hague Conference, in 1899, was called by the Czar of Russia, but its program followed closely the suggestions of the American delegates. The most notable of these was our proposal for an international court, which was known as the "American plan." The plan as adopted was modified into a court of arbitration, the Hague Tribunal. Each state was permitted to nominate not more than four persons for the tribunal, from which panel a special court was to be selected for each case, and in 1901, the court was declared organized and ready for work. It has settled sixteen international disputes, the first of which was a dispute with Mexico submitted by the United States.

The Second Hague Conference was suggested by the United States. At this conference the American delegates proposed and championed a permanent court of arbitral justice. Because the mode of selecting the judges could not be decided upon, the establishment of the court was deferred.

In spite of the war with Spain the administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt were marked by certain definite efforts for the promotion of arbitration and peace. In his first inaugural address President McKinley pointed out that "the leading feature of our foreign policy throughout our entire national history" had been our insistence on "the adjustment of difficulties by judicial methods rather than by force of arms."

Hay's Boxer Settlement and Arbitration Treaties

In the settlement of the Boxer difficulty, this country, under the leadership of John Hay, McKinley's Secretary of State, by the return of the indemnity performed a notable service in the cause of world peace, and set an example for better international relations. During his term of office, Hay also negotiated a number of arbitration treaties between this and other countries, in which it was agreed that all legal questions, not including those of "national honor" or "vital interest," should be submitted to the Hague Tribunal. These treaties were so amended by the Senate that President Roosevelt declared they were useless and refused to sign them. But Hay's effort was continued by his successor, Elihu Root, who concluded twenty-five arbitration treaties, which were duly ratified and signed.

Taft and Arbitration

President Taft attempted, during his administration, to carry these treaties one step further and to negotiate with France and Great Britain arbitration treaties including all justiciable disputes, even those involving "vital interests" and "national honor." His hope was that the example thus afforded would be followed by other nations until a general treaty could be formulated in which the peoples of the earth would agree to refer all their disputes to a court of arbitral justice. These treaties were so weakened by the Senate that Taft refused to sign them.

President Taft also resisted much pressure for war with Mexico. William Kent in a speech in Congress August 19, 1912, said: "In the face of pressure of all sorts and of almost unbearable complications he (Taft) refrained from war with Mexico and showed himself a friend of peace." Mr. Kent wrote the following letter to President Taft:

"Dear Mr. Taft: As one interested in Mexican investments, I wish to commend in the highest terms your policy of non-interference. Every American dollar and every American life in Mexico is there subject to the risk of the possessor. If I would not myself go to Mexico to risk my life in defense of my property interests, I would be no less than a murderer to ask that the men in our army assume such a risk."

Bryan's Plan for a Permanent International Commission of Investigation

When William Jennings Bryan became Secretary of State under President Wilson, he secured the ratification by the Senate of treaties between the United States and twenty-nine other countries, providing for the investigation of all disputes by a permanent international commission composed of one citizen of each nation, one chosen by each nation from a foreign nation and a fifth selected by agreement. A year's time is allowed for investigation, during which period there are to be no hostilities.

Roosevelt's Offer of Mediation

Roosevelt, basing his action on the provision of the First Hague Conference that neutral nations might offer their services in the settlement of disputes, actively intervened in the Moroccan affair between

France and Germany in 1905, and initiated the conference which ended the Russo-Japanese War, for which he received the Nobel Peace Prize.

Congress for Armament Limitation, 1910

During this same period, the interest of Congress in the question of world peace was evidenced in various ways, for instance by the following resolution passed in 1910 that "a commission of five members be appointed by the President of the United States to consider the expediency of utilizing the existing international agencies for the purpose of limiting the armaments of the nations of the world by international agreement, and of constituting the combined navies of the world an international force for the preservation of universal peace, and to consider and report upon any other means to diminish the expenditures of governments for military purposes and to lessen the probability of war."

Organization of Peace Societies

Behind this official effort in behalf of world peace there was growing up in this country during the nineteenth century a strongly organized public opinion. The first peace society in the world was organized in New York City in 1815, closely followed by others in Ohio and Massachusetts. Other societies sprang up in Maine, Rhode Island, Vermont, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Georgia. In 1828, the first national peace organization was founded by William Ladd and called the American Peace Society. For almost a century this society has promoted the cause of peace through national and international conferences, through publications and by the proposal of definite plans for world organization which have undoubtedly influenced the present League of Nations and World Court. Many of our leading public men have, generation by generation, been affiliated with the peace organizations; among them, Noah Worcester, William Ellery Channing, Elihu Burritt, Horace Mann, William Lloyd Garrison, Whittier, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Charles Sumner, Phillips Brooks, Joseph Choate, Benjamin Trueblood, Justice Brewer, President A. Lawrence Lowell, John Hay, Philander C. Knox, William Howard Taft and Elihu Root. The list is endless, for there are to-day in this country nearly one hundred organizations representing a membership of about forty millions organized to work directly for peace or supporting the peace movement through affiliation or by resolution. The gifts of Edwin Ginn and of Andrew Carnegie establishing permanent foundations for peace work are unparalleled in any other nation.

In a notable essay Ladd himself recommended a Congress of Nations to formulate international law and a permanent international court to administer it. His plan for a court formed the basis of the American proposal at the Hague Conference and is followed closely in the present World Court.

The War to End War

The platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties began in 1872 to reflect the desire of the people that this government promote the interest of world peace. Since the opening of the World War our political campaigns have centered around issues of war and peace. We entered the World War "to end war." President Wilson, in his Fourteen Points, attempted to create at the close of the war the same spirit between victors and vanquished that Lincoln had sought by his attitude toward the South at the close of the Civil War; and in an effort to prevent the recurrence of war the American Delegation to the Peace Conference, led by President Wilson, proposed the epoch-making plan of the League of Nations, probably the greatest single effort in history to establish international peace.

The League of Nations

Wilson, himself, said of the League:

> "The League is not only a union of free peoples to guarantee civilization; it is something much more than that. It is a League of Nations to advance civilization by substituting something that will make the improvement of civilization possible.
>
> "I call you to witness that our civilization is not satisfactory. It is an industrial civilization, and at the heart of it is an antagonism between those who labor with their hands and those who direct labor. You cannot compose those differences in the midst of war, and you cannot advance civilization unless you have a peace of which you make the fullest use in bringing these elements of civilization together into a common partnership in which every man will have the same interest in the work of his community that those have who direct the work of the community. We have got to have leisure and freedom of mind to settle these things."
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> And again, he said: "The only way we can prevent the unspeakable thing from happening again is that the nations of the world should unite and put an irresistible force behind peace and order. There is only one conceivable way to do that, and that is by means of a League of Nations."

Though the League was not accepted by the United States Senate, as finally drafted, it is still a pressing issue before the people and our entrance urged by non-partizan groups "on almost any terms" on the ground that it is a League "not for war nor only to prevent wars, but above all, a League for peace, solving many international problems with which one or a few nations can not deal, such as famine, epidemics, and age-long injustices to submerged minorities in many nations."

Limitation of Armament and the World Court

The Harding administration approached current problems of peace and war from two angles. In the first year of his administration, in line with the resolution passed by Congress in 1910, President Harding summoned an International Conference for Limitation of Armaments. The purpose of the President and of his Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, to promote the interest of world peace by means of this Conference, is attested many times in their official statements.

In the invitation to the Conference there is this statement of the reason for limitation of armaments:

> "It is idle to look for stability, or the assurance of social justice, or the security of peace, while wasteful and unproductive outlays deprive effort of its just reward and defeat the reasonable expectation of progress. The enormous disbursement in the rivalries of armaments manifestly constitute the greater part of the encumbrance upon enterprise and national prosperity; and avoidable or extravagant expense of this nature is not only without economic justification but is a constant menace to the peace of the world rather than an assurance of its preservation."

In his opening address to the Conference, President Harding said:

> "In soberest reflection the world's hundreds of millions who pay in peace and die in war wish their statesmen to turn the expenditures for destruction into means of construction, aimed at a higher state for those who live and follow after. . . . I hope for that understanding which will emphasize the guarantees of peace, and for commitments to less burdens and a better order which will tranquilize the world."

In addition to the limitation of armaments, the Harding administration proposed, as a world peace measure, adherence to the World Court, which, though instituted by the League of Nations, is largely the creation of American jurists and goes back to the original "American plan" for a permanent court rather than for a court of arbitration such as the Hague Conference set up. Adherence to the Court was not voted until the following administration under President Coolidge, and then with certain reservations not fully acceptable to other nations. Besides advocacy of the World Court, the public utterances of both Harding and Coolidge have consistently urged the preëminent importance of efforts to protect the world against the recurrence of war.

The Outlawry of War

Unsatisfied with any of the proposals for world organization, Senator Borah in 1923 put before the country a further proposal, which originated with an American lawyer, Salmon O. Levinson, and was developed by him in collaboration with the late Senator Knox. This plan calls for the definite outlawry of war, with the codification of international law, with penalties not only for nations but for individuals whose activities incite to war.

Influence of American Form of Government

In the League of Nations and the World Court there is evidenced the direct influence of the Constitution of the United States and of the United States Supreme Court. The formation of the Union out of thirteen jealous sovereign states with conflicting views and interests was in reality an experiment in international government. When the Constitution was adopted, Benjamin Franklin recognized at once its value as an example for a world republic and wrote to a friend in Europe:

> "I send you enclos'd the propos'd new Federal Constitution for these States. I was engag'd 4 Months of last Summer in the Convention that form'd it. It is now sent by Congress to the several States for their Confirmation. If it succeeds, I do not see why you might not in Europe carry the Project of good Henry the 4th into Execution, by forming a Federal Union and One Grand Republick of all its different States & Kingdoms; by means of a like Convention; for we had many Interests to reconcile."

The Question for Citizens

The founders of the Republic conceived the establishment of world peace as one of the missions of the nation they created, and constantly sought ways and means to carry it out. Inspired by their vision and efforts, the greatest of the statemen who have succeeded them have made the influence of this country an influence for peace, and have repeatedly proposed plans for the restriction and abolition of war. The struggle between the influences that make for rule by force and those that seek world coöperation has now reached a crisis. The influence of the United States in this struggle will be decisive. What that influence is depends upon the individual citizen and whether or not he loyally supports those forces in the government which to-day are seeking to carry out the traditional democratic peace policy of our country.

4. EXPERIMENT AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR DEBATE IN WORLD PROBLEMS [13]

Let us substitute, to some degree, experiment for debate. Let each step be small in order that we may gain experience and so patiently, but soundly, make advances in this most important field of human endeavor.

Will you permit me to give a more specific illustration of what I mean?

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[13] Owen D. Young, member of the Dawes Committee, in an address delivered at the Annual Dinner of the National Institute of Social Sciences, May 4, 1925. National Institute of Social Sciences, *Journal* 10: 12-14, October, 1925.

The whole world is throwing out an anguished cry for peace now that the debauch of war is over. We look at its cost with the depression of the morning after. We see the flower of a whole generation using our advances in the arts and industry to destroy each other without even the thrilling pageantry that formerly went with war. Our desolated homes, our economic burdens, our human losses, all lead to the prayers and cries of a united world, to outlaw war. But what are the practical things we are doing, Mr. President? Prayers, and longing, and debate must be supplemented by action and we do not act. We delay joining a World Court, while we debate the question of national sovereignty and endeavor to show that the principles of international jurisprudence are not sufficiently worked out to warrant our taking the alleged risk. Just as if international jurisprudence ever would be worked out until we develop, through trial and error, those principles out of real cases which require practical decision. In that way our common law has grown and is growing. In that way our international law will grow. Let the debates and education go on. I am not decrying their value but I do say let us supplement them with action, carefully and wisely taken, but action. Let us join a World Court. Let us get the practical processes of peaceful decision operating while the world is crying for peace. Let us get our experience and strengthen these international peace agencies in order that they may be strong to meet the issues of the future in a new generation which will not itself have experienced the horrors of war as we have done. Then, again, may I repeat what I have said elsewhere? Let us take practical steps to establish research agencies for facts in international problems. Such an agency is the Walter Hines Page School at Johns Hopkins. This is not to be a school of international law. We already have ample professorships for that. It is a research organization for facts, and facts particularly in the international situation are most difficult to get. From my own experience I know that democratic governments are not good agencies through which to develop facts in the international field. No political representative of the people, either in France or in Germany, or for that matter in all Europe, dared to face his own constituents with the true facts regarding reparations. I say it without criticism of the politician because had he done so he would have accomplished nothing but his own defeat. I make the point only that the very nationalist feeling which strengthens democratic government at home is, in itself, a barrier to the discovery of facts in the international field, particularly when those facts turn out to be unpleasant or unpopular to the electorate. Then we have ignorance instead of knowledge, and ignorance in international affairs, as well as elsewhere in the world, can lead only to misunderstanding. In the very nature of the case let us take this practical step of establishing impartial research agencies in all the countries of the world in order that facts may be found and stated free from domestic political color.

These may be very small steps toward that great ideal, the outlawry of war, but I venture the prediction that if we take them and then follow with others like disarmament conferences, arbitral commissions and similar activities, as our experience develops, we will go far in the course of years to get practical results for our prayers.

II. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

I. ITS ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS[14]

As we have seen, a permanent association of nations has long been a dream of the human race. Its establishment became one of the objectives of the World War and under the chairmanship of Woodrow Wilson a Commission of the Peace Conference worked out a project for a League of Nations which was adopted by a plenary session of the Peace Conference on April 28, 1919. On January 10, 1920, the League of Nations came into legal existence with a membership of twenty-four states. Although Woodrow Wilson had sacrificed a great many of his "fourteen points of peace" in order to secure the League Covenant, as was to be expected he met vigorous opposition in the Congress of the United States. Due to the stubborn refusal of Woodrow Wilson to allow any reservations to be added in the Senate, it has been consistently opposed in that body and there seems little possibility of the United States joining the League in the near future. In 1930 fifty-five states belonged to the League of Nations, including nearly every important power except Brazil, which had withdrawn, Soviet Russia, and the United States.

The chief purpose of the League is "to promote international coöperation and to achieve international peace and security." Any state, dominion or colony can join provided it secures the consent of two-thirds of the members of the assembly, and any member can withdraw provided it gives two years' notice. The three chief bodies of the League are (1) The Assembly, (2) The Council, and (3) The Secretariat.

The Assembly represents all the member States. It is the organ of the League whose work is most closely followed by the public, and whose meetings, owing to the publicity afforded to them, have the greatest reaction on world opinion. It is, however, a cumbersome piece of machinery, necessitating the attendance of a very large number of persons.

The Council, being a smaller body, can meet more easily and more often and can therefore despatch business with greater speed and continuity.

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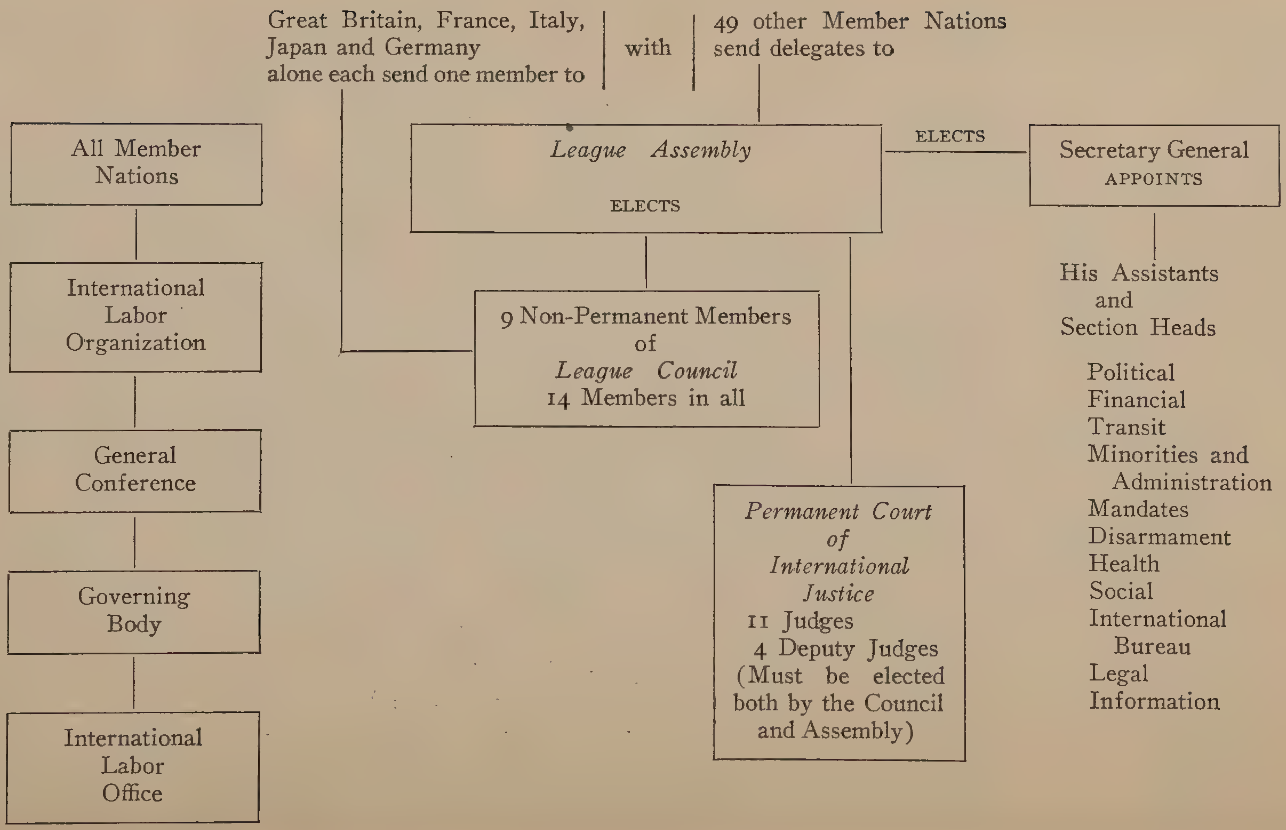
[14] The writer is indebted to *The Aims and Organization of the League of Nations* published by the Secretariat of the League of Nations 1929 for most of the material in this section. It has been somewhat abbreviated so that quotation marks are not used.

Chart of the League of Nations[15]


Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Germany alone each send one member to
with
49 other Member Nations send delegates to
League Assembly
ELECTS
ELECTS
Secretary General
APPOINTS
His Assistants and Section Heads
Political
Financial
Transit
Minorities and Administration
Mandates
Disarmament
Health
Social
International Bureau
Legal
Information
9 Non-Permanent Members of *League Council*
14 Members in all
Permanent Court of International Justice
11 Judges
4 Deputy Judges
(Must be elected both by the Council and Assembly)
All Member Nations
International Labor Organization
General Conference
Governing Body
International Labor Office

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[15] By Jerome Davis.

Its composition has changed several times. At present it consists of fourteen members: five permanent members—the Powers with worldwide interests, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan; and nine non-permanent members, each chosen by the Assembly from among the other States. Members to hold office for three years. It can thus be seen that the Great Powers always have membership on the Council.

There is no clear line of demarcation in the powers of Assembly and Council. Either may deal with any matter "affecting the peace of the world."

The decisions of the Assembly and the Council must, in general, be unanimous. Certain exceptions to this rule are enumerated in the Covenant, *e.g.*, questions of procedure, admission of new members, and the case of a dispute which is being dealt with, not by the Council, but by the Assembly. In such a case, if the Assembly has been unable to effect a settlement, it may adopt the report with the unanimous approval of the members represented on the Council and the approval of the majority of the other members—the representatives of the parties being in each case excluded.

When a dispute which is deemed likely to lead to a rupture is under consideration, the representatives of the disputing parties do not vote. When there is no such danger their votes are taken into account. Members abstaining from voting are presumed to be absent—a rule applying throughout the organizations of the League.

The rule of unanimity is intended to safeguard the national sovereignty of the States Members, who cannot be bound against their will. The League of Nations is not a super-State. The necessity of securing unanimity for a proposal gives the League its diplomatic character, and distinguishes the Assembly from an ordinary Parliament.

The League does not attempt to impose solutions, but to find them in compromises among conflicting points of view. If the requisite unanimity is not obtained and a draft resolution is only adopted by a majority, the resolution changes its name and character and becomes simply a *recommendation;* as such it is not binding on the members, but has the moral force attaching to a desire expressed by a large number of them.

It is important to notice that both in the Assembly and in the Council the representatives are not elected but appointed by the member nations.

THE ASSEMBLY

Composition and Sessions

The Assembly, as has been said, consists of representatives of all the States who are members of the League. Each member may send not more than three representatives, men or women, and these three representatives command one vote only; they may be accompanied by substitute delegates, technical experts, and secretaries.

The Assembly meets annually, on the first Monday in September, at Geneva, and in ordinary session lasts about a month. It may, however, vote to meet more frequently. A special session of the Assembly may even be summoned at the request of one or more members, provided a majority of the members concur.

Character of the Assembly

Consisting as it does of delegates of Governments, in continual contact with those Governments by the rapid means of communication now available, the Assembly inevitably reflects the opinions of those Governments. Each State, large or small, possesses one vote in the Assembly. If it represented all the nations of the world and if unanimity could always be obtained, the power of the Assembly would be practically boundless, but actually unanimity is not always possible and all nations are not Members. For purposes of practical discussion it is unwieldy, and pessimists might be tempted to look upon it as doomed by its very magnitude to inaction and helplessness. In reality the Assembly, as it exists to-day, possesses very real power, some idea of which may be gained by studying the work it does. . . .

Special Powers of the Assembly

The following are the most important of its special powers:

It can admit new Members to the League.

It periodically elects the non-permanent Members of the Council.

It controls the budget of the League, and is thus able to make its influence felt over the various League organizations; by withholding credits it can put a stop to any activity of which it does not approve.

It apportions, on a regular scale, the share of the cost of the League to be borne by each State Member.

It can advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, or the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

In discussing the report submitted to it by the Council, it passes in review the work of the past year, and gives the Council and the Secretariat instructions for the succeeding year.

Finally, it can make amendments to the Covenant.

Amendments to the Covenant

It was not possible to foresee in the Covenant all the developments which might take place in the League. The Covenant could not provide in advance for all the questions of procedure, etc., which might arise and it is the Assembly that carries out these constitutional revisions.

When these amendments have been adopted by the Assembly, they do not come into force until they have been ratified by all the States Members of the Council and by the majority of the States Members of the League. Five amendments to the Covenant have thus been voted and ratified. They have not, however, made any profound change in the general organization of the League

Procedure

The Assembly opens under the presidency of the President of the Council in office for the time being. It elects its officers, apportions the questions on the agenda among its six large committees, on which every State has one representative, and then proceeds to a general discussion of the Council's report.

The Committees

These six committees deal with the following subjects:

1. Constitutional and legal questions;
2. Work of the technical organisations;
3. Disarmament;
4. Budget and questions of internal administration;
5. Social questions;
6. Political questions.

The Assembly refers to these Committees the reports which the various organizations of the League have presented and the resolutions brought forward by any State Member. The Committee appoints a *rapporteur* who submits to the Assembly an account of the discussions and the conclusions reached. The Assembly then receives the final resolutions, and, with or without debate, adopts or rejects them.

Languages

The official languages of the League are English and French, and speeches delivered in one are interpreted into the other. Not the least surprising feature to those attending a session of the Assembly for the first time is the skill with which the interpreters do their work. The use of one of the two official languages is not, however, compulsory and each delegate may speak in any language he chooses, but in this case the speaker is responsible for providing the interpretation into one of the two official languages, and the speech is then immediately interpreted, as before, into the other.

Influence of the Assembly

It is now possible to see how far the analogy between a national Parliament and the Assembly holds good. The unique character of the latter rests not so much on the details of its procedure, but on its worldwide scope and influence. It brings into direct contact men and women of the higher political and intellectual circles of many nations, so that their national points of view may be openly stated and considered. Furthermore its discussions are attended by an imposing number of journalists—over 400—who have every facility for obtaining information. Their telegrams and articles are reproduced and commented upon in the Press of the world. Public opinion everywhere follows the debates at Geneva with serious attention, particularly when they concern guarantees of peace and security. The statesmen who take part in these debates know that their words, their gestures, their acts, even their silences, will be broadcast, in all countries, whether belonging to the League or not.

THE COUNCIL

Composition

The Council meets, in practice, every three months—in March, June, September and December—usually at Geneva, but it can be summoned at any time in an emergency. It consists of fourteen Members, five of them permanent, namely the Powers with worldwide interests—France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Japan—and nine non-permanent, chosen by the Assembly from among the other Members of the League.

The present organization of the Council dates from the admission of Germany to the League in September, 1926, since which date she has occupied her permanent seat. To fill the nine non-permanent seats, the Assembly elects each year three Members each of whom sits for three years. A retiring Member is not eligible for reëlection during the three years following the end of its term of office, unless the Assembly decides to the contrary, by a two-thirds majority, at the request of the State retiring.

Owing to the growing importance of the Council in international affairs, there is frequently very keen competition for non-permanent seats among the States Members.

Powers

We need not here recapitulate the powers which belong alike to the Council and the Assembly, and we shall later examine in detail the methods employed by the Council in carrying out its main duty, the settlement of disputes. We are here concerned only with its special powers.

Of the Council's special powers, some are exercised in virtue of the Covenant and some in virtue of the Treaties of Peace.

In virtue of the Covenant the Council is responsible for:

(*a*) Preparing a plan for the reduction of armaments;

(*b*) Supervising the exercise of the mandates entrusted to different Powers in countries where the inhabitants are not yet capable of full self-government;

(*c*) Approving the appointments made by the Secretary-General in the Secretariat.

In virtue of the Treaties of Peace:

(*a*) The Council, as trustee for the government of the Saar, appoints the members of the Commission responsible for the administration of that Territory and receives a report from the Commission every three months. The Council's decisions concerning the Saar are taken by a majority vote. This task will come to an end in 1935, when the final status of the Territory is to be determined by a plebiscite;

(*b*) The Council appoints the High Commissioner for the Free City of Danzig, which is under the League's protection, and settles all disputes that may arise between the Free City and Poland;

(*c*) The Council watches over the protection of the minorities in various States which have undertaken to accept its supervision. It is for the Council to enforce respect for the rights of these racial, linguistic and religious minorities, amounting to as many as forty millions of people.

All the work of the Council in these different fields is subject to discussion in the Assembly.

Procedure

The presidency of the Council changes at each session—one country succeeding another in alphabetical order.

The procedure for business is very simple. The Council appoints one of its members to take charge of each item on the agenda; he is known as the *rapporteur,* a term adopted from the French and is chosen as far as possible from a country that has no interest in the matter at issue. He prepares his statement with the necessary assistance of the Secretariat, and submits it, together with his suggested solution, for the consideration of the Council.

As a general rule the Council meets in public, but it can meet in private when it thinks fit. The Minutes, however, are always published.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGAN—THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat

The permanent Secretariat was instituted by Articles 3 and 6 of the Covenant. It represents the Civil Service of the League, and—bearing in mind the difficulties always attending any attempt to establish an analogy between the organization of the League and that of an individual State—it may be compared roughly to the different Government Offices of a national administration.

It comprises about 600 officials of various grades, under the authority of a Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General

The first Secretary-General, Sir James Eric Drummond, was named in an annex to the Covenant. In the future the Secretary-General will be appointed by the Council with the approval of a majority of the Assembly.

He is *ex officio* Secretary-General of the Assembly and of the Council.

He appoints the members of the Secretariat, with the approval of the Council.

Duties of the Secretariat

The Secretary-General is assisted by a Deputy-Secretary-General and by three Under-Secretaries-General.

The officials of the Secretariat are international officials, responsible to the Secretary-General alone; they may not receive instructions from any other authority, in particular from their own Governments, and they enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities in the discharge of their duties.

The members of the Secretariat are divided, not according to their various nationalities but according to the nature of the questions with which they have to deal, into several sections, some under a Director and others under a Chief of Service.

Each section acts as the secretariat of one of the Committees or Organizations. The principal sections of the Secretariat are as follows:

The Political Section,
The Economic and Financial Section,
The Transit Section,
The Administrative Commissions (Saar and Danzig) and Minorities Section,
The Mandates Section,
The Disarmament Section,
The Health Section,
The Social Section,
The Intellectual Coöperation and International Bureaux Section,
The Legal Section,
The Information Section.

The names of these different sections give sufficient indication of their work. The Legal Section acts as legal adviser to the other sections, and also registers and publishes treaties in pursuance of Article 18 of the Covenant.

The Secretariat collects all information necessary for the consideration of the questions that come before the League, not merely facts and statistics, but appreciations of the imponderable and elusive factors that often weigh so much in international questions. The Press of the world is of course studied, but the views expressed by organizations that may represent various shades of public opinion are not neglected, *e.g.,* associations of ex-service men, working-class organizations without distinction of political or religious tendency, women's organizations, the Churches, Freemasons, Red Cross organizations, Rotary Clubs. Reliable political and economic information does not suffice; the League must also have a sympathetic knowledge of the personal feelings of the men and women for whose well-being it ultimately exists.

The Secretariat not only collects information but also distributes it. Over a hundred newspapers and agencies are permanently represented at Geneva. More than twelve hundred reporters belonging to over fifty different countries and representing close on a thousand newspapers and periodicals have visited Geneva in the last few years. The communiqués issued, while very full, only state bare facts. They provide the raw material from which each writer selects for his own public.

In addition to communiqués and verbatim reports of important conferences, the Secretariat publishes a monthly summary of the work of the League. Each year it issues a general review and from time to time fresh editions of the booklets which give accounts of the work of the League in some definite direction. It is one of the functions of the League to provide the accurate and detailed information on which alone reasoned public support can be based. A special section of the Secretariat, the Information Section, has therefore been formed to organize this continuous contact with the outside world.

The bulk of the duties of the Secretariat are similar to those carried out by the officials of a national Government. They prepare the agenda for all meetings and conferences, carry out the decisions taken, and ensure permanent liaison between the different countries.

The Secretariat gives to the League of Nations the factor of stability necessary to all institutions, if they are to be permanent. It acts as the League's memory, and in the frequent changes in the representatives who attend the Council, the Assembly, and the various Committees, it promotes continuity of policy.

THE AUXILIARY ORGANIZATIONS

Their Purpose

No study of the League would be complete which did not give an idea of certain subsidiary bodies essential to its work. These are the auxiliary organizations, whose creation marks an important step in the development of international coöperation. Some of them are permanent, and deal with matters in which the League's activities are continuous. Others are created to meet temporary difficulties, and disappear with their solution.

A distinction must be made between the technical organizations and the Advisory Committees.

Technical Organizations

The technical organizations are three:

The Economic and Financial Organization,
The Transit Organization,
The Health Organization.

In the world of to-day there are a large number of economic, financial and commercial questions which are liable to give rise to political disputes. Through these organizations of the League such problems are handled in the first instance by eminent technical experts belonging to different countries. The experts combine to discover the best practical solutions, and they have the more chance of success because their discussions are conducted in an atmosphere of detachment.

In these committees and conferences the League's work is continuous throughout the year. It is here that experts of all countries meet, that new bonds are formed between nations, and old ones strengthened. Specialist meets specialist to discuss technical questions, and on teachnical questions international understanding is less difficult. The value of such meetings can, of course, only be fully appreciated by specialists, but a few examples will give an idea of the nature and importance of this work unobtrusively and steadily going on at Geneva.

Advisory Committees

The Advisory Committees are either permanent or temporary. The following are the chief permanent Committees:

- The Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions,
- The Mandates Commission,
- The Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People,
- The Committee on Opium and other Dangerous Drugs,
- The Committee on Intellectual Coöperation.

These Committees have no power to take decisions, but prepare material to be submitted to the political organs of the League.

The Assembly sits for one month each year, the Council four times a year, but only for about a week each time. The work of the League must, however, go on continuously and in practice it does so. Hardly a week goes by without one of the auxiliary organizations holding a session. . . .

TECHNICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Economic and Financial Organization

Composition.—This Organization was set up as a result of the Brussels International Financial Conference of 1920. It is divided into two sections, the Financial Committee and the Economic Committee. Each Committee operates independently, but they meet together in plenary session when necessary.

The members of the Organization are not official representatives of their Governments, but are chosen by the Council as experts. They include high officials, directors of large banks, chairmen of companies, statistical experts, all holding high positions in the business world and giving the League disinterested help.

The secretariat of this Organization is formed by the Economic and Financial Section of the League Secretariat.

Duties.—Belonging to this Economic and Financial Organization are numerous committees and sub-committees, too many to be enumerated here, which study, each in its own sphere, the various economic and financial questions of concern to the League. It was this Organization that prepared the plans for the financial reconstruction of countries whose credit and currency were particularly hard hit as a result of the war and for the settlement of hundreds of thousands of refugees in war-desolated areas.

These plans have made it possible to float international loans which at the present time amount to 1,700 million gold francs.

The International Economic Conference, convened at Geneva in 1927, drew up a program for the improvement of the world economic situation. On its advice the Council has appointed a special Consultative Committee to supervise the progressive execution of the Conference's resolutions on commercial, industrial and agricultural questions.

Organization for Communications and Transit

Composition.—The authors of the Covenant realized how the great war had accentuated the economic inter-dependence of nations throughout the world, particularly in Europe, where empires had been dismembered and divided into a number of States, too small to be economically self-sufficient, but determined to preserve their political independence.

The Organization we are about to consider was constituted by the desire of the Assembly at its first ordinary session, at the close of the General Conference on Communications and Transit held at Barcelona in 1921; it comprises an Advisory Committee, a General Conference, and a secretariat formed by the Transit Section of the League Secretariat.

Advisory Committee.—The Committee consists of delegates chosen by the permanent Members of the Council, and delegates appointed by the General Conference from among the other Members of the League.

This Committee considers measures to ensure the freedom of communications and transit, and to help the Council to adjust by conciliation any disputes that arise. It also prepares the work of the General Conference. The Committee's duties are mainly technical, but may have a political bearing. Take, for instance, the River Danube. The navigability of the river, the lighting of channels, buoyage, the upkeep of locks, dams, wharves and harbors are technical questions which have to be dealt with by experts. But the Danube flows along the boundaries or through the territories of seven different States, whose interests, conflicting perhaps, are in the hands of diplomatists. Many different considerations have therefore to be taken into account, some purely technical and others of undeniable political importance, if the life of the river and the dwellers on its banks is to be organized on lines acceptable to all parties.

The Committee has not supplanted the numerous organizations which already existed before the war to study questions of international transit, but has endeavored to coördinate their work and give added effect to their decisions—as, indeed, in the case of the River Danube.

Subordinate Bodies.—It would be unnecessary and wearisome to study all the temporary and permanent committees which are dependent upon each of the auxiliary organizations. Nevertheless, by way of an example, a bare list of the committees and commissions subordinate to the Transit Organization [16] may give an idea of the League's methods of improving international coöperation, of its care for detail, of its specialized technical competence, and of its adaptability to the most varied tasks.

General Conference.—The General Conference meets when summoned by the Council. It consists of a representative of each State Member, accompanied by substitutes and experts. The League may also invite non-Member States to participate.

The procedure is similar to that of the Assembly. Proposals made by this Conference may take the form, subject to the Assembly's or the Council's approval, of international conventions, resolutions or recommendations to Governments.

Health Organization

Organization.—The International Health Organization, whose highly technical work is of the greatest importance in a world of frequent and rapid communications, was instituted in coöperation with the *Office international d'hygiène publique,* a previously existing organization.

The Health Organization comprises:

An Advisory Council, formed by the Committee of the *Office international d'hygiène publique;*

A Health Committee, whose headquarters are at Geneva;

A Secretariat, consisting, as is customary, of the corresponding section of the Secretariat of the League.

States not Members of the League, like the United States of America and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, have decided not to subordinate their coöperation in health matters to political considerations, and have joined the Health Organization.

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[16] Ports and Maritime Navigation, Inland Navigation, Transport by Rail, Electric Questions, Road Traffic, Legal Questions, Telegraphy, Buoyage and Lighting of Coasts, Maritime Tonnage Measurement, Private Law in Inland Navigation, Statistics of Inland Navigation, Competition between Waterways and Railways, Combined Transport, Question of Identity-Documents for Persons without Nationality, Cards for Immigrants in Transit.

Duties.—The Health Committee's work is, of course, strictly technical, but its methods illustrate in a striking manner the possibilities of international coöperation. With the Council's approval, the Committee has appointed, for instance, a Malaria Commission to study malaria conditions in different parts of the world, and to recommend methods by which it can be fought. The members of the Commission, all experts on malaria in their various countries, have, as a result of invitations from a number of States, visited Palestine, Spain, the United States, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Italy, Bulgaria, Greece and Russia. They have studied on the spot the conditions in which malaria develops, the customs of the people, the habits of the mosquitoes which carry the infection, and the various ways of combating the disease. They have compared the results in the different countries, and drawn up a general report, which has been submitted to the Health Committee and published with the Council's approval. This report is now in the hands of all the Health authorities of the world. In this way international coöperation is invoked to aid in the fight against a worldwide disease.

Another form of the Health Committee's work is shown by its weekly report, which gives the number of cases of plague, cholera and smallpox in each port near the known centers from which epidemics spread throughout the world. The station set up by the League in such a danger zone, at Singapore, broadcasts all the urgent information which it receives for the special information of the health officials of all the ports concerned. This information includes details of plague-infected rats; for the plague bacilli which infect the fleas living on the rats which board the ships care nothing for international frontiers.

ADVISORY COMMITTEES

Disarmament

The Problem.—The obligations of the Members of the League in regard to the reduction of armaments are defined in Article 8 of the Covenant.

By accepting the first paragraph of this article, Members of the League have agreed:

(1) That the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to a certain minimum;

(2) That this minimum must be consistent with national safety; (for this reason the Members of the League are obliged to study the problem of disarmament jointly with the problem of the security of the various countries);

(3) That the minimum must also be consistent with the enforcement by common action of international obligations, notably the obligations contained in Article 16 of the Covenant.

Such is the general outline of the problem that lies before the League.

The Method.—The method prescribed by the Covenant for arriving at a solution is formulated as follows:

> *"The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the various Governments.*
>
> *"Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years."*

Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and Committee on Arbitration and Security.—The Council has therefore entrusted the investigation of the disarmament problem in its different aspects to various advisory bodies, of which the principal are:

(*a*) The Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference (with its Sub-Commissions), whose principal task is to draw up a draft convention for the reduction and limitation of armaments, worked out with such care as to give the first Conference on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments a prospect of success. This Commission consists of representatives of the States Members of the Council and certain other States, Members and non-Members of the League, whose coöperation has been held to be specially valuable. The three countries non-Members of the League represented on the Commission are the United States of America, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and Turkey.

(*b*) The Committee on Arbitration and Security, which is seeking means of increasing both the general security that the Covenant should afford to its signatories and the individual security of those nations which demand that, in accordance with the Covenant, "their geographical situation and circumstances" shall be taken into account. All the States represented on the Preparatory Commission have been invited to sit on this Committee.

Thus the problem of the organization of peace, including methods of preventing and settling conflicts, has been linked with that of disarmament. The League's work under this heading may be summarized in the familiar formula of "Arbitration, Security and Disarmament." The interdependence of these three terms really deserves a full analysis, but here it need only be pointed out that the general use of arbitration proper, and of arbitration in the broader sense of the word—peaceful settlement of disputes—may make it possible to eliminate war as a means of settling international conflicts; that the security of one nation depends largely on how far it can be assured of the peaceful intentions of its neighbors, which can best be expressed by the voluntary acceptance of other methods than force for settling disputes. The security of a country which is a Member of the League also depends on the extent of its confidence in the efficiency of the League's machinery for preventing war; for intimidating, if necessary, any country which contemplates, in defiance of the Covenant, resort to force; and—should such a country defy the threat of compulsory measures—for lending effectual aid to the victim of its attack. Lastly, the security of a nation depends on the reduction of the armaments of all nations to the minimum laid down in the Covenant, for competitive armaments constitute a danger to peace.

Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions.—Article 9 of the Covenant provides for the constitution of a permanent Commission to advise the Council on "Military, Naval and Air Questions generally."

This Commission comprises a military, a naval and an air representative of each of the States Members of the Council, appointed by the respective Governments.

Disarmament Section.—The Disarmament Section of the Secretariat acts as Secretariat to all these Committees. It also, in accordance with the final paragraph of Article 8 of the Covenant, compiles and publishes detailed information on the armaments of the different Powers, whether Members of the League or not, in the *Armaments Year-Book,* issued annually, and consisting of some 800 pages.

Mandates

The Mandated Territories.—There are certain territories which as a result of the war have "ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world."

By Article 22, § 2, the Covenant entrusts the care of these peoples to "advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it," this tutelage to be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The Commission.—The body created to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates is the Permanent Mandates Commission, consisting of eleven members, the majority of whom must be nationals of non-mandatory Powers. As long as they belong to the

Commission, they may hold no post placing them under the direct authority of their Governments.

This Commission studies the reports submitted by the mandatory Powers—Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Belgium and the Union of South Africa; it may also consider petitions from the inhabitants of the mandated territories. The Commission's report, which covers all the problems which may arise in the mandated territories, including those of health and education, is submitted to the Council, and then made public to the world. This publicity is designed to guarantee the protection of the inhabitants; at the same time it provides information of great value to administrators.

The Mandates Section of the League Secretariat acts as the Secretariat of the Commission.

Social and Humanitarian Activities

In its social and humanitarian activities, the League of Nations has freely appealed to the international organizations that were in existence before the war. Certain countries not Members of the League have also assisted in this work, which includes not only those duties specifically detailed in the Covenant, Article 23 (*c*), but also matters such as the restraint of the international traffic in obscene literature, the abolition of the remaining vestiges of slavery, the relief of war refugees who are still homeless, and the repatriation of prisoners of war left without the means of returning to their homes.

The League endeavors constantly to advance the signature and ratification of conventions for the abolition of illicit traffic in opium and other narcotics. The abuse of these drugs is deplored by all Governments, though, owing to the divergent interests of producing and non-producing countries, all do not always agree as to the measures to be taken.

Very similar methods are adopted by the League to secure the abolition of the traffic in women and children. It also takes active steps to promote the protection and welfare of children and young persons, wherever international action seems to the Council or the Assembly to be desirable.

Two permanent Committees deal with the opium traffic and the protection and welfare of children and young people, respectively. The Social Section of the League Secretariat acts as the Secretariat of these Committees. They are separate from the Health Organization, with which, as with the International Labor Organization, they maintain close relations. Their first duty is to keep constant watch over the execution of the conventions actually signed by Governments, but they also collect information and formulate proposals for the consideration of the Council and the Assembly in the same manner as the other Advisory Committees.

Committee on Intellectual Coöperation

Composition.—Scientists, historians, mathematicians and men of letters have always held that their work knows no barriers of state or race; an astronomer who studied the stars from a national point of view would be the *reductio ad absurdum* of nationalism.

Consisting of fifteen members eminent in letters, science and art, the Committee on Intellectual Coöperation was instituted in 1922 by the Council "to consider questions concerning intellectual coöperation and to develop intellectual relations in the international sphere." Obviously men of learning should be in contact with their colleagues of other nations, and such contact may have consequences of the greatest benefit to science and the cause of peace.

Duties.—The principal work of this Committee is that of developing the interchange of knowledge and ideas among peoples and improving the conditions of intellectual work.

In regard to intellectual and artistic intercourse, it endeavors to assist students and men of learning in one country to become acquainted with important achievements of other countries; with this object a special Sub-Committee, known as the Sub-Committee on Bibliography, studies the best means of coördinating all information which will give at a glance a complete idea of books and articles concerned with the various sciences, and endeavors to make important publications written in little-known languages accessible in languages that are more widely understood. Another Sub-Committee, the Sub-Committee on Arts and Letters, seeks to secure a wider public for literary and artistic achievements.

Coöperation between universities is also regarded by the Committee as one of the best means of promoting international understanding; accordingly it has set up a Sub-Committee on University Relations to facilitate exchanges of professors and students between different countries and to encourage coöperation through the representatives of the international students' associations.

With a view to improving the conditions of intellectual work, the Committee studies the protection of literary and artistic productions, a subject on which some international agreements already exist. No protection is as yet provided for scientific discoveries, and the Committee thinks that it can and should be given. A special Sub-Committee has therefore been set up to deal with questions connected with the protection of intellectual property, literary, artistic and scientific. The Committee also coöperates with the International Labor Organization in endeavoring to watch over the interests of all intellectual workers, who, like other workers, are entitled to a fair remuneration for their services. When intellectual life has been specially threatened in certain countries, where the effects of the war placed mental workers in a precarious position, or where, for example, a great library was destroyed by a catastrophe, the Committee has appealed to feelings of international sympathy to rescue humanity's precious heritage of art, science and education.

At the request of the Assembly, the Committee on Intellectual Coöperation has convened a Sub-Committee of Experts to study the best means of instructing the young in the aims of the League.

In connection with the Committee on Intellectual Coöperation, a network of National Committees is gradually being spread over the countries of the world, including, already, the United States of America. Each will act as a center both for collecting and diffusing information and will maintain close liaison with the League Committee at Geneva.

The corresponding section of the League Secretariat acts as the Secretariat of this Committee.

International Institute of Intellectual Coöperation.—Created by the French Government in 1925 and placed under the auspices of the League, this Institute, whose headquarters are at Paris, serves to prepare and carry out the decisions of the Committee on Intellectual Coöperation, which acts as its Governing Body.

The Institute, which is divided into sections (Literary Relations, Artistic Relations, Legal, Scientific Relations, University Relations, Information), investigates questions referred to it by the Committee, calling in expert advice when necessary; its staff, like that of the Secretariat, is international.

International Institutes for the Unification of Private Law and for the Educational Cinema.—Two other international Institutes, under the direction of the League, have been established at Rome by the Italian Government. These are an Institute for the Unification of Private Law and an Institute for the study of the cinema in education. This latter Institute is intended to work in close relation with the International Committee on Intellectual Coöperation.

So far we have been considering in large measure the theoretical organization of the League of Nations, but let us now take up the concrete method by which it handles its work in the case of conflicts which threaten war. As one example consider a dispute between Bulgaria and Greece in 1925. Both these countries maintained troops close together on their respective borders, and occasional skirmishes resulted. Finally, Greek troops were ordered to advance into Bulgarian territory and actually went five miles over the line. The Minister of Foreign Affairs in Bulgaria telegraphed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, asking him to summon immediately a meeting of the Council. Within four days, on October 26, the Council met at Paris, at least one member having arrived by airplane. Statements were presented by both Bulgarian and Greek representatives and they were persuaded to join in asking the governments of the two countries to order their troops to withdraw and remain within their own frontiers. The Council then appointed a Commission to investigate the incident and both countries agreed to adopt its findings. The result of the Commission's report was that Greece had to pay $210,000 to Bulgaria for damage done. Actually the Greek order to suspend operations reached the troops only two and a half hours before an attack was scheduled to begin.

The Council also recommended that two Swedish officers be permanently assigned to the Greek and Bulgarian forces to settle any disputes between the border troops. If another dispute should arise, a neutral President was to be added, if necessary, but no trouble has occurred.

From this incident it can readily be seen that the League can be an effective force for peace. It is not necessary to go into detail regarding all the other types of activity of the League, such as the suppression of the opium trade, the treatment of women and children, the relief of distress, the protection of minorities, and the progressive codification of international law.

In the brief period in which the League has functioned since its creation in 1919 it has prevented war in several instances and alleviated international friction in many more. Through the Brussels Financial Conference it has materially assisted in the recovery of Europe. It has to some extent cared for thirty million people belonging to minor groups. It has been the direct governing force in the Saar. It has achieved very real results in certain social policies, such as the regulation of opium and drugs.

It is constantly exerting influences toward international understanding through its frequent meetings and coöperative endeavor.

It is clear that the League cannot for the present handle major conflicts between the Great Powers, but it may perhaps offer an agency through which each power may "save its face" and so avoid war. The

Tenth Assembly of the League in 1929, however, went far, since nearly all the powers promised to sign the "Optional Clause" bringing every justiciable dispute before the World Court. It must be recognized that the League is still only in its infancy and without a doubt will make progress as international understanding grows.

As the world grows smaller in point of time and in the speed and frequency of intercommunication some international agency is inevitable. The probabilities are that the world will never again, except in the event of a world conflict, be without an association of the nations.

The International Labor Organization

Another important autonomous organization associated with the League of Nations is the International Labor Organization. The War enormously increased the importance of labor and there were many who hoped to see the establishment of an international labor parliament with power to pass laws binding on national governments. Powerful employers as well as nationalistic forces were too strong for such a result, but embodied in the Treaty of Versailles was provision for a labor organization. The following nine guiding principles were laid down in the Treaty:

1. The principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.
2. The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.
3. The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.
4. The adoption of an eight-hour day or a forty-eight hour week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.
5. The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.
6. The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.
7. The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.
8. The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labor should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.
9. Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

The International Labor Organization is to translate these principles into action through its International Labor Conference and through its office (often called the I. L. O.). Every nation which is a member of the League is *ipso facto* a member of the labor organization, but some nations who do not belong to the League have also joined.

The Conference meets once a year and to it each member nation is supposed to send four delegates, two representing the governments directly, one the workers, and one the employers. All are appointed by the governments but the employers' and workers' representatives are supposed to be appointed in consultation with the most representative employers' and workers' organization in each country.

Up to the present time no conference has had a full representation because some governments do not send any delegates or send only one or two. This is inevitable since in some countries labor unions are illegal and in others the government is opposed to those that do exist. Often, as might be expected, the employers' and workers' groups tend to oppose each other. Class solidarity is then more powerful than national solidarity. Each delegate votes individually and not as a national unit.

The chief duty of a conference is to regulate labor conditions. This is done chiefly through Conventions or treaties regulating labor or social conditions which have to be passed by a two-thirds vote. For example, at the 1919 Conference in Washington a Convention was adopted favoring the eight-hour day. This was then referred to the various countries for ratification. Some nations have not yet ratified this Convention, nevertheless it has often affected the action of their legislatures.

The Conference can also adopt "recommendations" or rules which the conference believes just; but even if a nation accepts a recommendation it is not binding, whereas if a Convention is ratified by a state, and then is violated, any member can lodge a complaint with the International Labor Office. From 1919 to 1929, the International Labor Office had registered three hundred and thirty-three ratifications of Conventions. This is about a third of the possible number.

The International Labor Office is the Secretariat of the Conference. It has a permanent staff of three hundred and fifty persons, and in 1928 spent over a million and a half dollars in its work. The chief duties of the Secretariat are to prepare for the annual Conference, to keep in contact with industrial and social organizations and with the governments who are coöperating, and finally to investigate conditions and give out information.

The Labor Office is managed by a Governing Group of twenty-four members. Twelve of these are Government delegates, eight being permanent, representing Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Italy, and Japan, while four are elected by the Conference from the other countries for three year terms. Twelve others are elected by the Conference, six from the employers' delegates and six from the workers' delegates. This governing group meets every three months, elects a director, approves the budget, appoints the members of the commissions which are to assist in the work, and draws up the agenda for the Conference.

The internal organization of the Office follows the main divisions of the work already mentioned.

There is a Director, a Deputy-Director, and a personal staff whose duties are similar to those of the personal staff of the Head of a Government Department. There are three chief Divisions:

In the *Diplomatic Division* are the Governing Body and Conventions Section, the Conference Section, the Native Labor Section, and the Legal and Russian Refugee Services.

The *Intelligence and Liaison Division* comprises the Section for relations with workers' and employers' organizations and with coöperative societies, and the Section for relations with the corresponding offices and correspondents maintained by the Labor Office in the principal cities of the world; also the Library and the Press-cutting Service.

The *Research or Scientific Division* is divided into four Sections: (1) statistics and wages; (2) labor legislation; (3) intellectual workers, workers' spare time, technical instruction, protection of women and children, housing; (4) economic questions as related to social questions; and six services: unemployment, labor exchanges, and migration; social insurance; agricultural workers; industrial hygiene; prevention of industrial accidents; social organization of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

A fourth Division, known as the General Organization Division, comprises two main sections: the Administrative Section, which deals with staff, supplies, financial control, internal services, the shorthand-typists department, etc.; and the *Editorial Section,* which is in itself an important publishing house, producing a large number of periodicals and single works, not only in the two official languages of the League, but also in German, and sometimes in other languages.

In the early days of the International Labor Organization a great many Conventions were adopted, but beginning in 1921 it was felt that more emphasis should be placed on securing ratification of the Conventions already drafted. Beginning in 1925, however, Conventions have again begun to be passed, although they are more carefully weighed than in the early years. Up to 1929 nine more Conventions had been passed, dealing with such subjects as night work in bakeries, emigrants, conditions affecting seamen, health insurance, minimum wage legislation, and workmen's compensation.

The tendency seems to be for the countries surrounding Russia—such as Poland—and the nations of the Orient to be more ready to ratify than the more powerful capitalistic states. It can thus be seen that one effect of the Russian Revolution is to provide a stimulus to make the conditions of labor better in bordering countries and thus in some degree to be an insurance against the threat of revolution.

2. A PARABLE ON THE LEAGUE

The type of intelligent propaganda in favor of the League of Nations which is circulated in the United States is well illustrated by the following parable written by Charles H. Levermore, winner of the one hundred thousand dollar Bok Peace Plan.

PARABLE OF THE RICH HOUSEHOLDER[17]

World Politics and a Village Fire Department

Here we are living in a small village. This village is peculiar. It is a sort of enchanted village. We cannot get out of it. Usually, if we don't like the village wherein we live, we can leave it and settle down in another. But when we are once born into this village, there we must stay, whether we like it or not. Old men tell us there was a time when on this globe of ours there were several villages, but under the applications of steam and electricity the world has contracted in size and dwindled, until now there is no room on it for more than this one village, and the only way in which we can leave this village is by the gate of death.

Recently there has been in this village a tremendous conflagration which has burned down about a third of it, destroyed an immense amount of property, and killed a great many of the villagers. Even before the fire was more than partly under control the villagers got together and said:

"This must never happen again." They said: "We are to blame. We never had an equipment for fighting fires. We never had, in fact, any fire department that was good for much, and consequently the fire almost mastered us. Now we will have the best fire department that we can get. We will equip it with every kind of up-to-date appliances if we can get them, and we shall be ready to do better work when such a danger occurs again.

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[17] By Charles H. Levermore. Reprinted from the *Century Magazine*, May, 1924.

"Moreover, we want to leave this village in better shape to our children than we have ever had it. We will band ourselves together into an organization for building a better village. We will call ourselves the Village Improvement Association, and we will have that in addition to our new fire company."

Well, virtually everybody joined that association and the new fire company. All the big householders went into it but three.

There was one who was a great merchant in the village who was not asked to join. His name was Fritz, and he was not asked to join because most of the villagers thought that he had started the fire.

There was another big householder in the village who also was not invited to join. His name was Ivan, and he had the biggest farm in the village, but it was not very well cared for. The buildings were rather tumble-down. Just at the time of the fire Ivan went on a terrific spree, and when he was full of red hooch he stood out in the main highway of that burning village, and shouted hoarsely to the other villagers, "You think that is something of a fire, do you? You wait and see the fire I am going to kindle in a little while." That talk scared the villagers so much that they would not ask Ivan to join the new fire company. They thought that they would better wait until he sobered off.

But there was another big householder whom the villagers expected to be with them. They counted on him. His name was Sam. He lived at the west end of the village, just across the valley through which flows a brook. His farm was bigger than any one's except Ivan's, and it was pretty well cared for. There were very good buildings on it, and he was regarded as perhaps the most prosperous villager. In fact, one of Sam's boys attended the initial meetings of the new fire company and the Village Improvement Association, but when that boy got home Sam scolded him and spanked him and sent him to bed. The disappointment and the shock of the rebuff were so great that the poor fellow never recovered.

Sam said to the astonished villagers: "No, I am not going to join you. I don't quite like your company or your plan. I don't care to have this one and that one in your crowd able to outvote me at the meetings and tell me where I can get on and off.

"There is Louis, the caterer. He owes me a lot of money, and he is not trying to pay it, so far as I can see. He has money enough to fill his house full of guns and revolvers and ammunition, yet he is not trying to pay me a cent. Also, every time he sees Fritz, Louis has a brainstorm and tries to hit him.

"Then, there is Mr. Bull, who runs that big department store. I don't want to get tied up with Mr. Bull. He has six sons. That Bull family can outvote me at any time. It seems to me that there is too much Bull about this scheme."

The villagers said to Sam: "You are very much mistaken; at least we think you are. Those Bull boys are not going to vote as the old man says. If you think they are, you can ask his oldest boy, Patrick.

"Besides," they said, "you know those tenant farmers of yours on the south side of your farm. They have all come into the fire company and the Village Improvement Association, they don't dare to wink unless you tell them they can.

"Moreover," they said, "you have mistaken the character of our association. It is not run on military lines at all. We cannot order you to get out of bed at midnight and run down to a fire if you don't want to. This is a purely voluntary fire company. But you know perfectly well the fire is not out yet. Every time a wind of hate blows through our village, the embers glow and the sparks fly. They might just as easily fly over your buildings again as they did before, and your property might be the first to get burned the next time." Sam said, "I will have a fire company of my own." And the villagers said: "How can you have a fire company of one? Do you expect Fritz and Ivan to join with you?"

Sam mulled over that for two years, and then gave it up.

Meanwhile the villagers went to work. They organized their new fire company. They got the best machines that they could afford to buy and the best appliances available. They employed mechanics to install and man a water system that they thought would throw a stream of water over the most imperial sky-scraper in the village. They went to work also with their Village Improvement Association. They laid new sidewalks. They started a new hospital. They began to drive the drug peddlers off the streets, and they cleaned up the red-light district.

Then they laid it all before Sam, and Sam said, "No, no. You are too quarrelsome a lot for me to do anything with." "But," they said, "quarrelsome? Look at what we have done. We have had our fire company and our association only this short time, relatively speaking for only four months, and in that time we have answered fifteen alarms, and put out at least five actual fires. The last one was a very nasty fire, very nasty indeed. It started out just like the big one.

"It started in that dark alley between the premises of Tony, the macaroni manufacturer, and of Constantine, the fruit peddler. The fire company responded, and all the villagers ran in; the pinochle club and even Tammany Hall sent in contingents to help. The result was that the whole of that fire was stamped out, relatively speaking, in twenty minutes. Wasn't that pretty good work?" And Sam said, "I congratulate you on having something so helpful for you, but for me it is a closed incident."

Once more the villagers said: "Quarrelsome? See what we have done for Otto, the delicatessen dealer, who was Fritz's particular friend. He was virtually burned out in the fire. There was nothing left of his store and house but a shell. His stock was all destroyed. He and his family were on the verge of starvation, and they thought they were facing beggary on the cold street. We chipped in. Some of us who had been for a long time Otto's enemies were the first to help. We rebuilt his store and gave him a new stock. He is now doing business again at the old place, and he and his family are happy." Sam said, "That is well done. I am willing to help on that." And he did. Then Sam unbent a little more and said: "I will tell you what I will do. I will let some of my boys come to some of your meetings, and they can sit there and take notes. They can give you advice if you wish them to, but it must be understood that they are merely unofficial observers. They cannot sign anything or commit me to anything. I am not going to be responsible for any of the expenses incurred."

Well, the villagers were glad to have help from Sam on any basis or in any manner, whatever they may have said about it among themselves. There are rumors that even some members of Sam's household wonder whether that kind of coöperation, if it is coöperation, is exactly what the richest and most prosperous and happiest householder in the village should give.

3. A BRIEF AGAINST THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS [18]

The description of League machinery has presented some of the favorable sides of its activity. Opposition to the League at the present time is not very vocal and the arguments used in the Senate debates of a few years ago were largely campaign documents. The following outline brief against the League embodies most of the more reasonable objections to a League of Nations and is endorsed by Senator William E. Borah.

I. The United States should not join the League of Nations simply because of participation in some League activities, for
    A. The Government is willing "to coöperate freely, fully and helpfully with the League of Nations in matters of general international concern." (Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg.)
        1. The United States actually does coöperate in such matters affecting scientific, economic and social welfare and limitation of armament.
        2. This does not mean that we should accept all obligations of the Covenant, for
            a. The extent of American participation is bounded by the non-political character of the coöperation;
            b. The United States pays its share of the expenses incurred by the League when it does participate; for

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[18] Taken by permission from *Debating for High Schools,* by R. K. Immel and R. H. Whipple. Ginn & Co., Boston, pp. 198-208.

in 1925 and 1927 the United States paid such expenses in the total amount of over $22,000.

Eighth Yearbook of the League of Nations, p. 14.

3. So long as we can share in the work done at Geneva which is useful to us, membership should not be advocated.
4. This position is assured, for
    a. "Not being a member of the League can in no respect deprive the United States of its legitimate place in the Society of States. It would be unendurable that the United States should be denied its rights as a member of the Society of States because it has not become a member of the League of Nations."

    David Jayne Hill, *The Problem of a World Court*, xiv.

II. The League is a political institution, for
  A. It is composed of governments;
  B. The Council and Assembly which control it are political, for
    1. They are made up of the representatives of member states;
    2. These representatives are responsible to their governments;
  C. "The Covenant created a military and political alliance, primarily of the victors in the war, but soon augmented by smaller neutral powers seeking its protection, which had for its object the maintenance of the *status quo* thus imposed."

  David Jayne Hill, *The Problem of a World Court*, xiii.
    1. "A league of selected states that is planned to function through an executive council of strong states is essentially a coercive alliance."

    George Wharton Pepper, *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, January, 1921.
    2. "The League to execute the peace treaties has weakened rather than strengthened the League as a whole."

    William E. Rappard, *International Relations as Viewed from Geneva*, p. 15.

III. To join the League would involve giving up the traditional American policy, for
  A. "The Monroe Doctrine, would compel us to arbitrate or submit to the Council or Assembly of the League any

question that might arise between us and a foreign country in regard to the application of that Doctrine, and all members of the League could participate in and intermeddle with its enforcement."

William D. Guthrie, *The League of Nations and Miscellaneous Addresses,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1923, p. 57.

B. "The instant that the United States, who declared, interpreted and sustained the Doctrine, ceases to be the sole judge of what it means, that instant the Monroe Doctrine ceases and disappears from history and from the face of the earth."

Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Senate and the League of Nations,* New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, p. 399.

IV. The American people are determined to maintain this policy, for

A. Upon this "great policy of 'no entangling alliances' . . . the strength of this Republic has been founded for one hundred and fifty years."

William E. Borah, *The League of Nations,* Indianapolis, Speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, p. 14.

B. "It is recognized that we are independent, detached, and can and do take a distinterested position in relation to international affairs."

President Coolidge, Message of December 6, 1927.

C. "Maintaining this policy, we wish to discard the element of force and compulsion in international agreements and conduct and rely on reason and law."

President Coolidge, Memorial Day Address, May 30, 1927.

D. This policy is not one of isolation, for

1. It is based upon retaining freedom of action and avoiding obligations "to act under circumstances quite beyond our power to foresee or control."

William D. Guthrie, *The League of Nations and Miscellaneous Addresses,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1923, p. 8.

2. "We have consistently refrained from intervening except when our help has been sought and we have felt it could be effectively given, as in the settlement of reparation and the London Conference."

President Coolidge, Annual Message, 1925, p. 10.

E. ". . . Not a step should be taken committing or covenanting our country which shall tend toward internationalism in the sense that its most zealous advocates seem to conceive it, or which shall tend in any degree to diminish what we cherish as nationalism or independence in contradistinction to internationalism or the interdependence of nations."

William D. Guthrie, *The League of Nations and Miscellaneous Addresses,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1923, p. 19.

V. The United States can work more effectively for peace outside the League, for
  A. While many features of the League organization facilitate a satisfactory international coöperation, the real question of organizing peace is political and American independence in policy is necessary, for
    1. Our constitutional system demands it;
    2. The President and the Senate must agree before any permanent policy is established.
  B. Our influence against war is decisive, for
    1. The extent of our interests renders us extremely sensitive to the effects of any disturbance throughout the world; and, therefore,
    2. "Our military power holds no threat of aggrandizement;" (but)
      President Coolidge, Annual Message, December 6, 1927.
    3. Our great material power is an essential factor to be reckoned with by any disturber of the peace.
  C. We recognize that "we should continue to promote peace by our example, and fortify it by such international covenants against war as we are permitted under our Constitution to make."
    President Coolidge, Annual Message, December 6, 1927.
  D. In the Paris Pact for the renunciation of war, signed August 27, 1928, we have made such a contribution, for
    1. Acting on M. Briand's original suggestion, Secretary Kellogg successfully negotiated this far-reaching treaty with 13 nations and invited 49 others to adhere to it.
    2. All civilized states, "in the names of their respective peoples," are thus brought by us to
      a. Renounce war "as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another;" and
      b. "Agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts . . . which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."
        James T. Shotwell, *The Pact of Paris,* International Conciliation, No. 249.

3. "The formula and methods of the League could not be the same as those to which it has been possible for us to have recourse for such a general and absolute agreement as the pact provides."

   Aristide Briand, Speech at signing of pact, August 27, 1928, Current History, October, 1928, p. 125.

4. Both the initiative in negotiating and the policy of this treaty are consistent with the American spirit, for
   - a. "We are a peaceful people and committed to the settling of disputes by amicable adjustment rather than by force."

     President Coolidge, Annual Message, December 6, 1927.

VI. ". . . It appears incontestible that the Senate of the United States refused its advice and consent to the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations, because the Covenant was designed as an instrument of power rather than an instrument of justice," for

David Jayne Hill, *The Problem of a World Court,* p. 90.

A. The Covenant provides for enforcing peace, in
   1. Art. 10, by which the Members of the League "undertake to . . . preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League;"
   2. Art. 16, by which they undertake to sever all relations and prevent all intercourse with any Member which disregards its agreements to leave its disputes to methods of pacific settlement;
   3. Art. 11, by which "the League shall take *any* action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations." "For this purpose it is pledged to use its 'preponderant power.'"

B. The attempt to enforce peace is fallacious, for
   1. "The principal concern of international society is not to avoid war but to secure *justice through peace.*"

      Philip Marshall Brown, *International Society,* p. 99.
   2. It implies maintenance of the *status quo,* thus assisting the continuance of injustice;
   3. "By this treaty all 'places in the sun' now occupied by Members of the League are guaranteed to their occupants.

      Edward A. Harriman, *The Constitution at the Cross-Roads,* p. 144.

    4. ". . . The Covenant . . . would require the other Members to intervene to prevent any assistance being given to the revolutionists by a third country, as when France assisted the American colonies."

       Edward A. Harriman, *The Constitution at the Cross-Roads,* p. 145.

C. There is no guaranty that the action of the League will be based on law and justice, for
    1. No adequate criteria exist defining the conditions under which resort to force would occur;
    2. No rules of international law assure that application of these articles would be solely for the attainment of justice.
    3. "It will not do for the possessing nations to say we will enforce peace without law."

       David Jayne Hill, *American World Policies,* p. 49.

    4. "The League of Nations is a bold enunciation of the principle that neutrality is no longer permissible. Nations are challenged to take sides in case a nation places itself outside of court."

       Philip Marshall Brown, *International Realities,* p. 109; David Jayne Hill, *American World Policies,* p. 166; Edward A. Harriman, *The Constitution at the Cross-Roads,* (New York, George N. Doran Company, 1925), p. 151.

D. These provisions are unnecessary, for
    1. "It is reasonably certain that no power will dare in the future to affront the conscience of the world by repudiating or violating the established principles and rules of international law. And no League of Nations with a military force at its command can make this any more manifest."

       William D. Guthrie, *The League of Nations and Miscellaneous Addresses,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1923, p. 9.

    2. ". . . The truth is that . . . treaty obligations are more sacred and binding than they ever were, and that we Americans can safely continue to rely upon their effectiveness in our dealings and intercourse with other civilized nations."

       William D. Guthrie, *The League of Nations and Mis-*

cellaneous Addresses, New York, Columbia University Press, 1923, p. 11-13.

E. Even if these provisions were desirable, the United States could not accept them, for

1. "If the United States assumes treaty obligations which contemplate force for their execution or performance, there is the danger that the President without consulting Congress may take action which will irrevocably commit the Nation to war and all its incalculable consequences."

   William D. Guthrie, *The League of Nations and Miscellaneous Addresses,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1923, p. 91.

2. "The powers of the American Government are delegated powers . . . There is in the Constitution of the United States no delegation of power to any organ of Government to declare and carry on war, levy taxes, and impose compulsory military service upon the people, or to engage to do so, for the purpose of guaranteeing the peace of Europe, or of preserving the territorial integrity and political independence of all the signatories of the Covenant of the League."

   David Jayne Hill, *The Problem of a World Court,* xv.

3. "They could not even be transferred by the Congress to the President, nor could he be authorized to act automatically in a military way in contingent circumstances, under Articles 10, 11 and 16."

   David Jayne Hill, *The Problem of a World Court,* xv.

VII. The independent position of the United States is advantageous both for itself and for the League, for

A. Faults in the fundamental structure of the League have been more clearly perceived as a result of the attitude of the United States, for

1. Effort has been made to interpret Art. 10 so as to make its application dependent solely on the judgment of the Member states.
2. Art. 16 has been amended and interpretations of it have clarified its meaning.
3. The fact that the United States was not participating affected the decision to give up the Geneva Protocol.

   Sixth Yearbook of the League of Nations, p. 174.

- B. The League has been put on its mettle by the absence of the United States, for
    - 1. It has sought to push solution of the opium problem to gain our full coöperation;
    - 2. It regularly includes Americans in its committees or invites the Government to associate itself with new phases of its work;
    - 3. It makes use of all obtainable information from the United States, as, for instance, that contained in the Armaments Year Book and the Memorandum on Public Finance.
- C. The United States finds it useful to use the League to get results which it desires, for
    - 1. It is easier to meet representatives of the Member states at Geneva than elsewhere;
    - 2. Their maturing of their views by means of their own mechanism there facilitates agreement with us, as in the case of the Conference on Double Taxation.
    - 3. Convening the Three-Power Naval Conference at Geneva enabled it to benefit from the experience gained by the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference and to use the Secretariat.

VIII. The United States should not become a Member of the League, for

- A. Our position as a nonmember renders us more influential, for
    - 1. As a member we would be under obligation to compromise our views on all League business so as not to appear obstructive; while
    - 2. As a nonmember we can select those activities in which we choose to participate.
- B. We should have to submit to the rule of unanimity, for
    - 1. All important decisions in the League are taken by unanimous vote; and
    - 2. We should either be obliged to accept decisions only partially satisfactory or bear the whole responsibility for defeating the will of other states or abstain from voting entirely.
    - 3. We found in the case of the Paris Pact that completing negotiations with a limited number of nations and then inviting all the others to adhere to the decision taken was the most expeditious way of securing international action.
- C. The United States has preferred to conduct its foreign relations on the basis of bilateral treaties with particular states

rather than on that of multilateral treaties with many states, many of which are only slightly interested in the subject matter, for

1. The bilateral system makes for simplicity of relations;
2. For definiteness of engagements;
3. For careful adjustment of the agreement to the problem at issue.

D. We should have to be represented in the Assembly and Council, for

1. All Members of the League are represented in the Assembly, but
    a. In it we should have to deal with many things which do not particularly concern us or do not concern us at all;
    b. Speeches on international relations result in the national policies of particular countries being discussed there;
    c. We should have to vote on matters of purely European interest.
2. A seat on the Council is reserved for us, for
    a. The Covenant so provides; but
    b. Washington is too far from Geneva to permit the Secretary of State to attend sessions of the Council as other foreign ministers do.
    c. Consequently our membership would not be on a par with that of other great states.

III. INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION AND THE "WORLD COURT"[19]

Any one surveying the history of international arbitration and the difficulties which have stood in the way of an obligatory or regularized submission of international controversies to judicial settlement may justifiably ask why so eminently sane a procedure should have been hampered by the opposition of governments. The answer is not altogether easy, yet it yields partially to a considered investigation. It will be attempted in this paper to point out the position of arbitration in the twentieth century, why it has advanced to its present stage, the obstacles in the way of its progress, and the present prospects. Special reference will be made to the position of the United States. The place and work of the Permanent Court of International Justice (the so-called "World Court") will also be examined.

[19] By Edwin Borchard, Yale University.

History

1794, the date of the Jay Treaty, marks the beginning of the modern period of international arbitration. It is evident that arbitration has since that time been accepted among the nations of the world as one of the normal methods of settling international disputes. It is not without significance that the United States and Great Britain, two rapidly expanding nations, have in that period participated in as many arbitrations as the rest of the world combined. Other nations have also submitted many and important questions and it cannot be doubted that the institution has been successful. With the increase in commerce and intercourse which has marked the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the number and diversification of disputes has naturally increased, and arbitration, having proved its utility, has been frequently resorted to. Probably the majority of the cases have involved pecuniary claims, boundary disputes, and jurisdictional questions.

The Hague Convention

The movement toward a more formal world organization led in 1899 to the calling of the First Hague Conference and the signature of the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. This Convention marked then, as it does now, the highest achievement for the regularized submission of international disputes to arbitration. The distinguishing features of that Convention are, aside from the procedure for mediation and commissions of inquiry, that arbitration is voluntary, and that the court consists of a panel of judges, over 100 in number, which the litigants may draw upon to recruit the court *ad hoc*. The Convention also provided a regular method of procedure which has served as a model for numerous other cases settled outside The Hague. To the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague thus established, the United States has submitted four important cases, the Pious Fund case, the Orinoco Steamship case, the North Atlantic Fisheries case, and the Norwegian Ship requisition case.

The Treaties of 1905

The development at The Hague stimulated national movements to extend the scope of arbitration and make it obligatory. It has been said that certain powers frustrated the effort in 1899 at The Hague to make arbitration obligatory then. Nothing, however, is more erroneous than to assume that any of the great powers were prepared then or at any time since to submit all their disputes to obligatory arbitration, and the open avowal of some nations that they were opposed to obligatory arbitration of all disputes merely reflected the attitude entertained by all of the great powers. Nevertheless, a strong opinion in the United States, vaguely aspiring to advance the cause of international peace, brought about in 1905 the executive conclusion with seven powers of treaties based upon the model of the Franco-British Treaty of 1903. It is worth presenting the exact wording of these treaties, in order to determine whether they mark an advance over The Hague Convention of 1899. The treaties provide:

> "Differences which may arise of a legal nature, or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two Contracting Parties, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at the The Hague by the Convention of the 29th of July, 1899, provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two Contracting States, and do not concern the interest of third Parties."

Effect

These treaties mark a turning point in the American attitude toward arbitration, and not necessarily one of progress. Though the language of the treaties is apparently broad enough in character, providing for the submission of "differences which may arise of a legal nature, or relating to the interpretation of treaties," the treaties nevertheless except from this obligation all questions which "affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two Contracting States, and do not concern the interests of third parties."

Limitations on Arbitration

It will be observed in the first place that the submission is restricted to questions of a *legal* nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties, a classification which led to a long intellectual debate as to the difference between legal and political questions. In the second place, it excepted from the obligation to submit even this limited class of cases, those affecting the "vital interests," the "independence," or the "honor" of the contracting states, or the "interests" of third powers. No such exceptions are to be found in the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of 1899, so that instead of indicating a desire to enlarge the scope of arbitration, it marks in fact a restriction. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the United States and Great Britain, which had in the past submitted to arbitration such important cases as the Alabama claims and the Venezuelan boundary dispute, both of which were highly political in character. Great Britain had at first declined to submit the Alabama case to arbitration, on the ground that it involved the "honor" of Her Majesty's Government, and likewise demurred to the submission of the Venezuelan question on the ground that it was "political," a ground which has often induced the American courts to decline to exercise jurisdiction over litigated cases. Thus, the proposed treaties of 1905 expressly excepted from the obligation to arbitrate, issues which had in the past actually been submitted to arbitration, and narrowed the scope of the submission beyond The Hague form of 1899 which, while not making arbitration obligatory, at least exempted nothing.

It will not escape notice that the words "vital interests, independence, or honor," the existence of which are left to the determination of each litigating nation, are broad enough, by including everything that is really important, to enable any question to be kept from arbitration, no matter how legal it may seem or how directly it involves the interpretation of a treaty. Whether the exclusion of "domestic" questions which in the more recent treaties concluded by Secretary of State Kellogg limits the scope of the exceptions to arbitration, remains to be seen.

Senate

Moreover, the submission of the treaties to the Senate disclosed another objection which had not theretofore been revealed. The Senate, instead of accepting the treaties as they stood, with their very limited scope, expressed its determination not to have any particular question submitted without special Senate consent. Though President Roosevelt threatened not to present the treaties to the other contracting parties if the Senate Amendment were adopted, it was nevertheless adopted. The President kept the treaties uncommunicated for three years; in 1908, however, the clamor that he do something not having died down, he presented the treaties, through Secretary of State Root, including the Amendment that no case could be submitted except with express Senate approval. The treaties ran for five years and have been renewed. Among the cases which have been submitted to arbitration, ostensibly in pursuance of these particular treaties, are the Fisheries Arbitration with Great Britain (1910) and the Palmas Island Arbitration with the Netherlands (1926).

Scope of Arbitration

Several comments seem justified. An agreement to submit to arbitration everything but questions that are important can hardly be deemed to advance the cause of arbitration. It pays lip-service to arbitration, while taking from it much of its essence. Possibly it has some popular psychological value in stimulating thoughts of arbitration; if so, such treaties may have justification. Arbitration has been practiced and will continue to be because nations find it more profitable or expedient to adjust pending issues by that method than by any other. The realization of the cost of violent methods will doubtless induce a continued recourse to arbitration in the future. But it cannot be overlooked that important questions, the questions that are most likely to cause war, are not being submitted with any greater frequency or eagerness than heretofore. Though the abortive Geneva Protocol and the Locarno Treaties may evidence some intention not to permit European questions to result in war if arbitration can avoid it, it is still uncertain whether the cultural tradition of arbitration is growing.

Arbitration Made Difficult

So far as the United States is concerned, the Senate Amendments make arbitration for the United States more difficult than it was before 1908. Many of our most important arbitrations had been submitted to an international tribunal or mixed commission by mere executive agreement. Only when arbitration seemed likely to make the United States responsible for money damages, or to result in a diminution of sovereignty, had it been customary to request Senate "advice and consent." Now it seems the Senate intends to check the Executive in the conclusion of arbitration agreements by requiring Senate approval of each case to be submitted, whether the United States is the complainant or the defendant. An exception may be found in the Agreement of August 10, 1922, submitting to arbitration the claims of American citizens against Germany under the Treaty of Berlin. That this indicates a definite recession by the Senate from its previous attitude, it may be hazardous to assume.

The Court with Fixed Personnel

In the meantime, Secretary of State Root had instructed the American delegates to the Second Hague Conference of 1907 to endeavor to bring about the establishment of a fixed court, with judges in continuous session, instead of the ephemeral tribunal convened *ad hoc* from the panel of judges known as the Permanent Court of Arbitration, and continued with minor changes by the Conference of 1907. Mr. Root predicated his instruction upon the thesis that the "principal objection to arbitration rests not upon the unwillingness of nations to submit their controversies to impartial arbitration, but upon an apprehension that the arbitrations to which they submit may not be impartial." He assumed that arbitrators act not under a sense of judicial responsibility, as impartial judges deciding according to law, but as "negotiators effecting settlements of the questions brought before them in accordance with the traditions and usages and subject to all the considerations and influences which affect diplomatic agents"—the method of compromise, as it has been called. He then assumed that nations would be "much more ready to submit their controversies" to a regular court of fixed judges deciding according to legal principles.

The Alleged Element of "Compromise"

In spite of the distinguished name which these suggestions bear, it may be doubted (1) whether arbitration results in compromise and in the process of diplomatic negotiation and not in a decision according to law, and (2) whether nations are more willing to submit to a court with a fixed personnel than to a tribunal in the composition and selection of the personnel of which they had some choice. As to the first point, an examination of the six volumes of Moore's Digest of International Arbitrations discloses that arbitrators have not been in the habit of regarding their mandate as one of "compromise," but that on the contrary their decisions have to a remarkable degree been actuated by considerations of the same type which govern the highest municipal courts. Article 15 of the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes reads: "International arbitration has for its object the settlement of differences between States by judges of their own choice and on the basis of respect for law." Impartiality, an endeavor to interpret or find legal principles and rules, the guide of precedents, mark the deliberations and decisions in practically all the important arbitrations. If national judges occasionally lean toward sympathy to their own nation, this is not true of umpires and neutral commissioners. Indeed, it is not improbable that the cause of arbitration has been unnecessarily harmed and injured by the frequent reiteration during the past twenty years of the allegation that arbitration was not a strictly judicial process and was governed by considerations that an international tribunal with a fixed personnel would escape or avoid. No one has been more insistent on the essential error of this assumption of the inferiority or weakness of arbitration than John Bassett Moore, our most profound and informed student of international arbitration and until recently a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. Justice never works automatically, for it uses human instrumentalities. Those instrumentalities, whether on municipal courts or international courts, are influenced by a variety of considerations, some of which defy analysis. That the element of compromise plays some part in the application of legal principles to facts need also not be denied, but this is believed to be as important a factor in municipal litigations as it is in international arbitraton.

The 1907 "Court of Arbitral Justice"

Mr. Root's proposal of a court received the name of the Court of Arbitral Justice. It was never established because the assembled nations at The Hague could not agree on a system of electing a small number of judges from so many states. It is one of the achievements of the Committee of Jurists which was appointed by the Council of the League of

Nations in 1920 to draft a statute of a Permanent Court of International Justice that they did find a satisfactory method, by election of Council and Assembly, of overcoming this obstacle. An International Prize Court, the need of which was never more convincingly demonstrated than by the prize practice during the last war, was provided for by the Second Hague Conference in 1907, but was never brought into being because the Declaration of London, which was to embody the maritime law for the court, was not ratified by the signatory governments.

The Taft-Knox Treaties of 1911

In 1911 a renewed effort was made to remove some of the limitations on arbitration, by the conclusion of agreements between the United States and Great Britain, and the United States and France. These are known as the Taft-Knox Treaties. They required the submission to arbitration of all disputes "justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity." The question whether a particular dispute was "justiciable" was to be left to the determination of a Joint High Commission of Inquiry, which had to be unanimous, or at most lack one of unanimity for an affirmative conclusion. Each question to be submitted was to be subject to a "special agreement" requiring Senate approval, and the British Government reserved the consent of any self-governing dominion if the matter affected the interests of such dominion. This British reservation may here be noted in connection with the Senate reservation to the protocol adhering to the World Court, presently to be discussed.

Attitude of the Senate

Even these limitations were insufficient for the Senate. Not only was it made absolutely certain that a "special agreement" to arbitrate required Senate "advice and consent," but the provision leaving to the Joint High Commission the determination of the question whether a particular dispute was "justiciable" was rejected. In addition, a proviso was added that seems to have become a part of American policy, for it is reiterated on every conceivable occasion. The proviso reads:

> *Provided,* That the Senate advises and consents to the ratification of the said treaty with the understanding, to be made part of such ratification, that the treaty does not authorize the submission to arbitration of any question which affects the admission of aliens into the United States, or the admission of aliens to the educational institutions of the several States, or the territorial integrity of the several States or of the United States, or concerning the question of the alleged indebtedness or monied obligation of any State of the United States, or any question which depends upon or involves the maintenance

of the traditional attitude of the United States concerning American questions, commonly described as the Monroe Doctrine, or other purely governmental policy.

The proposed French and British treaties were so crippled by these reservations, notably by the one providing for a method of determining independently whether a dispute was "justiciable," that the treaties were abandoned by the President.

The "Bryan Peace Treaties"—The Commission of Inquiry

In 1913, the so-called Bryan Peace Treaties were submitted to the peoples of the world as an assured method of preventing war. They were founded on the principle that in the event of any dispute arising between two nations, a commission of inquiry consisting of five members would be convoked which would investigate the issue and report within one year. During that period no change in military or naval preparations of the participating nations was to occur, and war was not to be declared or hostilities begun. The underlying theory involved the belief that during the period of investigation, whatever the nature of the final report of the Commission, popular passions would have cooled, and a method of adjustment designed to avoid war would have been suggested and found. Some thirty of such treaties have been concluded by the United States, and though they have not been invoked to any extent, they may have served a useful purpose nevertheless. A Commission of Inquiry rendered valuable service in the Dogger Bank incident between Great Britain and Russia in 1905, when a Russian Admiral fired on English fishing boats in the belief that they were Japanese destroyers. In 1914, the mediation of Argentina, Brazil and Chile was usefully employed by the United States and Mexico in an effort to settle the Mexican difficulties arising out of the occupation of Vera Cruz by the United States. It may be noted, however, that the incident of an alleged insult to the American flag at Tampico, which gave rise to the hostilities at Vera Cruz, was of the very type contemplated by the so-called Bryan Peace Treaties; no investigating commission was even suggested by the United States, though the alleged facts, and particularly their gravity, were seriously disputed by the Mexican authorities. It may be said that, though the Bryan treaties, by their inclusiveness of subject matter, were hailed as a marked step in advance and by Mr. Bryan as an insurance against war, their application is at best limited to particular incidents of disputed facts which are susceptible of investigation and clarification, but hardly would apply to continuing wrongs or differences of opinion in which each party, with full knowledge of and agreement upon all the facts, insists upon the correctness of its view. The treaties, moreover, while providing for investigation, do not commit the nations to arbitrate or to take any other particular action. They rest on the assumption that the year's interval between submission and report will suffice to prevent hostilities and that the lapse of time together with the Commission's report will point the way to adjustment.

The War

The fragility of all rational institutions for the preservation of peace was demonstrated by the outbreak of the great European War of 1914. Apparently oblivious to the forces and factors making war ultimately inevitable in that continent, arbitration had been discussed and promoted since 1899 with a fervor theretofore unknown. It cannot legitimately be asserted that arbitration agreements are futile or are to be discouraged or that the preservation of peace by agreement is an idle effort. Quite the contrary. But the fact that one of the greatest wars of history interrupted an important movement for international coöperation, with growing reliance on arbitration as a method, must give pause to those who profess to find in judicial machinery alone a safeguard against war. It would indicate that some factors must have been overlooked before 1914, and in a later part of this chapter I shall venture to suggest some of the essential factors of the problem which deserve more concentrated attention. Nor has the cause of a rational solution of international difficulties been aided by the fantastic and often spurious motives assigned to one or other of the belligerents in the late war, or by the endeavor to find in the struggle a great moral issue on which civilization depended. These justifications for uncontrolled passion and ardent devotion to one cause or the other in a war are likely to evaporate before the dissolving effects of time, investigation, and reflection; but they indicate how unstable is the human mind in the face of such emotions as military patriotism and nationalism. They indicate that statesmen who reserve from arbitration questions involving national honor, independence, vital interests and domestic questions, may know the effects of these emotions better than some of the people themselves. The fact that so many of the gladiators for arbitration were in 1914-1918 among the most violent of the militarists and among the strongest opponents of mediation and reconciliation must give pause to those who place their faith unalterably in judicial machinery.

The Treaty of Versailles

At the end of the war came the Treaty of Versailles and its counterparts, instruments which, to say the least, have placed Europe in as unenviable a state of uncertainty as have any other European treaties that preceded them. It was a severe handicap for the League of Nations to start under such auspices, and whether it will survive the consequences of Versailles is doubted by some. It is to be hoped that it will, and that it represents a step in international coöperation which may grow stronger with the passage of time and with the friendly adjustment of the difficulties inevitably growing out of Versailles and the rearrangement of Europe.

The Covenant and the so-called "World Court"

The Covenant had provided for a Permanent Court of International Justice, the plans for which were to be formulated by the Council and submitted to the member nations for adoption. The Council invited a Commission of Jurists to meet at The Hague, which, after deliberation, proposed a statute, a protocol for which was to be signed by the member nations. The principal feature of this Court, as proposed by the Commission of Jurists, lay in the method of electing judges—by the Council and Assembly of the League on the nomination of the national groups represented in the Permanent Court of Arbitration—and in the provision for compulsory jurisdiction over legal issues. The latter was definitely a great step in advance and justified the fixed personnel of eleven judges with four deputies, which the Commission provided for. Where jurisdiction is compulsory and an unwilling defendant can be haled into court, no objection can be raised to a fixed personnel. But the Council, on receiving the report of the Commission, made a radical change in the proposal. On the ground that the Covenant did not authorize the Commission to confer compulsory jurisdiction on the Court, this provision was struck out, and the article for compulsory jurisdiction was left as an "optional" clause, which nations might adhere to if they chose. Fortunately, some twenty-two of the smaller states have signed and ratified this clause, though cases under it have not yet arisen. Among the larger Powers, Germany has ratified the clause, and in the 1929 session of the Assembly Great Britain,[20] France and Italy announced their intention to sign it. If these countries ratify, it will mark a notable advance in obligatory jurisdiction over legal disputes.

The Court and Advisory Opinions

Though the Statute did not provide for giving advisory opinions, Article 14 of the Covenant does provide for them, and the Court has deemed that it had the privilege and power though not the duty to render such opinions in a given case. The advisory opinion as a function of the Court was opposed by Mr. Root and others as not judicial in character, for the opinion, given to the Council or Assembly only, is not binding on any one and is recommendatory only. In a long memorandum, printed in the Congressional Record of January 4, 1926, but dated 1922, John Bassett Moore has taken somewhat the same position. If the Court were compelled to give advisory opinions, it was believed

[20] Great Britain has since ratified with reservations.

that it would take from the Court its judicial independence and convert it to that extent into the office of an Attorney General to the League of Nations. In fact, the advisory opinion has proved a most active function of the Court, and since the Court is privileged under its own rules to decline to render such opinion, it probably constitutes no danger to the Court or to its judicial independence. The Court has rendered some sixteen advisory opinions, and fifteen decisions in litigated cases. They will be summarized presently.

The Court's Jurisdiction

The Permanent Court of International Justice had a historical background of some importance. Experience, therefore, was a guide to the Committee of Jurists. They realized that a court was in the present stage of international development generally regarded as limited in its powers to the solution of certain types of questions, which in the absence of a better name are denominated "legal," that is, capable of solution by the application of "legal" principles. . . .

The "Optional Clause"

To enable the compulsory feature of the Court's jurisdiction to be availed of by states willing to be arraigned unilaterally on the demand of another state, the Court's obligatory jurisdiction, which states could agree upon by signing a special clause, was deemed to embrace questions involving (a) the interpretation of a treaty; (b) any question of international law; (c) the existence of any facts which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; (d) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

It was further provided that the declaration accepting the compulsory jurisdiction might be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity or for a certain time only. As already observed, a considerable number of states have ratified the "optional clause."

Decisions of the Court

The litigated cases, resulting in a judgment, which have come before the Court thus far have been as follows:

1. The case of the S.S. Wimbledon between Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan on the one hand, and Germany on the other. Inasmuch as there is no German on the Court, Germany had the privilege of appointing a judge to sit with the Court in this case. The Court held that Article 380 of the Treaty of Versailles forbade Germany's applying to

the Kiel Canal a neutrality order which would close the canal to a British-owned French chartered vessel carrying munitions to Danzig for transshipment to Poland during the war between Poland and Russia. The issue involved the question as to what was meant by the neutralization of the Kiel Canal. It was held not to involve a prohibition of the transport of war vessels or munitions of war of belligerent powers when Germany is neutral.

2. The Mavromattis Palestine Concessions, in which a Greek subject, through the Greek Government, brought suit against Great Britain, alleging a violation of the Greek's pre-war concessions in Palestine. The plaintiff invoked an obligatory jurisdictional clause under the mandate and was sustained by the Court.

The fourth judgment of the Court involved the decision of the Mavromattis case on its merits, the Court holding that the British Government as mandatory had bound itself to respect certain concessions in Palestine, but that as in fact the new concessions which had been granted did not result in any loss to the original concessionaire, no liability was imposed. On the question of original jurisdiction there was a strong dissent of five judges.

Decisions 3 and 5 involved the interpretation of the reparation clauses of the Treaty of Neuilly between the Allied Powers and Bulgaria. The Court held (1) that the treaty did authorize certain classes of claims against Bulgaria for damages to person and property. The second judgment involved a demand for an interpretation of the earlier one under Art. 60 of the Court's statute. The Court declined to interpret its earlier judgment where the request went beyond the limits of the judgment itself.

The sixth and seventh judgments involved German claims against Poland, arising out of an alleged violation of property rights of German subjects in Upper Silesia. The Court first held that they had jurisdiction over the case, notwithstanding Poland's objection, and then decided the case on the merits.

8. The eighth judgment of the court involved again the claims of the German government against Poland for the seizure of its citizens' property in Upper Silesia. The court affirmed its jurisdiction of the case. The court also ruled that admissions and proposals made during negotiations to settle the matter would not be considered, then reserved the case to be heard on its merits (see Judgment 13). It was a ten to three decision.

9. The ninth judgment, the Lotus case, involved the criminal jurisdiction of Turkish courts over an officer of a French vessel which sank a Turkish vessel outside Turkish waters. France claimed that the law of the flag gave France exclusive jurisdiction, but the court held that

there was concurrent jurisdiction and so gave judgment for Turkey. The court decided seven to five, though the record shows an even division of the judges. Judge Moore's so-called "dissenting" opinion actually concurs with the court's conclusion, but emphasizes the grounds of the decision.

10. The tenth judgment of the court involved again the Mavromattis Concessions in Palestine. Greece claimed damages for her subject for the delay in approving the concession. Great Britain set up the defense of jurisdiction, and the court held that it had no jurisdiction to settle matters between an individual and a state, as its jurisdiction arose under Article 11 of the mandate and that extends only to a breach of the international obligations. It was a four to three decision.

11. In the eleventh judgment Germany asked for an interpretation of judgments five, seven and eight, claiming also that there was a dispute with Poland. Poland claimed there was no dispute and defended on the ground of the court's jurisdiction under Article 60 of the Statute. The interpretation was given by a vote of eight to three.

12. The twelfth judgment concerns an interpretation of the articles in the German-Polish convention of May 15, 1922, and the rights of minority schools in Upper Silesia. As Poland made no preliminary objection to the jurisdiction, but waited until Germany had asked for a decision on the merits, the court retained jurisdiction and rendered judgment for Germany on the merits. Four judges dissented on the question of the court's jurisdiction.

13. The thirteenth judgment involved the nature of the reparation to be made by Poland to Germany for the seizure of the factories at Chorzow. The court took jurisdiction, held Article 256 of the Treaty of Versailles not applicable, then referred the assessment of damages to a committee of experts, but closed the case on advice that the two governments had made a settlement of the case. The court overruled again the Polish objection to jurisdiction, deeming it *res adjudicata.* The vote was nine to three.

14. This case between France and the Kingdom of Serbia involved the rights of French bondholders to insist upon payment from the Serbian government of certain bonds and coupons expressed in French francs, in gold currency rather than in French paper money, and involved also the court's jurisdiction to consider the case. The court rendered judgment for France, nine to three, holding that gold francs were intended by the contract. Jurisdiction was derived under Article 38 of the Statute because it had become the subject of diplomatic dispute between the countries.

15. The fifteenth judgment involved a similar issue between France, appearing on behalf of French bondholders, and Brazil, and was decided the same way as the Serbian case.

Advisory Opinions

The advisory function has thus far been invoked by the Council only, in the following questions submitted for opinions:

1. "Was the workers' delegate for the Netherlands to the third session of the International Labor Conference nominated in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph 3 of Article 289 of the Treaty of Versailles?" The Court answered in the affirmative, stating that the Netherlands' representative was not bound to consult the largest employers' or workers' organization in selecting its delegates to the International Labor Conference.

2. "Does the competence of the International Labor Organization extend to the international regulation of the conditions of labor of persons employed in agriculture?" The Court said, Yes.

3. "Does the examination of proposals for the organization and development of methods of agricultural developments and of other questions of like nature fall within the competence of the International Labor Organization?" The Court said that it did, but only in so far as conditions of labor are concerned.

4. "Is or is not the dispute between France and Great Britain as to the nationality decrees issued in Tunis and Morocco (French zone) on November 8, 1921, and their application to British subjects, by international law solely a matter of domestic jurisdiction?" The Court said that it was not by international law solely a matter of domestic jurisdiction, though nationality is a matter which generally does fall within a state's domestic jurisdiction. It is to be observed that France and Great Britain submitted this question after a prior *compromise* between themselves, through the Council of the League.

5. "Do Articles 10 and 11 of the Treaty of Peace between Finland and Russia, signed at Dorpat on October 14, 1920, and the annexed Declaration of the Russian Delegation regarding the autonomy of Eastern Carelia constitute engagements of an international character which place Russia under an obligation to Finland as to the carrying out of the provisions contained therein?" The Court refused to give the opinion, by a vote of 7 to 4, on the ground that Russia had not consented to the submission of this dispute to the court. This question and the history connected with it had an important bearing in the debates in the United States Senate.

6. The sixth question was whether Poland's refusal to recognize certain contracts and leases made by German colonists in Upper Silesia constituted a breach by Poland of its international obligation under the Polish Minorities Treaty. The Court said, Yes.

7. The seventh question involved the acquisition of Polish nationality by German settlers, and involved the question whether the League was

competent under the Polish Minorities Treaty to determine such issues, and what was the proper interpretation of Article 4 of that Treaty. The Court was of the opinion that the Council of the League was competent to deal with questions as to the acquisition of Polish nationality by German settlers, and that Article 4 made habitual residence of parents at the date of the birth of settlers concerned a condition of acquiring nationality.

8. The eighth question was whether the Jaworzina boundary dispute between Poland and Czechoslovakia had been finally determined by the Conference of Ambassadors, or was still open. The Court ruled that it had been finally determined.

9. The ninth question was whether the Conference of Ambassadors had exhausted their powers under a resolution of the Assembly with respect to the delimitation of the Albanian frontier between Albania and Jugoslavia, and particularly with respect to the allocation of the Monastery of Saint-Naoum. The Court answered in the affirmative.

10. The tenth question involved the matter of the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations under the Treaty of Lausanne, and the particular question whether a Greek established in Constantinople could be exchanged and what was meant by "established." The Court defined the term by holding that the Greek must have resided in Constantinople prior to October 30, 1918, with an intention to remain there.

11. The eleventh opinion involved the question whether the Polish Government was entitled under the peace treaties to maintain a postal service in the port of Danzig not restricted to a single office. The Danzig authorities contended they were so restricted. The Court decided in favor of Poland.

12. The twelfth advisory opinion was requested by the Council in connection with the delimitation of the frontier between Turkey and Iraq (the Mosul question). The Court was asked whether the decision of the Council under Article 3 of the Treaty of Lausanne was an arbitral award, a recommendation, or merely mediation, and whether the decision had to be unanimous. The Court held that the decision of the Council was binding and had to be unanimous, excepting from vote the parties to the dispute, namely, Great Britain and Turkey. . . .

13. The thirteenth opinion involved the question whether the International Labor Organization could also regulate, incidentally to the regulation of labor, the personal work of small employers, such as barbers. The Court held that it could, if the regulation were incidental, and that the Labor Organization had certain discretionary powers not, however, "unlimited."

14. The fourteenth advisory opinion involved the powers of the European Commission of the Danube. The Court held that the Commission had the same powers in the Galatz to Braila sector as they did below that sector, and that the upstream limit was immediately above the port of Braila.

Also, that the powers of the Commission extended over the whole of the maritime Danube, and were not excluded from any zones territorially defined and corresponding to harbor zones, thus overruling the Rumanian contention that Rumania had exclusive powers in certain zones. The decision was nine to one.

15. The fifteenth opinion involved the rights and obligations of Poland and the Free City of Danzig in the administration of the railways, and the Court held that the Danzig courts had jurisdiction of individual claims against the Polish Administration of the railways, and that the decision of the High Commissioner holding that the Danzig courts had no jurisdiction was not legally well founded. The opinion was unanimous.

16. The sixteenth opinion involved the question whether Greece or Turkey, as individual states, could refer such disputes as arose within the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Population to an arbitrator, or whether they were to be finally determined by the commission. The Court decided unanimously that they were wholly for the Commission to settle.

The United States' Adhesion to the Protocol

Agitation for a great international tribunal, a "world court," had been carried on in the United States for many years prior to 1914. The Court of Arbitral Justice, the draft of which was evolved at the Hague Convention of 1907, but which never came into being, was the nearest approach to such a court. When, therefore, the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice had been drafted and adopted by the Council and Assembly, a considerable movement arose in the United States for the adherence of the United States to the protocol. The intimate association of the Court with the League of Nations, and the ardent advocacy of the Court by the protagonists of the League, tended to prejudice some of our leading statesmen against the Court. It was argued, however, that inasmuch as the jurisdiction of the Court was not obligatory, and inasmuch as the United States was privileged to submit or not to submit any dispute to which it was a party, that there was no danger to the United States from the Court's association with the League, and that any danger there might be could be averted by adequate reservations. Presidents Harding and Coolidge supported the adherence of the United States, with a variety of limitations and reservations, and on January 27, 1926, the United States Senate voted adherence by a majority of 76 to 17 in a Resolution containing five reservations and two incidental resolutions.

The Senate Reservations

Of the reservations made by the United States Senate only the second part of the Fifth presented any difficulty to the members of the League

That reservation provided that the Court "shall not, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States *has* or *claims* an interest." After five states had accepted the Senate reservations, a conference of the Powers was called at Geneva in September, 1926, to bring about a united position on the Senate's proposals. The conference accepted most of the reservations but could not agree to the Fifth, and thus the matter remained in deadlock until February, 1929, when Senator Root, as a member of the Committee of Jurists of 1920, submitted proposals for bridging the differences. These proposals offer a compromise by providing that, whenever a request for advisory opinion is to be made by the Council of the League on the Court, the United States is to be at once notified and given opportunity to express its objection. The Council, however, has the privilege of overruling the objection and submitting the question notwithstanding, in which event the United States has the privilege of withdrawing from the Court. In support of the acceptance of this proposal by the Senate, it is argued that, in practice, the Council would never submit a question over the objection of the United States. The administration supports American adherence on the basis of the proposals of Mr. Root. Whether the Senate will accept them remains to be seen.

Recent Position Toward Arbitration

Under the Treaty of Versailles, numerous arbitrations have been held between the individual Allied Powers on the one hand and Germany, Austria or Hungary on the other. The principal matters arbitrated before these so-called Mixed Arbitral Tribunals have been questions of private debts under Article 296 of the Treaty of Versailles and similar articles of the other treaties, and damages due to exceptional war measures in German or Austro-Hungarian territory under Article 297.

The United States has recently participated in three important arbitrations, the one with Germany under the Treaty of Berlin and a supplementary executive agreement, which is marked by the high-minded judicial impartiality of the American Umpire, the late Judge Parker; the one with Austria and Hungary; and the one with Mexico for the arbitration of pecuniary claims of American citizens against Mexico and of Mexican citizens against the United States. In addition, the British-American Arbitration under the Treaty of 1910 has been concluded, and the Las Palmas Arbitration with the Netherlands decided by Judge Huber of Switzerland. There have not been arbitrated the large number of pecuniary claims against Great Britain and France, arising out of the violation of the neutral rights of American citizens between 1914 and 1917, the former having been settled for a sum of $1,500,000 under an Executive Agreement of May 19, 1927.

In February, 1927, during the diplomatic controversy with Mexico on the Mexican petroleum and land laws in their application to American citizens, the United States Senate, by a resolution believed to be unique in American history, unanimously voted, 77 to 0, its approval of arbitration as a method of settling the issue. The resolution and the public opinion which it reflected stayed, at least temporarily, the hand of those who appear to have been contemplating more forceful measures. The issue is highly debatable and is capable of adjudication by legal standards. Certainly the United States can well afford to take the lead in submitting to arbitration all pecuniary claims against other nations. A treaty concluded at Mexico City in 1902 and renewed at Buenos Aires in 1910 commits many of the American countries to that policy. Self-interest and the desirability of removing pecuniary claims from the political to the legal arena support the wisdom of the policy.

In 1928, Secretary Kellogg negotiated a series of arbitration treaties designed to take the place of the expired or expiring Root treaties. The new treaties provide for the submission of "justiciable disputes," but except questions within the "domestic jurisdiction" of either Party, or questions which involve the interests of third states or the Monroe Doctrine. Conciliation treaties, extending the Bryan model of 1913, are also under negotiation with several countries.

The Sixth International Conference of American States at Havana, 1928, passed a resolution approving obligatory arbitration of legal disputes and conciliation of all others. A conference to carry out this resolution was convened in Washington in December, 1928, and approved a treaty providing a wide scope for obligatory arbitration and conciliation. Practically the only exception from the obligation to submit questions to arbitration is the one covering questions within the "domestic jurisdiction" of either party, and the determination whether a particular issue is within the exception is to be left to the Tribunal—not to either of the parties themselves, as heretofore. This is a great advance. Even the Monroe Doctrine is not excepted. Detailed provisions are elaborated so as to recruit the Tribunal in the event that either country seeks to prevent a decision by failing to appoint judges. Only a few countries made reservations, and these are not fundamental. The treaty is now before the legislatures of the various participating countries for ratification.

Conclusions

International arbitration is a process which must be judged relatively. Its success depends upon the state of the world's political health, and upon a removal of the reasons for that distrust, apprehension and fear which are characteristic of international relations. Those vices have definite stimuli and causes, found in the unregulated and competitive *modus* *vivendi* of the nations. The process of arbitration has thus a relation to armaments, for so long as the competitive struggle in the economic and political field induces distrust, apprehension and fear, it will be reflected in the growth of armaments and in the unwillingness to cultivate peaceful methods of adjusting differences. The world's real problem, therefore, the solution of which would almost automatically reduce armaments and promote arbitration, is to deflate those practices and the accompanying psychology which now make the competition for power and prestige seem normal and natural. The major postulates of international relations require reëxamination, clarification and sanitation if disastrous conflicts are to be averted. Both ends may be therapeutically treated at the same time, the creation of rational institutions and the removal of the causes of hostility. To promote the former, however, while neglecting the latter, is to invite disappointment and danger. No more difficult problem ever engaged the intelligence and ingenuity of thinking people.

IV. THE OUTLAWRY OF WAR

I. TEXT OF THE MULTILATERAL ANTI-WAR TREATY

The President of the German Reich,
The President of the United States of America,
His Majesty the King of the Belgians,
The President of the French Republic,
His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India,
His Majesty the King of Italy,
His Majesty the Emperor of Japan,
The President of the Republic of Poland,
The President of the Czechoslovak Republic,

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind;

Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated;

Convinced that all changes in their relations with one another should be sought only by pacific means and be the result of a peaceful and orderly process, and that any signatory power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty;

Hopeful that, encouraged by their example, all the other nations of the world will join in this humane endeavor and by adhering to the present treaty as soon as it comes into force bring their peoples within the scope of its beneficent provisions, thus uniting the civilized nations of the world in a common renunciation of war as an instrument of their national policy;

Have decided to conclude a treaty and for that purpose have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries: . . .

Who, having communicated to one another their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

Article II. The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

Article III. The present treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties named in the preamble in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, and shall take effect as between them as soon as all their several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at Washington.

This treaty shall, when it has come into effect as prescribed in the preceding paragraph, remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all the other Powers of the world. . . .

2. HISTORY

We have sketched the rise of the peace movement; let us now turn our attention definitely to a study of the contemporary forces which have made possible the outlawry of war. The student of sociology must recognize that, just as in the case of any modern material device, the new advance was contingent upon previous progress. The Paris Pact could never have been adopted by the nations of the world had it not been for the peace ideal which had gradually seeped into the minds of the people and their rulers. Thus in very large measure the peace treaty is the crystallization of world sentiment for peace.

Nevertheless, the concrete means by which a lofty ideal of peace has been precipitated into the cold actualities of an adopted multilateral treaty illustrate the technique of social progress. First of all, some one had to conceive the germ of the new idea and proclaim it to a society which was ripe for its consideration. In this case it was the head of a well-known firm of corporation lawyers, S. O. Levinson, whose mind thought out the idea. He published his thesis in a magazine article in 1918, laying down the proposition that so long as war remained a legal instrument it could never be effectively abolished. He therefore proposed that war be made a crime under international law. He coined the phrase "the outlawry of war" and suggested that it be embodied in a universal treaty backed by a world court which would settle all differences by peaceful means and under the fundamental law that war was illegal.

Levinson endeavored to win "key" men to the support of his proposal. He early presented his idea to the late Senator Knox and to the philosopher John Dewey. Both became public champions of the project. He won great public figures: among others, the prophetic clergyman, John Haynes Holmes, the moral crusader, Col. Raymond Robins, the distinguished woman jurist, Justice Florence E. Allen, and—more important than all others—Senator William E. Borah, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate. Eventually, Presidents Harding and Coolidge mentioned the outlawry proposal in one or more of their messages.

Levinson created a sounding board for his idea in the American Committee for the Outlawry of War, which enabled him to act impersonally even though the headquarters were in his own office.

The debate in the United States Senate in 1919 and 1920 with the acrimonious hostility of the "bitter-enders" to a League of Nations undoubtedly secured some support for outlawry among Senators who were looking for almost any alternative to the League. Events were thus playing into the hands of Levinson, and he was always ready to take advantage of every break.

It would have been difficult for the outlawry idea to become a reality so soon had it not been for William E. Borah. It will be remembered that to him more than to any other man was due the Washington Conference on Disarmament. He had always been the ready champion of peace and international friendship. He had consistently opposed American intervention in Russia and favored Russian recognition. He eagerly championed the outlawry of war and in 1923 offered a resolution in the United States Senate for its adoption. This resolution was franked out to thousands upon thousands of people throughout the country. It became the rallying center for peace organizations and many church bodies.

While Borah was winning converts for the idea by the tens of thousands, Levinson was quietly at work securing still more formidable support for the measure. He finally persuaded a good many peace organizations to agree on a formula of action in favor of the United States' adherence to the World Court provided that the nations should outlaw war within five years.

Mr. Levinson was also fortunate in winning over to his cause the brilliant editor of the *Christian Century,* Charles Clayton Morrison, who in 1926 devoted an entire issue to the outlawry of war and in 1927 published the first book on the subject. This printed material was sent all over the world and bore unexpected fruit in many influential quarters.

In the meanwhile the project had won such widespread support that Senator Borah, who prior to this time had not pushed to a vote his resolution in the Senate, determined to do so in 1927. However, before this was done, on the tenth anniversary of America's entrance into the World War, April 6, 1927, the Foreign Minister of France, M. Aristide Briand, among other things had said to an American reporter that "France would be willing to subscribe publicly with the United States to any mutual engagement tending to outlaw war, to use an American expression, as between these two countries." This chance remark would have probably died of inaction had it not been for the ever alert Levinson.

On reading the proposal of Briand for a bilateral treaty outlawing war, Levinson sailed for France, where he spent three weeks in frequent conversations with the Foreign Office urging it to draft a definite treaty and submit it formally to Washington. He suggested that this treaty be written in language so simple that the ordinary man in the street could understand it, that it should not embody any mechanism for peace, nor should it attempt to distinguish between the kind of war to be outlawed,—to make an exception of defensive war, for instance. His feeling was that if the treaty attempted to deal with a mechanism to attain peace, opinion about the mechanism might be so divided that the outlawry of war, the heart of the proposal, might be lost. It was not long before Briand sent over to the United States the proposed bilateral treaty outlawing war.

While Levinson was at work in France, Senator Borah proposed in the United States that Briand's proposal be enlarged so as to include Great Britain, the United States, France, Japan, and Italy. It would seem, therefore, that Senator Borah had an even more far-sighted strategy in regard to the Briand overture than had Levinson.

Senator Borah was repeatedly called into conference with the Secretary of State and the President and urged on them this point of view. It was thus that in December, 1927 Secretary Kellogg on behalf of the United States offered to sign the outlawry pact provided it could be concluded with the four other leading nations in addition to France and the United States, and would be open to the signature of all the others.

From this time Secretary Kellogg, acting with the aid of Senator Borah, conducted an official correspondence in support of his proposal, first with

France and then with other nations—the original six having been extended to include fifteen in all. This was certainly the outstanding diplomatic achievement of Secretary Kellogg,—probably the only one which will be remembered in history. He conducted the negotiations ably, answering every objection which was raised and standing firmly against reservations of any kind.

On August 27, 1928, in Paris, fifteen nations signed their names to the treaty. Simultaneously the United States Department of State handed to every capital in which it had accredited representatives a copy of the final text of the treaty and all the correspondence in regard to it. The other nations were all invited to adhere to the treaty. Since the United States still maintained an official quarantine of Soviet Russia, the French Government transmitted the invitation to Russia. The response to the invitation was immediate, and by January, 1929, a total of sixty-two states had signified their intention of accepting the general treaty, although they had not all ratified it.

The Soviet Union was the first formally to adhere to the pact, which it did on September 27, 1928. It was not until December that the treaty was sent to the United States Senate for ratification by the President, and on January 15, 1929, it was accepted by a vote of eighty-five to one.

It was scarcely more than six months later when the Briand-Kellogg peace pact came officially into force, on July 24, 1929. Fifteen nations were signatory to it and thirty-one other states adhered, thus making the treaty effective at that time between forty-six countries of the world.

It can thus be seen that from the moment when this idea was first publicly thrown out to the war-weary nations in 1918 to its acceptance by the entire world, a period of approximately eleven years had elapsed. The success of the idea required not only a long historical growth in peace sentiment, but a combination of favorable circumstances and national leadership. Had Senator Borah not been in charge of the Foreign Affairs of the United States Senate, had Briand been unwilling to agree to a multilateral treaty, had Secretary Kellogg been willing to accept reservations, the final acceptance of the proposal might have been delayed for years. It should also be noted that the idea was refracted by the media through which it came into being. The actual Briand-Kellogg pact nowhere mentions "the outlawry of war," nor does it provide the machinery of a world court. Actually the treaty "renounces" war. It takes the basic conception of outlawry and enacts it into reality without proposing any judicial machinery or a new body of law. Nevertheless, however much the refraction, the heart of the original proposal is still there. We have achieved a moral and legal victory for peace that is incalculable. As students of sociology we know that great historic declarations for freedom, for liberty, and for equality have a significance far beyond the technicalities of their phraseology. This pact cannot but make it more difficult for any nation to engage in war. By throwing the moral and legal sanction of the entire world behind those who strive for peace it should make it far more precarious for any nation to embark on war, and it would afford every nation which genuinely wishes peace an opportunity of avoiding precipitate militaristic activity even in the event of actual invasion.

We may say that sociologically the proposal went through the following steps:

1. A consciousness of need for peace on the part of millions of people.
2. A solution not too widely at variance with the culture or vested interests of the dominant groups in the nations concerned.
3. Spreading the consciousness of this need, together with the proposed solution, first among influential leaders and secondarily among the masses of the people.
4. A conflict in solutions.
5. Open discussion of the issue.
6. Seizure of every opening, however small, to advance the project.
7. Willingness to compromise and allow others credit for achievement, provided the basic proposal should not be lost.
8. Its acceptance in principle by several official governments.
9. Its enactment into official international law through a multilateral treaty.
10. Its effect on international action, as shown in such a dispute as the Russo-Chinese conflict over the Manchurian Railway.

3. THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR

The French Government responded to Secretary Kellogg's proposal that the treaty be made multilateral by intimating that its obligations under the League of Nations might stand in the way.

In reply Frank B. Kellogg sent the following letter:

The Secretary of State to the French Ambassador (Claudel)

WASHINGTON, *February 27, 1928*

. . . It is evident from our previous correspondence that the Governments of France and the United States are of one mind in their earnest desire to initiate and promote a new international movement for effective world peace, and that they are in agreement as to the essential principles of the procedure to be followed in the accomplishment of their common purpose. As I understand your note of January 21, 1928, the only substantial obstacle in the way of the unqualified acceptance by France of the proposals which I submitted in my notes of December 28, 1927, and January 11, 1928, is your Government's doubt whether as a member of the League of Nations and a party to the treaties of Locarno and other treaties guaranteeing neutrality, France can agree with the United States and the other principal world powers not to resort to war in their mutual relations, without *ipso facto* violating her present international obligations under those treaties. In your excellency's last note this question was suggested for consideration.

Without, of course, undertaking formally to construe the present treaty obligations of France, I desire to point out that if those obligations can be interpreted so as to permit France to conclude a treaty with the United States such as that offered to me last July by M. Briand and offered again in your note of January 21, 1928, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they can be interpreted with equal justice so as to permit France to join with the United States in offering to conclude an equivalent multilateral treaty with the other principal powers ot the world. The difference between the bilateral and multilateral form of treaty having for its object the unqualified renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, seems to me to be one of degree and not of substance. A Government free to conclude such a bilateral treaty should be no less able to become a party to an identical multilateral treaty since it is hardly to be presumed that members of the League of Nations are in a position to do separately something they cannot do together. I earnestly hope, therefore, that your Government, which admittedly perceives no bar to the conclusion of an unqualified anti-war treaty with the United States alone, will be able to satisfy itself that an equivalent treaty among the principal world powers would be equally consistent with membership in the League of Nations. If, however, members of the League of Nations cannot, without violating the terms of the Covenant of the League, agree among themselves and with the Government of the United States to renounce war as an instrument of their national policy, it seems idle to discuss either bilateral or multilateral treaties unreservedly renouncing war. I am reluctant to believe, however, that the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations really stand in the way of the coöperation of the United States and members of the League of Nations in a common effort to abolish the institution of war. Of no little interest in this connection is the recent adoption of a resolution by the Sixth International Conference of American States expressing in the name of the American Republics unqualified condemnation of war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations. It is significant to note that of the twenty-one states represented at the Conference, seventeen are members of the League of Nations.

I trust, therefore, that neither France nor any other member of the League of Nations will finally decide that an unequivocal and unqualified renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy either violates the specific obligations imposed by the Covenant or conflicts with the fundamental idea and purpose of the League of Nations. On the contrary, is it not entirely reasonable to conclude that a formal engagement of this character entered into by all of the principal powers, and ultimately, I trust, by the entire family of nations, would be a most effective instrument for promoting the great ideal of peace which the League itself has so closely at heart? If, however, such a declaration were accompanied by definitions of the word "aggressor" and by exceptions and qualifications stipulating when nations would be justified in going to war, its effect would be very greatly weakened and its positive value as a guaranty of peace virtually destroyed. The ideal which inspires the effort so sincerely and so hopefully put forward by your Government and mine is arresting and appealing just because of its purity and simplicity; and I cannot avoid the feeling that if governments should publicly acknowledge that they can only deal with this ideal in a technical spirit and must insist upon the adoption of reservations impairing, if not utterly destroying the true significance of their common endeavors, they would be in effect only recording their impotence, to the keen disappointment of mankind in general.

From the broad standpoint of humanity and civilization, all war is an assault upon the stability of human society, and should be suppressed in the common interest. The Government of the United States desires to see the institution of war abolished, and stands ready to conclude with the French, British, Italian, German and Japanese Governments a single multilateral treaty open to subsequent adherence by any and all other governments, binding the parties thereto not to resort to war with one another. The precise language to be employed in such a treaty is a matter of indifference to the United States so long as it clearly and unmistakably sets forth the determination of the parties to abolish war among themselves. I therefore renew the suggestion contained in my note of January 11, 1928, that the Government of France join with the Government of the United States in transmitting to the British, Italian, German and Japanese Governments for their consideration and comment the text of M. Briand's original proposal, together with copies of the subsequent correspondence between France and the United States as a basis for preliminary discussions looking to the conclusion of an appropriate multilateral treaty proscribing recourse to war.

Accept [etc.]

FRANK B. KELLOGG

4. THE PACT SANCTIONS WAR[21]

I

The origin of the negotiations between the United States and other powers leading to the conclusion of the so-called Briand-Kellogg Pact for the renunciation of war is well known. Beginning with an expression of good-will in M. Briand's note of April 6, 1927, commemorating the entry of the United States into the war and expressing France's willingness to conclude a treaty renouncing war between France and the United States, the negotiations developed rapidly. On June 20, 1927, the French Foreign Minister presented the draft of a treaty embodying his proposal, providing for a condemnation of "recourse to war" and renouncing war as between France and the United States as an "instrument of their national policy." The settlement of all disputes was never to be sought "except by pacific means."

On December 28, 1927, Mr. Kellogg proposed to the French ambassador the extension of the proposed declaration to all the principal Powers. It was argued in the United States that, if the treaty were signed by the United States and France alone, it would be a treaty of alliance. In his accompanying draft of a treaty, Mr. Kellogg recommended the outright and unconditional renunciation of war and the solution of disputes by pacific means only.

The French press was critical. It was maintained that France had obligations to the League of Nations and could not make these new commitments. But the criticism was dropped after forty-eight hours on the publication of the French reply undertaking to renounce "wars of aggression." This gave apparently a new turn to the negotiations. The State Department did not reply officially, but officers of the Department pointed out that the term "aggressive" changed the entire meaning of the proposition and was not acceptable to the United States. In this position the State Department seems to have had the support of the American press. Editorially it was agreed that "renunciation of aggressive war" was too intricate an expression to define and that the French interpolation of this qualification left Mr. Kellogg's proposition denatured of its vital part and meaningless. Mr. Kellogg pointed out in his new note that the first French note of June 20, 1927, contained no limitation of wars of aggression. In this connection it is well to note that Sir Austen Chamberlain rejected the attempted definition of "aggressor" in the Geneva Protocol as, I believe, one who declines to submit a dispute to discussion in these words: "I therefore remain opposed to this attempt to define the 'aggressor' because I believe that it will be a trap for the innocent and a signpost for the guilty."

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[21] An address delivered at the Williamstown Institute of Politics, August 22, 1928, by Edwin Borchard, Yale University.

Considerable correspondence took place in the early part of 1928 as to the construction to be given to the proposed treaty. In his note of February 27, 1928, in explaining his objection to qualifications on the obligation to renounce war, Mr. Kellogg stated:

> "The ideal which inspires the effort so sincerely and so hopefully put forward by your [the French] Government and mine is arresting and appealing just because of its purity and simplicity; and I cannot avoid the feeling that if governments should publicly acknowledge that they can only deal with this ideal in a technical spirit and must insist on the adoption of reservations impairing, if not utterly destroying, the true significance of their common endeavors, they would be in effect only recording their impotence, to the keen disappointment of mankind in general."

The same thought was expressed in Mr. Kellogg's speech to the Council on Foreign Relations on March 15, 1928, in which he said:

> "It seems to me that any attempt to define the word 'aggression,' and by exceptions and qualifications to stipulate when nations are justified in going to war with one another, would greatly weaken the effect of any treaty such as that under consideration and virtually destroy its positive value as a 'guaranty of peace.'"

The subsequent negotiations, however, disclose the unfortunate fact that these very exceptions and qualifications to which Mr. Kellogg objected as so nullifying in effect have, in fact, found their way into the treaty as now universally construed.

The French Government maintained that the treaties must be construed so as not to bar the right of legitimate defense, the performance of obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations, under the treaties of Locarno, under its treaties of alliance with its allies—now for some unexplainable reason called treaties of neutrality—that the treaty was to become ineffective if violated by one nation, and that it was to be signed by every state before it became effective as to any state. With the exception of this last reservation, Secretary Kellogg agreed to this interpretation of the French Government in his speech before the American Society of International Law on April 28, 1928, and incorporated his interpretation of the reservations as to self-defense, wars under the League Covenant, under the treaties of Locarno, and certain undefined and evidently unknown "neutrality" treaties, in his note of June 23, 1928, to the Powers, some fifteen in number, adding that "none of these governments has expressed any dissent from the above-quoted construction."

In his note of May 19, 1928, accepting the American proposition in principle, Sir Austen Chamberlain for Great Britain expressed his assent to the reservations made by France and added a new one in the following paragraph:

> "There are certain regions of the world, the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety. His Majesty's Government have been at pains to make it clear in the past that interference with these regions cannot be suffered. Their protection against attack is to the British Empire a measure of self-defense. It must be clearly understood that *His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accept the new treaty upon the distinct understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect.* The Government of the United States have comparable interests, any disregard of which by a foreign Power they have declared they would regard as an unfriendly act." (Italics mine.)

The words in italics were repeated in the British note of July 18, 1928, undertaking to sign the treaty only on the understanding that the British Government maintained this freedom of action with respect to those regions of the world in which it had "a special and vital interest."

II

The original proposition of Mr. Kellogg was an unconditional renunciation of war. *The treaty now qualified by the French and British reservations constitutes no renunciation or outlawry of war, but in fact and in law a solemn sanction for all wars mentioned in the exceptions and qualifications.* When we look at the exceptions we observe that they include wars of self-defense, each party being free to make its own interpretation as to when self-defense is involved, wars under the League Covenant, under the Locarno treaties, and under the French treaties of alliance. If self-defense could be limited to the terms "to defend its territory from attack or invasion," as suggested by Mr. Kellogg, it would be of some value, but it is understood that no specific definition of self-defense is necessarily accepted.

Considering these reservations, it would be difficult to conceive of any wars that nations have fought within the past century, or are likely to fight in the future, that cannot be accommodated under these exceptions. Far from constituting an outlawry of war, they constitute the most definite sanction of specific wars that has ever been promulgated. War heretofore has been deemed like a disease—neither legal nor illegal. Now by a world treaty, the excepted wars obtain the stamp of legality. This cannot be charged primarily to Secretary Kellogg, whose intentions were of the best, but is a result of the reservations insisted upon by European Powers, which, it is still to be feared, comprehend peace as a condition of affairs achieved through war or the threat of war. The mere renunciation of war in the abstract in the first article of the treaty has but little scope for application, in view of the wars in the concrete, which the accompanying construction of the treaty sanctions. It is idle to suppose that the official construction given to the treaty by all the signatory Powers is not as much an integral part of the treaty as if it had been written into Article I.

Again it will be noticed that we recognize a British claim to use war as an instrument of national policy in certain undefined "regions of the world," any "interference" with which by anybody, including the United States, will be regarded by Great Britain as a cause of war. To this we subscribe. When the United States at the first Hague Conference secured recognition by our cosignatories for the Monroe Doctrine, it was regarded as an achievement of American diplomacy. But the Monroe Doctrine has geographical limits known to everybody. To this new British claim there are no geographical limits. The vague and expansive terms of the British claim to make war, now recognized by us, covers any part of the world in which Britain has "a special and vital interest." No such broad claim of the right to make war has ever before been recognized.

But the most extraordinary feature of this treaty still remains to be mentioned. It will have been noticed that we recognize the legality of League wars and Locarno wars. As Europe correctly seems to assume, we are now bound by League decisions as to "aggressors" and League policy generally, but without any opportunity to take part in the deliberations leading to League conclusions. We indeed recognize by this treaty the legal right of the League to make war even against us, and it will be observed that Sir Austen Chamberlain in his note of May 19, 1928, frankly admits that respect for the obligations arising out of the Covenant is "the foundation of the policy" of Great Britain. Whether the further European claim that we are bound to *support* League conclusions as to "aggressor" nations, and other political conclusions, either by joining with the League or by refusing to trade with the League-declared pariah, is sustainable or not, at the very best it places us in the uncomfortable position either of being bound by decisions in the making of which we had no part or of having recriminations leveled against us for refusing to support our treaty.

The new contract begins with diverse interpretations of its obligations, for European views, reflected by Mr. Edwin James, of the New York *Times,* leave no doubt that Europe regards this treaty as a means of involving us in European politics. And we are entangled in the most dangerous way, for we are bound by decisions made in our absence, even decisions made against ourselves—because the recognition of the French and British reservations, now made the authoritative interpretation of the treaty by all the signatories, is a commitment for us. Our hands are tied, not theirs. The reservations are made at our expense, not theirs. Far better and safer would it be had we openly joined the League of Nations and been privileged to take part in deliberations which may lead to most important consequences. We might have been able to prevent undesirable conclusions and use our bargaining power to obtain occasional benefits and advantages instead of disadvantages only. We are now about to sign a treaty in which we expressly recognize the right of the other signatories to make war upon anybody, including ourselves, for the purpose of enforcing, even against us, their mutual obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations, not to mention individual undefined national interests in any part of the world. They alone will determine the occasion of such action, without our participation.

In justice to Europe, it cannot be said that they have left us in doubt as to their conception of our obligations. Indeed, these obligations are expressly or implicitly contained in the very reservations which the United States has accepted. Should we repudiate these commitments, we shall be denounced as a violator of our own treaty and not without some justification.

It has not been a pleasant task to analyze this Pact of Paris. The original American proposal was progressive, pure and simple, to use Mr. Kellogg's expression. The European amendments transformed the proposal into something entirely different—into a universal sanction for war, into a recognition by us of Europe's right to wage war, even against the United States, whenever the individual interests of certain nations are deemed to require it and whenever the League, in its uncontrolled discretion, decides upon it.

Need more be said? Would it not be far better either to join the League outright and have a share in those deliberations which to us may be so portentous or, better still, make the recourse to arbitration of justiciable issues and the submission to conciliation of non-justiciable issues obligatory at the request of either party? That would be a positive commitment which would make war extremely difficult, whereas the present treaties make war extremely easy. It is to be doubted whether the supposed valuable psychological effects of renunciation of war in the abstract can counterbalance the positive recognition of the legality of war in the concrete—not to speak of its commitments for American foreign policy. If this treaty is ever ratified, the test of its efficacy will be its effect on a limitation of armaments. The President's declaration that it is not expected to have any such effect and the avowed pleasure of certain foreign official newspapers at that promise hardly justify at the moment strong hopes of such a result. The abolition of war will, therefore, have to be pursued along other lines. Possibly in the elimination of the economic causes of conflict, including the attempted monopoly of raw materials and markets, and in the entente of business interests across national boundaries, there lies more hope than in legal efforts to preserve by force the *status quo*. Other machinery is needed to make changes in existing conditions, when time and circumstances require. To that effort but little attention has yet been paid. These matters are mentioned merely to indicate that, even if the Pact of Paris is not ratified or is accompanied by explanatory reservations on our part, the solution of the problem of war and peace among independent nations has, perhaps, hardly been begun.

5. AN ANALYSIS OF THE PACT[22]

WHAT WARS ARE ACTUALLY PROHIBITED?

Article I of the pact states that:

"The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another."

As a result of interpretative notes, the leading parties to the pact have made it clear that this renunciation does not apply to war in the following cases:

1. In self-defense.
2. Against any State which breaks the treaty.
3. In execution of obligations under the League Covenant.
4. In execution of obligations under the Locarno agreements.
5. In execution of obligations under treaties guaranteeing neutrality, which presumably include the French alliances.

Such is the list of wars which the pact does not prohibit. Some critics state that they are so wide as to make the pact of little value. Prof. Edwin M. Borchard has stated, "Considering these reservations, it would be difficult to conceive of any wars that nations have fought within the past century, or are likely to fight in the future, that cannot be accommodated under these exceptions. Far from constituting an outlawry of war, they constitute the most solemn sanction of specific wars that has ever been given to the world."

It may be argued, however, that instead of sanctioning the excepted wars, the anti-war treaty leaves these wars in exactly the same status as they were before the pact was signed—no more and no less legal. The actual range of the above exceptions can be determined only after an analysis of the circumstances under which these exceptions become effective.

The Right of Self-Defense

While the pacifists have long argued against the use of any force in international relations, no State has agreed to give up the right of self-defense, and it is difficult to conceive of any State so doing. The authors of the "outlawry of war" movement in the United States, did not propose to abolish the right of self-defense.

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[22] From the Foreign Policy Information Service, Nov. 9, 1928.

Coöperative Defense

The sanctions under the Covenant, the Locarno agreement, and the French alliances seemed to be based upon this same principle of self-defense. The sanctions do not constitute a primary right to go to war. They may be invoked only on behalf of a State which is illegally attacked and which is acting in the name of self-defense. If, for example, the territory of State A is invaded by State B, State A may, subject to the provisions of the Covenant, resist the invading army as an act of self-defense. It may also receive aid from the parties of the Covenant, of Locarno and of the French alliances, provided State A is a party to these agreements. In other words, when force is employed under these agreements it is in the nature of coöperative defense.

President Coolidge has insisted that despite the anti-war pact an adequate army and navy is still necessary for the self-defense of the United States. In other words good faith is not an adequate guarantee.

If it is legitimate for one State to maintain forces to defend itself, is it illegitimate for States jointly to maintain forces for coöperative defense? Without such sanctions it is argued that the reduction of armaments by each State is impossible. Without such sanctions small States, unable to maintain large armaments, may live under the fear of attack by well-armed powers. . . .

Self-Defense and International Law

Under international law, the term self-defense has often been given a wider meaning than in private law. And what is of even more importance, each State has decided for itself when the application of the doctrine is justified; there has been no international jury or tribunal to decide the limits of the doctrine.

General von Moltke, Chief of the German General Staff, and the military party in Germany believed in fighting wars of defensive aggression or "preventive wars." The enemy should be attacked before he can attack.

The same view of self-defense was stated by Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg before the Reichstag at the outbreak of the World War when he asked, "were we to wait until the Powers between whom we are sandwiched chose their time to strike?" The Reichstag and the German people originally believed that in this contest they were fighting a war of self-defense to forestall the "encirclement" policy of the Allies.

The European system of alliances has been generally regarded as instrumental in causing the World War. Yet these alliances were "defensive" in nature. The preamble to the military convention of 1892 between

France and Russia declared that both States had "no other object than to meet the necessities of a defensive war, provoked by an attack of the forces of the Triple Alliance." The Triple Alliance of 1882 between Austria-Hungary, Germany and Italy was declared to have an "essentially conservative and defensive nature." Competition in armaments may likewise be carried on in the name of "self-defense."

Aggressive "Self-Defense"

Moreover, as the origin of the Franco-German War of 1870 shows, it is possible for a State, acting technically in self-defense, to engage upon a war to achieve aggressive ends. The occasion for this war was the succession of a Prussian prince to the Spanish throne, which the French Government vigorously opposed. Bismarck, who for various reasons had desired a war with France, brought the dispute to a head on July 13, 1870, by editing the famous Ems dispatch to the effect that, in view of the French demands, the Prussian Emperor had virtually told the French Ambassador, Beneditti, to leave the country. This was a misrepresentation of the situation. Coming at the end of a period of tension, the Ems dispatch aroused an emotion in France which made conciliation impossible and which led the French Government on July 17, to declare war. French troops thereupon moved across the Rhine and took Saarbrücken. The German army, under Moltke, soon administered an overwhelming defeat to France, and Germany imposed a peace treaty which deprived France of Alsace-Lorraine and imposed an indemnity of five billion francs. Such was the result of a war in which France had been technically the "aggressor" and Germany had acted in "self-defense."

The question of whether or not facts warranted the application of the doctrine of self-defense arose in the *Caroline* affair. During a rebellion in Canada in 1837, armed men from across the Canadian border attacked, upon American territory, the *Caroline*—a vessel belonging to Canadian insurgents. The subject became a matter of correspondence between the two governments, in which Lord Palmerston assumed responsibility for the destruction of the *Caroline,* as a public act of force, in self-defense. Mr. Webster, American Secretary of State, admitted the existence of the "great law of self-defense," but said the necessity should be " 'instant, overwhelming, and leaving no choice of means and no moment for deliberation.' "

Although no agreement upon this point was reached, discussion was dropped in view of the fact that the British Government apologized for entering American territory. Unlike the cases discussed above the *Caroline* case involved measures of force taken by Great Britain against individuals on American soil. These measures were not directed against the American Government. Nevertheless, had the United States and Great Britain been on unfriendly terms, the dispute over the meaning of "self-defense" in this case might have led to war.

The United States upon several occasions has invoked the doctrine of self-defense to invade foreign territory. In 1814 Major-General Jackson marched into West Florida, then a possession of Spain, during the war between the United States and Great Britain. In justification of this conduct, it was declared that the Seminole Indians in West Florida had been plotting against the United States. On November 28, 1818, Secretary of State Adams defended the occupation of Spanish territory "as a necessary measure of self-defense. . . ."

In 1836 the United States defended the pursuit on Mexican territory of bands of Indians "upon the immutable principles of self-defense—upon the principles which justify decisive measures of precaution to prevent irreparable evil to our own or to a neighboring people."

The doctrines advanced by the United States in the case of the *Caroline,* the Seminole Indians, etc., apply to instances where the offenders have been individuals located upon foreign territory. These doctrines might not necessarily apply, therefore, between States.

Self-Defense and the Monroe Doctrine

It has been agreed that the anti-war pact does not prevent the signatories from going to war in self-defense and that each State decides for itself "where circumstances require to war in self-defense." Several definitions of this doctrine have recently been advanced in connection with the anti-war negotiations. Thus the British Government declared that the protection of certain regions constituted for the British "a measure of self-defense." The United States did not mention the Monroe Doctrine during the course of the negotiations; nevertheless, the question is frequently asked, what effect will the pact have upon this Doctrine and its enforcement? It has been suggested that the United States will regard the use of force under the Monroe Doctrine as an act of self-defense.

The use of force by the United States under the Monroe Doctrine is conceivable under at least three circumstances:

(1) To repel the military invasion of a Latin American State by a non-American power.

(2) To intervene in Latin American countries where disorders threaten foreign interests.

(3) To prevent the execution of agreements between Latin American and non-American powers providing for the establishment of naval bases, etc., which in the opinion of the United States might endanger its security.

If, under the anti-war pact, State X should invade a Latin American State, and assuming that both States were parties to the anti-war pact, the

United States would recover its freedom under the pact with reference to State X. There would be no conflict between the treaty and this aspect of the Monroe Doctrine. The same consideration would apply to the execution of the treaty of November 3, 1903, between the United States and Panama. In this treaty, the United States "guarantees and will maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama." It may be argued that the obligations of the United States vis-à-vis Panama under this treaty are similar to the obligations of other States under the Covenant and the Locarno agreement. In case Panama is attacked, the United States, under this treaty, would presumably be obliged to lend it military support. If both Panama and the attacking power are parties to the anti-war pact, the United States would be free to act with respect to the attacking power which had thus violated the anti-war pact. If Panama should not become a party to the pact, the United States would apparently have to justify the use of force against a signatory to the pact in behalf of Panama, on the ground of self-defense; *i.e.,* of defending the Panama Canal Zone. The United States holds this zone under perpetual lease and for the purposes of the treaty it would probably be regarded as part of the territory of the United States.

But will the pact prevent the United States from continuing its policy of military intervention in Central American countries? The United States delegation at Havana vigorously opposed a non-intervention resolution at the time when the United States was carrying on its anti-war negotiations. The government of the United States has frequently carried on military operations without any direct authorization of Congress, although that body under the Constitution has the power to declare war. Moreover, a number of governments have landed marines or other troops in disorderly countries for the purpose of protecting foreign interests without regarding such an act as necessarily creating a state of war.

It may be argued, therefore, that the anti-war pact does not affect the right of temporary intervention by the United States or other powers. Nevertheless if the anti-war pact does not prohibit the United States from intervening in Latin America, it does not prevent European governments from doing so for the same reason. The question therefore arises, how may the United States, under the anti-war pact, forcibly prevent European intervention in Latin America, unless it justifies the use of force for this purpose on the ground of self-defense?

Any such definition of self-defense has been regarded with wide misgivings. It has been argued that the solution of the difficulty is in placing all intervention under some form of international control which will prevent the abuse of intervention for the ends of a single power.

Will the pact prevent the United States from using force to prevent a Latin American State from granting naval bases, etc., to a non-American power? Hitherto any such agreement has been regarded as a danger to the security of the United States, and it is possible to argue that any preventive acts to forestall such a danger would be "self-defense" within the meaning of the pact. Nevertheless, if all the parties to the pact should support this doctrine of "preventive" wars, it is difficult to conceive of any war which the pact actually prohibits. In considering the necessity of adopting a reservation to this effect, the question should be asked whether the fear of such agreements is of more than theoretical importance; and also whether or not the danger, if it exists, cannot be guarded against by other means. At the Washington Conference the British, American and Japanese Governments signed an agreement providing for the *status quo* in regard to naval bases in the Pacific. A similar agreement might be negotiated among the various American governments.

Protest Against the British Doctrine

It would seem possible to give the term "self-defense" perhaps as many divergent interpretations as the term "aggressive war." Moreover, the policy which one State defends on the ground of "self-defense" may be criticized by another State on the ground of "aggression," or "imperialism." Thus in its note of August 31, 1928, the Soviet Government criticized the so-called British Monroe Doctrine. It stated that the recognition of the British claim "might be an example for other nations to follow." The probable result would be that there would not be a single spot in the world where the terms of the pact were applicable. The Soviet Government could not "but regard this reservation as an attempt to use the pact itself as an instrument of imperialistic policy."

Likewise the president of the Wafd, the Egyptian Nationalist party, and the presidents of the Egyptian Senate and Chamber protested against the British reservation. The first declared that the peace of the world could not be assured if such a reservation could cover "imperialistic enterprises having no other justification than force." In signifying its intention to adhere to the pact on September 4, the Egyptian Government stated that such adherence was not to be considered as "implying any admission of any reserve whatever made in connection with the pact."

In its note of October 4, 1928, in regard to the pact, the Persian Government also declared that "the reservations made by certain powers," cannot under any circumstances or at any time create on the part of Persia any obligations whatsoever to recognize anything possibly susceptible of contravening its territorial and maritime rights and possessions.

On October 31, 1928, the Turkish Government sent a declaration to the United States adhering to the anti-war pact, "subject to the ratification of its action by the Grand National Assembly." In a note the Turkish Government declared, in part:

"Believing that the treaties of neutrality concluded between Turkey and other states are in harmony in spirit and in letter with the aim and significance of the treaty. . . . Turkey agrees to sign the pact without reservations . . . and considers itself reciprocally bound by the text of the proposed act exclusive of all the documents which have not been submitted as an integral part of the pact to the collective signature of the participating states."

This last sentence is an apparent reference to the British reservation in regard to "special interests," since in the note quoted above Turkey agrees to the "explanations" given in the American note of June 23.

Thus Egypt, Persia and Turkey have made reservations in regard to the British Monroe Doctrine. Afghanistan has not yet replied, but within recent years it has usually acted in agreement with its neighbors. Russia has also protested, as we have seen, against the British reservation. . . .

The Interpretations

During the anti-war pact negotiations, Secretary Kellogg declined to accept amendments or reservations to the pact. Any such reservations, he said, would weaken its purity and simplicity. Naturally he would be opposed to similar reservations or amendments by the United States Senate. Nevertheless, in his address to the American Society of International Law, Mr. Kellogg was the first to lay down "interpretations" which other governments subsequently accepted in place of amendments or reservations.

On August 8 the press reported Secretary Kellogg as follows: "Interpretations to the multilateral treaty to renounce war are in no way a part of the pact and cannot be considered as reservations." It was stated that the interpretations will not be deposited in the text of the treaty. Whether or not the President transmits the interpretative notes to the Senate with the text of the treaty, the Senate already has access to the text of the diplomatic correspondence embodying these interpretations. In determining whether or not to vote for the treaty, each Senator will thus be able to construe the treaty in the light of these interpretations.

If the terms of the treaty were precise, these interpretations might not be of importance. But in this case the treaty merely renounces war "as an instrument of national policy"—a phrase susceptible of wide and varying meanings. It does not seem possible to interpret this phrase without reference to the interpretations given it by Secretary Kellogg in his address to the American Society of International Law and in the notes of the various governments which preceded the signature of the pact.

In 1850 the United States and Switzerland signed a most-favored-nation treaty. In 1898 the Swiss Government declared that this treaty entitled it to receive unconditional most-favored-nation treatment by virtue of an interpretation made by Switzerland at the time of signing the treaty and which was accepted then by the American Minister. Secretary John

Hay agreed to this position, although it contradicted the customary American policy of negotiating only conditional most-favored-nation treaties. Secretary John Hay investigated the Swiss contention, and in a note of November 21, 1898 declared:

> "As a result of this investigation, it appears that the Executive Department was advised by its plenipotentiary of the alleged understanding, that the dispatch indicating it was communicated by the President to the Senate in connection with the treaty submitted for ratification, and that the treaty was ratified without amendment of the clauses in question.
>
> "Under these circumstances we believe it to be our duty to acknowledge the equity of the reclamation presented by your Government. Both justice and honor require that the common understanding of the high contracting parties at the time of the executing of the treaty should be carried into effect."

A second precedent may be found in an exchange of notes of April 4, 1908, between Secretary of State Elihu Root and Ambassador Bryce, at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Arbitration between Great Britain and the United States. These notes declared that the final sentence of Article II has been inserted in order to preserve to both governments the freedom of action "secured to the United States Government under their constitution until any Agreement which may have been arrived at shall have been notified to be finally binding and operative by an exchange of Notes." It was also "understood that this Treaty will not apply to existing pecuniary claims nor to the negotiation and conclusion of treaties for the settlement of questions connected with Boundary Waters."

These notes were sent to the Senate for its information along with the treaty, but the notes were not mentioned in the Senate resolution, the instrument of ratification or the *procés-verbal* of exchange, all of which take the customary form.

The status of the interpretative notes is of more than academic interest for two reasons. First, some Senators may, before approving the pact, desire to secure a definition of the term "self-defense," especially in its relation to the Monroe Doctrine. In view of the interpretations made by various governments to the treaty, would the Senate be justified in making interpretations of its own?

Second, would approval of the anti-war pact without reservations or interpretations mean approval by the United States of the interpretations of other governments?

The Soviet Government declared in its note of August 31 that "inasmuch as the note of the British Government has not been communicated to the Soviet Government as an integral part of the compact or its supplement, it therefore cannot be considered obligatory for the Soviet Government." Nevertheless, the British Government did transmit its interpretative notes to the League of Nations having a membership of fifty odd States. And Mr. Kellogg tacitly accepted these interpretations, in the correspondence leading up to the treaty. Despite its statement that the British interpretations were of no legal value, the Soviet Government felt it necessary to say that it could not agree with any reservations "which can serve as justification for war." In adhering to the pact the Egyptian, Turkish and Persian Governments also declared that they could not be bound by the reservations of the other parties. . . .

The Pact and the Causes of War

More than three centuries ago, Albericus Gentilis wrote in his *De Jure Belli:* "In the absence of a supreme tribunal charged with passing judgment on international disputes, and in the absence of a super-state charged with the power to carry out the judgments of such a tribunal, States have no other alternative than to resort to force in order to have their rights recognized and their interests respected."

The movement in favor of international organization during the last few years has usually assumed that if war is to be effectively banned, some peaceful means for settling disputes must be established.

During the negotiation of the anti-war pact, the French, Polish and Czechoslovak Governments, all of which have profited from the 1919-1920 peace treaties, stressed the belief that the anti-war pact would, to quote the French note, perpetuate "pacific and friendly relations under the contractual conditions on which they are to-day established."

Freezing the Status Quo

Does this statement mean that the States regard the anti-war pact as one more step in freezing the *status quo?* Do they regard the pact as an added guarantee that the boundaries established in the peace treaties shall not be changed by force? In a note of October 6, 1928, the Hungarian Government, which lost territory as a result of the World War, informed the United States that it adhered to the anti-war pact "under the supposition that the Government of the United States as well as the governments of the other signatory powers will seek to find the means of rendering it possible that in the future injustices may be remedied by peaceful means."

Article 11 of the anti-war pact declares:

> "The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise between them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

This article does not seem to create a positive obligation to *settle* disputes by pacific means. It merely provides that they shall not be settled by non-pacific means. Neither does this article define the procedure to be followed. In his address of August 27, M. Briand declared, "Peace is proclaimed. That is well; that is much. But it still remains necessary to organize it. In the solution of difficulties, right and not might must prevail. That is to be the work of to-morrow."

The argument that the pact freezes the *status quo* and hence is undesirable is weakened by the fact that Germany who is vigorously opposed to the freezing of the *status quo* was among the first to support the anti-war treaty. Nearly a year before the signature of the anti-war pact Dr. Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, had declared, "there does not exist in Germany any responsible man who would be criminal enough to drag Germany into a war with any power whatsoever, neither in the west nor in the east." Germany does not like some of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, but Germany does not wish to change them by force. Apparently Germany believes that the conclusion of the anti-war pact will make for a better international feeling and that this feeling will lead to voluntary readjustments in the peace treaties of immensely more value than any attempted readjustments by force.

Moreover, as the Graeco-Bulgarian incident shows, the Members of the League have accepted already the obligation of pacific settlement and erected machinery to assure peace. Article 11 of the League gives any Member of the League "the friendly right" to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends." Article 19 gives the Assembly the right to advise the consideration of treaties "which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world."

The Members of the League have therefore devised machinery, imperfect as it may be, for the settlement of disputes. Through its arbitration agreements, its "Bryan Peace Commission treaties" and the anti-war pact, the United States has accepted the same obligations. But it has yet held back from participation in machinery to make the application of the obligations effective. It has not associated itself with the general activities of the League.

The Question of Sanctions

The first part of this report has shown that many States have emphasized the principle of sanctions or of coöperative defense. Many of them have stated that unless they can rely upon help from other States in case of attack they cannot disarm. Nevertheless, unlike the Covenant of the League, the anti-war pact contains no sanctions. If one party violates the pact, the other States do not promise to do anything about it; they simply are relieved of their obligation not to go to war against the guilty State. Nevertheless, in the case of wars prohibited by the Covenant, the violation of the pact by a League Member would encounter the sanctions imposed by Members of the League. The main sanction provided for in the Covenant is an economic boycott. The opinion has been frequently expressed that the League could not successfully apply such a boycott against a violator of the Covenant, so long as the United States, whose commercial interests would be immediately affected by such a boycott, insisted upon adhering to the old laws of neutrality which had been based on the legality of war.

Several attempts to waive these traditional neutral rights of the United States in the case of an aggressor have been made. The original Burton resolution introduced December 5, 1927, declared that the policy of the United States was to prohibit the export of arms to an aggressor country, as determined by the President. Objection to the original resolution was made on the ground that in prohibiting the export of arms to one belligerent and not to another, the United States would be violating the rules of neutrality. This objection would now seem to have been met by the anti-war pact; *i.e.,* if a State goes to war in violation of the pact, the United States is under no obligation to treat it as a neutral but as a State which has violated its obligations.

While the United States has not undertaken any obligations to apply sanctions against a State which violates the anti-war pact, it is argued that the United States will feel morally bound to support the pact of which it is the author by waiving its "neutral rights" in case the League members should attempt to impose an economic boycott against a State which violates the pact and the Covenant at the same time. On July 30, 1928, Sir Austen Chamberlain declared in the House of Commons that the importance of the anti-war treaty depended on "how the rest of the world thought the United States was going to judge the action of the aggressor, and whether they would help or hinder him in his aggression."

It has also been suggested that every party to the anti-war pact will feel morally bound to act against a State which violates it regardless of the particular issue. M. Briand declared on August 27 that a guilty State "would run the positive risk of seeing all of them gradually and freely gather against it with redoubtable consequences that would not long be ensuing."

Senator Borah in an interview in the New York *Times* of March 25, 1928, declared:

> "Another important result of such a treaty [the anti-war treaty] would be to enlist the support of the United States in coöperative action against any nation which is guilty of a flagrant violation of this outlawry agreement. Of course, the Government of the United States must reserve the right to decide, in the first place, whether or not the treaty has been violated, and second,

what coercive measures it feels obliged to take. But it is quite inconceivable that this country would stand idly by in case of a grave breach of a multilateral treaty to which it is a party."

At present the League of Nations Council has been given the authority to conciliate disputes arising among the great majority of the States of the world and the action of the Council may therefore be of importance in bringing about or preventing war; or of stigmatizing as an aggressor a State which goes to war. Obviously such a decision may vitally offend the interests of the United States and it is argued that the anti-war pact will morally oblige the United States to accept the conditions thus created whereas otherwise it could protest against it. Commenting on this situation Professor Edwin Borchard has stated: "Far better and safer would it be had we openly joined the League of Nations and been privileged to take part in deliberations which may lead to most important consequences. . . .

M. Jules Sauerwein, prominent French journalist, stated in the New York *Times* that "the United States Government becomes the moral guardian of the *status quo* created by the Peace Treaty and subsequent treaties." After reviewing the disputes over Vilna and Danzig, Italian ambitions in North Africa, Jugoslavia's demand in regard to Salonika, Bulgaria's aspiration in regard to Constantinople, and Russia's threat to peace, he concludes: "We can see what a magnificent thing the United States has undertaken in seeking to prevent another war in unfortunate Europe."

On the other hand, Lord Cushenden, Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared in an interview at Paris at the time of signing the pact that he did not think the pact would make any "modification" in the American "attitude of aloofness from European complications, although there are some of us who might wish otherwise. There is no implication or any indication on the part of America to concern itself with European affairs."

Moreover it may be argued that the United States is not bound in any way by the anti-war pact to pay attention to any decisions of the League. The ratification of the pact will not change the legal relationship between the United States and the League. The United States will still have the right to decide whether or not a State going to war has done so in self-defense. Moreover, even if the anti-war pact were not in existence, the United States would be affected by a decision of the League Council just as the United States would be inevitably affected by another European war.

As far as sanctions are concerned, the anti-war pact is important from another angle: it would seem to prevent a State from resorting to self-help to enforce a claim against another State. Suppose, for example, that the United States and State X submitted a dispute to an arbitral tribunal and that the tribunal decided in favor of the United Sates. Suppose also that State X refused to execute the award. Under the anti-war pact it may be argued that the United States would be prohibited from going to war against State X to compel execution. The anti-war pact would not, however, seem to prohibit the use of *international* sanctions for this purpose, since the pact prohibits merely war as an instrument of *national* policy. An international sanction does not necessarily mean an international force, but it may mean merely international authorization and control over the action of a single State.

The Pact and Disarmament

In the third place, disarmament has been regarded as essential to a peaceful international society. In its note of April 27, 1928, the German Government declared that the anti-war pact "must give a real impulse to the efforts for the carrying out of general disarmament." The Soviet Government declared that without the obligation to disarm, the anti-war pact "will remain a dead letter without real meaning." An opposite point of view has been expressed, however, by President Coolidge and by Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, the Republican presidential candidate. The former declared that the anti-war pact did not detract from the "obligation" to "maintain an adequate national defense against any attack."

In his speech accepting the Republican nomination for President, Mr. Hoover declared that "we must and shall maintain our naval defense and our merchant marine in the strength and efficiency which will yield to us at all times the primary assurance of liberty, that is, of national safety." In his Elizabethtown, Tennessee, address, October 6, 1928, Mr. Hoover said that "we must maintain our navy and our army in such fashion that we shall have complete defense of our homes from even the fear of foreign invasion." Similar expressions have been made in Europe.

While armaments for defense may be in keeping with the spirit of the anti-war pact, obviously this need is relative rather than absolute. That is, the defensive needs of the United States depend upon the size of armaments of its neighboring powers and the political likelihood that these powers will attack the United States.

Commenting on Mr. Hoover's speeches on the navy, President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University has stated: "When the American people pledge renunciation of war they mean what they say, and take it for granted that our fellow-nations mean what they say. We shall not support any policy which would at once enter upon a new and enlarged plan of naval construction under the guise of defending ourselves against some power which has only just taken a formal pledge not to attack us. The contradiction and the hypocrisy of it would be comic were they not so unspeakably tragic."

It should be pointed out, however, that the army of the United States is already one of the smallest in the world and that its navy is inferior in strength, so far as large cruisers are concerned, to that of Great Britain. Nevertheless, it is argued that if the parties to the anti-war pact should proceed to lay down large building programs, they do not take the pact seriously and leave themselves open to charges of bad faith and even of illicit ambitions. If the real spirit of the pact is to be preserved and fostered, international agreements in regard to armaments upon a basis acceptable to the principal leading powers, it may be argued, is essential.

The Moral Significance of the Pact

The legal aspects of the anti-war pact have now been discussed. It has been necessary to determine the actual legal effect of the pact upon the right to go to war, and the relation of this pact to other factors in international relations, such as the pacific settlement of disputes, sanctions and disarmament. Our analysis seems to have demonstrated that the legal criticisms directed against the pact are not so great as some critics have supposed and that it contains no legal commitments not explicitly stated in the document. But, even if the pact should contain loopholes through which a self-seeking State may squirm, friends of the pact believe that it must be judged fundamentally, not by technical criteria, but by the moral and spiritual effect it may have upon world opinion and upon the future conduct of diplomacy and international relations.

Until very recent times groups in every important country have glorified the institution of war. It was not many years ago that von Moltke wrote: "War is an element in the order of the world ordained by God. In it the noblest virtues of mankind are developed; courage and the abnegation of self, faithfulness to duty, and the spirit of sacrifice; the soldier gives his life. Without war the world would stagnate and lose itself in materialism." In every great State the army and navy have occupied a high social position and have had great influence upon policy.

Moreover, the history of European diplomacy and international relations generally seems to demonstrate that most great powers have regarded war as sooner or later inevitable. They have relied for their safety and their rights upon physical strength.

Diplomats formed combinations and made bargains to postpone the evil day; but down in their hearts they believed the day would come. In 1914 Europe was ridden with war psychology. The international system was built upon a conviction of war's inevitability. No State dreamed of renouncing war as an instrument of national policy.

Ever since the Congress of Berlin of 1878 the Great Powers followed a policy of threats. They did not intend that war should occur as a result of their demands, but they did believe in backing up these demands with a show of force; they believed that the States upon which they made these demands were weak and would therefore have to give way.

Friends of the anti-war pact state that it will have a revolutionary effect upon international relations as they have existed in the past. In his American Legion speech, President Coolidge declared: "Had an agreement of this kind been in existence in 1914, there is every reason to suppose that it would have saved the situation and delivered the world from all the misery which was inflicted by the Great War." It is argued that the anti-war pact will abolish war psychology, and force governments and peoples to think in terms of peace; that it will no longer be possible for Foreign Offices to advance their ends by a policy of threats—whether open or veiled; that it will no longer be possible for demagogues to whip up popular enthusiasm in favor of wars on behalf of "national destiny" or "national honor." Disputes will continue to arise between nations; and they may or may not be positively settled by peaceful means. But it is contended that as a result of the new peace psychology produced by the pact, peoples will take the view that no matter how serious the dispute, there is no justification for solving it by force, unless the question of self-defense is involved. Some opponents state that the pact has no positive value since it does nothing which the League of Nations has not done. Nevertheless, while the League has made great progress toward organizing the machinery of peace, the "gap in the Covenant" still exists. This gap will be filled by the pact, it is argued, and, what is of equal importance, the United States, which has declined to accept the obligations of League membership, for the first time commits itself not to embark upon aggressive war.

Other opponents argue that the pact is useless without machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes, without disarmament, without the modification of peace-time policies which in the past have led to war. But in reply it is declared that if governments take the pact seriously, if in a high act of faith they really believe their neighbors have renounced war, they will soon translate this belief into acts. The occupation of the Rhineland, the prohibition of the union of Germany and Austria, the demand for large navies and high tariff walls rest largely upon the fundamental fear of war. If nations now really trust each other's promise, the justification for these and for other policies will, it is contended, come to an end.

If despite the ratification of the anti-war pact, governments decline to change their policies, if they construct large navies in the name of self-defense, and if they follow policies which unnecessarily irritate their neighbors, they may be charged with hypocrisy and the international situation may become more critical than if no anti-war pact existed. But it is argued that even if governments pay only lip service to the ideal, the anti-war pact will become a formidable weapon in the hands of public opinion. If the British Government introduces a large navy bill into Parliament, members will ask, does this bill conform to the spirit of the pact? If the Government of the United States should land troops in Nicaragua, public opinion will ask, does this intervention conform to the spirit of the pact? Legal arguments upon these points may be made. But whatever the result of these arguments may be, the moral fact of the existence of the pact may constitute an overpowering obstacle to any peace-time policy which disturbs international friendship. Viewed from this standpoint, friends of the pact believe that it contains really immense possibilities.

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Asia, monthly. 461 Eighth Ave., N. Y., $4.00 a year.
Current History, monthly. New York Times Co., N. Y., $3.00 a year.
Foreign Affairs, quarterly. 25 W. 43rd St., N. Y., $5.00 a year.
Foreign Affairs, monthly (English). Union of Democratic Control, 34 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1, $2.00 a year.
The Herald of Peace, monthly. 210 Heinlen St., Lemoore, Calif., $2.00 a year.
The Living Age, monthly. Boston, $5.00 a year.
The Messenger of Peace, monthly. Richmond, Ind., 50¢ a year.
Mexican Life, monthly. Av. Uruguay, No. 3, Mexico City, $5.00 a year.
The Nation, weekly. 20 Vesey St., N. Y., $5.00 a year.
The National Graphic Magazine, monthly. Washington, D. C., $3.50 a year.
The New Era, quarterly. (Educational) 11 Tavistock Square, London, W. C.
The New Republic, weekly. 421 West 21st St., N. Y., $5.00 a year.
The New Student, 2929 Broadway, N. Y., $1.50 a year.
Pan American Union, monthly. Washington, D. C., $2.50 a year.
Pan Pacific Progress, monthly. Los Angeles, Calif., $2.50 a year.
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Unity, weekly. Oakwood Bldg., Chicago, $3.00 a year.
The World Tomorrow, monthly. 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y., $2.00 a year.
The World's Youth, monthly. Y. M. C. A., N. Y., $1.00 a year.
World Unity, monthly. 122 East 34th St., N. Y., $3.50 a year.
Youth, monthly. 421 Sentinel House, Southampton Row, London W. C. 1, 75¢ a year.

X. ORGANIZATION PUBLICATIONS

American Foundation, N. Y. *Foreign Relations Bulletins,* occasional, free.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, N. Y. *International Conciliation,* monthly, except July and August, 25¢ a year.

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, N. Y. *Bulletin,* monthly, $1.00 a year. Bi-weekly news sheet, *International Goodwill.*

Fellowship of Reconciliation, N. Y. *News Bulletin,* occasional.

Foreign Policy Association, N. Y. *Bi-weekly Information Service,* $5.00 a year. *News Bulletin,* weekly, $1.00 a year.

The Inquiry, 129 East 52nd St., N. Y. *The Inquiry,* occasional papers, free.

Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu. *Pacific Affairs,* monthly.

League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, N. Y. *League of Nations News,* including a digest of international affairs, monthly, $1.00 a year.

League of Nations periodical publications distributed in the United States by the World Peace Foundation, Boston. *Monthly Summary of the League of Nations,* $1.00 a year. *International Labor Review,* monthly, $6.00 a year. *Bulletin of the International Institute of Intellectual Coöperation,* University Section, 6, $2.00 a year; Scientific Section, quarterly, $2.00 a year.

National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C. *News Bulletin,* monthly 25¢ a year.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Washington, D. C. *Pax International,* monthly 50¢ a year.

World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, N. Y. *News Letter,* monthly.

World Peace Foundation, Boston. *World Peace Foundation Pamphlets,* 6 issues a year.

XI. ORGANIZATIONS

American Foundation, New York.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York.

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York.

Foreign Policy Association, New York.

The Inquiry, 129 East 52nd St., New York.

Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu.

League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, New York.

National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Washington, D. C.

World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, New York.

World Peace Foundation, Boston.

BOOK IX

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

WE HAVE been studying some of the forces making for change in our social, economic and political structure. Perhaps some might ask us in conclusion to formulate the laws of social movements. We should have to reply that the student of society is not yet in a position to make any scientific generalizations from the study of such complex phenomena. There are, however, certain noticeable trends and certain inferences which may be drawn with a fair degree of probability.

Mobility of Culture

We can conclude that it is now easier than formerly for the facts about new social movements to spread from country to country. If the people in one nation feel that a foreign movement has value, there is a tendency toward its adoption. Its advocates may represent only a small fraction of the people but they are usually quite vocal. The Coöperative Movement, Communism and the British Labor Party, all have their advocates in America. The basic ideas of any popular movement tend to spread abroad save as they are inhibited by differing economic and social conditions. Once it might have taken centuries for one society to learn of the social experiments of another. To-day, in spite of the barriers of propaganda, economic bias and class control, the facts about revolutionary movements elsewhere cannot be kept for many decades from the rank and file of the people. New ideas handed on by trade, travel, the telegraph, the wireless, the radio, and the moving picture play the rôle of yeast in the social ferment.

Social Explosion

While we have not weighed the costs of the social explosions we call revolutions, we have assessed to some extent the resulting products. We can, therefore, conclude that a social explosion has in some instances positive values. Whether or not these outweigh the injurious effects must be determined for each specific case. In any event the cost of a movement which can win its way by interpenetration, suggestion and sympathy is far less. Force movements such as those of Mussolini and of Lenin bring evils in their train which must be realistically faced.

Danger of Rigid Domination

On the other hand our study should have made clear that in modern society control by and for the few is dangerous. Domination as a form of social control is of doubtful value; it is too likely to lead to social explosion. Wherever there is present what Professor Carver of Harvard calls a "pig-trough" class who do not work and who yet live parasitically, there is a potential danger. Repression in group life where conditions are seriously maladjusted is potentially explosive; for groups will always seek to make changes if the fundamental urges of their physical and social selves are not satisfied. If the dominant group meets these efforts with violence and forces them back underground, inevitably they tend to appear in other more dangerous forms. It is clear that opposition between those who are for the time being masters of the social order and those who demand freedom to ventilate their grievances and better their status persists through all history. It seems to be true that excessive conservatism and repression of freedom in the long run result in the violent fall of the very institutions on whose behalf those methods were invoked.

Thus it can be said that in reality those most responsible for revolutions are the extreme conservatives.

Injustice

There are certain principles which seem to hold true in regard to injustice.

1. Most of the reform movements we have studied have their inception primarily in the experience of economic injustice.
2. Masked injustice tends to be of longer duration than open injustice.
3. Genuine freedom of press, association, and assemblage places limits on injustice although still permitting temporary control of the major agencies of public opinion.
4. Anything which tends to equalize the power of opposing classes tends to place limits on the injustice which it is possible for one group to inflict on another.
5. Whatever the political structure, great differences in education or in monetary power multiply opportunities for injustice.

Leadership

It appears from our study that the "great man" theory of history in its unmodified form is untenable. There is a constant interrelation between the leader and the group. He is to some extent the creature of the social forces of the particular societal evolution of his day. He is usually a man who has had a vision of some social change or of the possibility of seizing power for himself. In order to achieve, he has had to try to remove the barriers to power. If his program is a radical one he has to overcome the vested interests of the dominant group and the inertia of the masses. It would also be possible to analyze leadership from the standpoint of psychiatry. For instance, leadership develops as compensation for a sense of inferiority or a feeling of inadequacy. It seems to the writer that a further study of leadership should lead to a new and more integrated theory of leadership which we might call the *Dynamic Achievement* theory. Leadership is a complex product depending on hereditary equipment, environmental opportunity, the cultural and group situation, luck, as well as the way the potential leader reacts. Of tremendous significance is the way the leader himeslf utilizes his opportunities. Action itself stimulates further leadership in the same direction. In other words, if a potential leader wastes his time in dissipation this increases the chances of a career in dissipation, if a leader begins to use the printed word it increases his opportunity to further achievement in writing. Action along any line tends itself to generate a drive in that direction unless it is blocked by the consequences of the effort. If a man begins to champion one unpopular cause, he is frequently led on to others. The differences between one individual and another cannot be resolved solely by the factors of biologic heredity and environment, they also depend on the drive which the individual himself generates. There were probably many men having equal intellectual capacity with a Lenin or a Mussolini who had as favorable environmental opportunity; the difference between these leaders and others seems to be that they made use of their opportunities. According to the Dynamic Achievement theory the leader is the one who not only combines the right heredity with favorable opportunity and the right historical situation, but who also over a long period has *made use* of his opportunities to intensify still further his drives and his capabilities. A favorable combination of all these factors usually develops some degree of leadership. If any one factor is absent, to that extent is leadership handicapped or prevented. Among those traits which seem to give distinct advantage to potential leaders are: youth, physique, enthusiasm, intelligence, imagination, all-round capability, sensitiveness to need, feeling of oneness with the common group, willingness to pay the costs of minority struggle, indomitable will power, persistence, courage and sincerity. Every leader is to some extent a schemer, a commander, a coördinator, an energizer, a critic, and a teacher.

General Principles

Our study would indicate that there are certain principles which seem to have held true for most social movements in the past:

1. They arise out of a genuine, felt need.
2. They have a slow growth at first.
3. To be successful they must win the outward allegiance of a majority of the people.
4. The intensity of the opposition will depend largely on the extent to which a movement interferes with vested interests and with the habits of the people.
5. Reformers are attacked on the basis of false charges and twisted truths.
6. Succeeding generations *tend* to honor reformers martyred by an earlier age, provided the movement has finally won general recognition.
7. Any established institution usually opposes a social reform at first but there are often leaders from these institutions who are won to the new movement.

Progress and Social Movements

In this volume we have not had time to master each movement, but, if we have read the material carefully, we have had at least a bird's-eye view. It is as if we had been viewing from the air a rapidly shifting scene. From our vantage point the small irregularities are less noticeable than the broad general sweep of the rivers, valleys and mountains over which we are passing. We can perhaps conclude that, just as mankind has been making progress on material lines, we have been making some progress on social lines. The crude Utopias of the early Middle Ages have been superseded by concrete programs of social change which are more or less practical. Modern social movements are taking into consideration an ever larger proportion of the membership of the group. We can also clearly recognize that our present social order is constantly changing. No one can be certain that private capitalism as we know it will endure. It seems clear that we have unduly emphasized *things* and that our economic order unduly appeals to and consecrates selfishness. Business success is founded to some extent on *getting* more than we *give,* on lauding the *acquisitive* rather than the *service* ideal. The trend of the ideals of humanity as shown in these movements is towards the substitution of a social for a materialistic standard.

There are many obstacles preventing the realization of this social goal. One factor which we have noted is that the individual is himself a product of the group. He takes over the ideas and *mores* of the particular society in which he has been brought up. Consequently, it is not easy for him to entertain new ideas. One of the great obstacles to any modern social movement is inhibiting ideas. We say "it never has been done, therefore it can't be done." In the days of slavery this same objection was used against the abolition movement. Another argument is "you can't change human nature." At one time this was used to prove the impossibility of doing away with duels. To-day some people feel that it is impossible to do away with war. Probably there is no more truth in one assertion than in the other, except that to do away with war is vastly more difficult than to eliminate the duel. It is said that only the profit motivation can make the economic mechanism function; nevertheless, the practical achievements of coöperation should raise serious doubts as to this assumption.

This course has demonstrated beyond dispute that there are hundreds and thousands of men and women who have faith in the possibility of a new order and who are willing to coöperate in trying to achieve it. They may not be following the most rational methods, but they are trying to apply their ideals even in a hostile culture.

If we look back over the various social movements which we have studied in perspective, we note their likeness to the course of a river. They do not flow in a straight line or smoothly. There are rapids, eddies and back currents. The stream winds back into the country for long distances. It is dammed up in lakes but with the march of time it inevitably tends to break down barriers and advances seemingly in the interests of humanity. The pessimist may believe that this stream is forever moving and getting nowhere, but in the light of the trend of the centuries the reader who is a realist can hardly fail to note that progress has been made.

Lessons for American Society

The reader should now review each movement, asking what particular lessons it has for American society. For example, consider Communism. Is its greatest lesson that we should never have revolutions? If so, it would seem to go against our own revolutionary traditions. Is not rather the chief lesson of the Russian Revolution that the remedial laws and policies with which a democracy meets the uglier developments of private capitalism is the certain security against cataclysmic revolution? In other words, injustice is one basic cause of revolution. Both E. Benjamin Andrews and W. G. Sumner told Dr. E. A. Ross of Wisconsin in June, 1898, independently that the mood of this country seemed to be like that in France on the eve of the Revolution! Few would make such a statement to-day for *a host of injustices have been removed.* Still, as every one knows, America has her problems. The economic leaders of America are willing to accept any material invention no matter how radical, providing it aids in producing things. On the other hand, they are stubbornly conservative when it comes to new inventions in the social realm. We will not give the same impartial scientific appraisal to a social movement that we do to a mechanical invention. Thus there is a real danger that we shall adopt the method of imprisoning agitators, of suppressing freedom of speech wherever it is embarrassing to established economic interest. Boston does not like to give permits to Communist parades, nor to meetings in memory of Sacco and Vanzetti even if addressed by college professors. The Russian Revolution teaches that we should be concerned with eliminating the causes for unrest, the reasons why individuals wish to agitate rather than to deny them a platform. In reality the amount of radicalism and unrest is a barometer of the amount of injustice. Of course, the Russian Revolution also teaches the tragic cost of reform through revolution but it can be hardly said at the present time that America needs this lesson. There is not the slightest danger of a violent revolution here.

Again, the opposition of Bolshevism to all religion, because it has been used by a selfish minority in its own interests, should make the churches realize that a religion is in danger which does not translate its ethical precepts into the community life. It is necessary to make Christian principles really function in the economic life of the nation. A genuine religious spirit cannot permanently continue if it is contradicted in the dominant practices of the business world. The anti-religion movement therefore teaches that the church must have both an individual mystical and a social appeal. Mysticism is only valid so far as it is translated into a daily conduct pattern.

The Russian Revolution also clearly shows the necessity of education for all the people. In spite of all we have done for free education America has an illiterate group five million strong and there is a growing tendency in some Eastern States to make the private school superior to the public. We have not yet given a sound sociological foundation to the rank and file of our young people who never get into our high schools. Even in our colleges we are just beginning to realize the importance of training students in how to think rather than inculcating in them the conventional stereotypes of our culture. To the extent that America can train her people to think intelligently for themselves, to that extent we have a prophylactic against political injustice. Freedom of thought, of the press and of association are among the most certain vaccines against the toxins of arbitrary power.

Russia has made rather startling efforts to improve the status of labor by trade unions, social insurance, workers' clubs, vacations with pay, old age pensions, the seven-hour day, and other changes.

Can America learn from some of these experiments either what to avoid or what to adopt?

Trends

While Fascism may be somewhat at variance with some of the movements considered, on the whole certain trends are discernible.

1. *A growing power of the workers;* increasingly they are securing representation in industry.

2. *An extension of social control over matters which hertofore have been within the private domain;* autocracy is giving place to democracy both political and industrial.

3. *A denial of the unlimited right of private property.* There is a growing realization that property is to some extent a social trust and that the mere fact of private ownership should not enable an individual to use his property in ways that are injurious to the social order.

4. *A trend from individualism towards collectivism or coöperation.*

5. *A growing recognition of the necessity for the greatest possible opportunity for each personality* and that the development of personality is no less important than the acquisition of goods.

6. *A trend away from narrow nationalism towards internationalism and peace.*

The Technique of Transformation

From our studies it is apparent that we cannot predict the details of the organization that will be adopted by society in the future. We need experimentation in coöperation, labor parties, social and international mechanisms of all sorts, in order to determine which is best. When we did not have the trans-atlantic liner we used the sail boat; to-day, we are beginning to use the airplane. It is the same in the social realm. Society will probably experiment with various suggestions from radical social programs in order to find out which ones are practical and how far they are practical. That, as in all else, there will be a change in our present economic mechanisms seems reasonably clear. If this is true, it is important to know the technique of transformation. Will it be reform or revolution? Our study would seem to indicate that this depends more on the men of property than it does on the radicals. If they put their trust in force and blindly refuse to tolerate any new movement, then revolutionary force will be used. If they are willing to listen to reason to appraise scientifically social movements, to test them by their results in practice, then we may get reform. Will the technique be by consent or by coercion? Again it depends on the attitude of those in power. Will they utilize autocratic controls? Will they experiment in the fields of humanics as they have in that of mechanics, or will they resist changes on the human side until coerced by an outraged public opinion? Will the technique be repression or freedom of speech? If repression is used against I. W. W.'s, strikers, Communists and other "trouble makers," then we shall inevitably have explosions, some of which will be serious. If we allow the safety valve of freedom of speech, we can largely avoid this danger. Will remedies take the form of political methods or of industrial action? It is probable that changes will come through both methods.

It seems fairly clear that in the last analysis we must have a scientifically planned economic life. We cannot afford to leave economic processes under the sway of blind self-interest.

These social movements have demonstrated that a strong resolute group with a clear idea of the ways and means which lead to a given goal, have been able to achieve astonishing results. No longer can we pretend to be in the grip of forces entirely beyond our control. A rational self-conscious society, that is a society that scientifically plans its ends, painstakingly sets out to achieve its ends, that is willing to acknowledge its mistakes or modify its methods in the light of its experience—this is the kind of society which social science should help to build.

In the past, man has increasingly won control over the forces of nature, annihilating distance and controlling climatic conditions. To-day it lies in mankind's power scientifically to modify its own social development. Will this carry us over a precipice or into an international cataclysm of our own making, or shall we build a world of decreasing friction and increasing harmony?

APPENDIX

COMMENT ON AUTHORS FROM WHOM MATERIAL HAS BEEN QUOTED IN THIS VOLUME

Arnot, R. Page, was born in Greenock, Scotland, in 1890. After leaving the University of Glasgow in 1914, he became secretary of the Fabian Research Department in London, the foundation of the present Labor Research Department, of which he was secretary until 1925 and since then director. The following works have been produced by him or under his guidance: *The Labour Year Book; Trade Unionism on the Railways* (with G. D. H. Cole); *The Russian Revolution; the Politics of Oil; The General Strike: Origin and History.* He is also a regular contributor to *The Labour Monthly,* a British labor review.

Bergengren, Roy F., was born in Gloucester, Mass., June 14, 1879. He was educated at the Lynn public schools and graduated from Dartmouth College in 1903. He completed his work at the Harvard Law School in 1906. From 1906 until 1918 he practiced law in Lynn, Mass. He was Commissioner of Finance of that city from 1915 until 1917, and a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1917-1918. In 1920 he became executive secretary of the Massachusetts Credit Union Association, which in 1921 became the Credit Union National Extension Bureau. He holds the executive secretaryship of this latter organization to-day. In the course of his work he has drafted twenty-seven credit union state laws and brought them through to enactment. He has organized over one thousand credit unions now doing an annual business of sixty million dollars. He has written a book on Coöperative Banking.

Boeckel, Mrs. Florence Brewer, is a direct descendant of John Hart, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. She is a graduate of Vassar College and did post-graduate work in France and Germany. She has been a magazine editor and writer and was active in the movement for woman suffrage. She was founder of the National Women's Press Club. At present she is Educational Director of the National Council for the Prevention of War.

Borchard, Edwin M., was born in 1884. He first attended the College of the City of New York and afterwards Columbia College and

Law School. In 1910 he represented the United States as an expert on international law in the Fisheries Arbitration at The Hague. From 1911 to 1916 he was Law Librarian of Congress, and Assistant Solicitor in the Department of State. He was chief counsel for Peru in the Tacna-Arica Arbitration, and has participated as counsel in other arbitrations. He was nominated for the panel of judges of the Central-American Court of Justice (1923). Since 1917 he has been professor of law at Yale University. He received his Ph. D. from Columbia in 1913 and an honorary Doctor of Laws from the University of Berlin in 1925. He has written some of the standard works on international law and is internationally recognized as an expert in that field.

Chase, Stuart, is a Certified Public Accountant, a Director of the Labor Bureau, Inc., and the Treasurer of the League for Industrial Democracy. He was born in Somersworth, N. H., in 1888. His father was an engineer and accountant. He received his education at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and at Harvard University. He is a member of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union.

He served as the Massachusetts investigator for the Federal Trade Commission, 1917-1921; investigated the Chicago packers and prepared Volume V on Packers' Profits for the Federal Trade Commission; and was Director of the Coöperative Laundry in 1922-1923. He has held office as Treasurer of the Boston Fabian Society and as President of the Chicago Fabian Society.

Mr. Chase was one of the editors of *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade,* a joint survey by the technical staff of the first American Trade Union delegation, which visited Russia in the summer of 1927. He is the author of *The Tragedy of Waste,* and *Men and Machines,* and is a frequent contributor to periodicals.

Cole, George Douglas Howard, is Reader in Economics and Fellow of University College, Oxford. He was born September 25, 1889, and received his education at St. Paul's School, Balliol College, Oxford, and is a former Fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford.

He has been a member of the executive committee of the Workers' Educational Association since 1920; chairman of the Labor Publishing Company from its foundation in 1921; and chairman of the Association of Tutorial Class Tutors since 1923. He was the Deputy Professor of Philosophy, Armstrong College, 1913-14; was Tutorial Class Tutor, Oxford and London Universities from 1914 to 1919; was active in the Labour Research Department from 1912 to 1925; and was staff tutor of Tutorial Classes, University of London, from 1922 to 1925.

He served on the executive committee of the National Guilds League from 1912 to 1925; the executive committee of the Fabian Society from

1913 to 1915; as research officer to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, 1915 to 1918; and as officer for Advisory Committees to National Labour Party, 1919 to 1921.

He is the author of *World of Labour; New Beginnings; Self-Government in Industry; Labour in the Commonwealth; Payment of Wages; Social Theory; Chaos and Order in Industry; Guild Socialism Restated; Future of Local Government; Workshop Organization; Labour in the Coal Mining Industry; Out of Work; The Brooklyn Murders; A Short History of the Working Class Movement;* the *Life of Robert Owen,* and others; and is joint editor of *New Standards.*

Debs, Eugene V., see pp. 106-110.

Douglas, Paul Howard, Professor of Industrial Relations at the University of Chicago, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1892. He received his education at Bowdoin College, and Columbia and Harvard Universities. Prior to his present connection with the University of Chicago, Dr. Douglas has been associated with the University of Illinois, Reed College, and the University of Washington. He has taught in trade union classes in Seattle, Chicago, and Holyoke; has lectured at the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women in Industry; and has served as economic advisor to the printing trades in Chicago. Dr. Douglas was one of the technical staff of the first American Trade Union delegation that visited Russia in the summer of 1927. He is the author of *Wages and the Family,* and *American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education,* co-author of several books, and a contributor to various publications in the field of economics, statistics, and political science.

Edwards, Lyford Paterson, Dean of St. Stephen's College, Annandale, New York, was born in London, Ontario, Canada, in 1882. He received his education at McGill University, the University of Chicago, Western Theological Seminary, Northwestern University, and Columbia University. Between 1907 and 1914, Dr. Edwards was rector of St. Matthews Church, Evanston, Illinois, and was curate of St. John's Church, Staten Island, New York. Prior to his connection in 1919 with St. Stephen's College, he was an instructor in the Nashotah (Wisconsin) Preparatory School and Rice Institute, Houston, Texas.

Dr. Edwards is the author of *The Transformation of Early Christianity* and *The Natural History of Revolution,* and is a contributor to sociological, religious and general periodicals.

Engels, Friedrich, was born in Barmen, Germany, November 28, 1820, the son of a wealthy manufacturer. On graduating from Barmen high school he went to the gymnasium of Elberfeld, but entered his father's business a year before his final examination. In 1841 he served in the Guard Artillery in Berlin and became an authority on military science. Following this experience he went to Manchester as an agent of the spinning mill in which his father was a partner. For a number of years prior to that, he had been interested in the newer developments in philosophy and social thought, and on his way to England he dropped into the editorial office of the *Rheinische Zeitung* and met Marx for the first time. At the time they failed to see eye to eye and Engel's reception was cool. In England, at this time, he gathered material which formed the basis of his *Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844,* a powerful indictment of the capitalist order.

On returning to the continent, Engels collaborated with Marx in writing *The Holy Family.* In 1845 he gave up the mercantile business and went to Brussels where Marx was then doing his work. The two were busy during the next two years in research, writing and organization. Engels visited London in the summer of 1847 as a representative of the Paris group to formulate a new program for the Communist League, and helped in writing the *Communist Manifesto.*

In 1849, he joined a volunteer corps in the Palatinate which was demanding a constitution for the whole German Empire, and on his return to London collaborated with Marx on the revolutionary movements of 1848-1850. In 1850, he reëntered business in order to earn enough to permit Marx to continue his literary work. In 1860 Engels' father died, and he became partner in the business. In 1869, he sold out his partnership, obtaining a large sum of money in return for his promise not to open up business in the same trade on his own account. Through this deal, he was able to pay Marx some 350 pounds a year for a number of years. From September, 1870, when Engels moved to London, until the death of Marx, the two kindred spirits worked side by side.

On Marx's death, Engels translated, completed, and secured the publication of many of Marx's works. He died on August 6, 1895, at the age of seventy-five. His chief works were *Socialism from Utopia to Science; Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844; Origin of the Family; Feuerbach;* and *The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy.*

Ferrari, Dr. Francesco Luigi, is an eminent Catholic lawyer and member of the National Council of the Italian Popular Party. He was persecuted by the Fascists and was finally obliged to flee from Italy. He is now practising law at Louvain in Belgium. In 1928 he published *Le Régime Fasciste Italien* which won him the degree of Doctor of Laws at Louvain. M. Vandervelde, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs in Belgium, says of it: "Among all the literature recently published upon the Fascist system, I know nothing more powerful, more impressive, than this objective study which by its use of the evidence of documents and facts alone becomes a formidable indictment." (*Le Peuple,* Dec. 2, 1928.)

Gentile, Giovanni, is one of the most prominent philosophers in Italy to support the Fascist state. He was born May 30, 1875, at Castelvetrano, Trepani. He was Professor of Philosophy in the R. Liceo of Campobasso and of Naples (1899-1906). From 1906-14 he was Professor of the History of Philosophy in the University of Palermo, from 1914-1917 at Pisa and since then until recently in the University of Rome. He is a member of the Italian Senate and was Minister of Education in the first cabinet of Benito Mussolini. The changes he then made have come to be known as the "Gentile Reform" of Italian education. At present he is head of the Fascist Institute of Culture and one of the chief "apostles" of Fascism. He has written over thirty books.

Green, William, President of the American Federation of Labor, is fifty-seven years of age, having been born at Coshocton, Ohio, March 3, 1873, the son of Hugh Green, an English miner, and Jane (Oram) Green, a native of Wales. He gained his education in the public schools of Coshocton, and when eighteen years old went to work in the mines with his father. Almost immediately he took an active part in the miners' union. From 1900 to 1906 he was a sub-district president and from 1906 to 1910 was Ohio district president of the United Mine Workers. In 1912 he was elected international secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers, the office formerly held by William B. Wilson, who became the first secretary of labor in President Wilson's cabinet. A year later he was elected vice president and member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, succeeding the late John Mitchell in that office. William Green was a delegate-at-large to the Baltimore convention in 1912 which nominated Woodrow Wilson, and alternate-at-large to the San Francisco Democratic national convention in 1920. Mr. Green served two terms in the Ohio State Senate, of which he was Democratic floor-leader for both terms and president for both terms. He introduced and secured the enactment of the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law, which has been accepted by organized labor as the model for other states. He also introduced and secured the passage of the Ohio Mine Run Law, an act which has proved to be of great benefit to the mine workers of Ohio and all those employed in the central competitive field (consisting of Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois).

Henderson, Arthur, see pp. 626-627.

Hertzler, J. O., is at present Chairman of the Department of Sociology in the University of Nebraska. He was born in 1895 and graduated from

Baldwin-Wallace College in Ohio in 1916. He was University Scholar in Social Ethics at Harvard the next year and then went to the University of Wisconsin where he completed his doctorate in 1920. From 1920-23 he was instructor in sociology at Wisconsin and since that time has been at the University of Nebraska. He is the author of the *History of Utopian Thought; Social Progress;* and *Social Institutions.*

Hughan, Jessie Wallace, who is a teacher in New York city, has been a member of the Executive Committee of the League for Industrial Democracy since about 1909, Secretary of the War Registers' League since its foundation, a member of the Executive Committee of the New York group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation since 1923, Vice-chairman of the Women's Peace Society since 1922, and a member of the Teachers' Union since 1923.

She was born in 1875, in Brooklyn, New York, the daughter of an accountant. She received her education at Northfield Seminary, Barnard College, and Columbia University.

Dr. Hughan was the Socialist candidate for Secretary of State of New York in 1918 and for Lieutenant-Governor of New York in 1920. She is the author of *American Socialism of the Present Day; The Facts of Socialism; A Study of International Government;* and *What is Socialism?,* and is coauthor of *Socialism of Today.*

Kellogg, Frank B., Secretary of State, was born in Potsdam, New York, in 1856. He received a common school education, and has had the degree of LL.D. conferred upon him by McGill University, University of Pennsylvania, and New York University.

He was city attorney of Rochester, Minnesota, for three years, and co-attorney for the Olmsted Company for five years. He went to St. Paul in 1887. He acted as special counsel for the United States in the case against paper and Standard Oil trusts; special counsel for the Interstate Commerce Commission in an investigation of the Harriman railroads; and for the United States in an action to dissolve the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific merger. He was president of the American Bar Association in 1912-1913. In 1923, he was a delegate to the 5th International Conference of American States held in Santiago, Chile. He was appointed Ambassador to Great Britain in 1924. Mr. Kellogg was the sponsor of the Multilateral Treaty for the Renunciation of War in 1928.

Laski, Harold J., Professor of Political Science in the University of London, was born in Manchester on June 30, 1893. He received his education from the Manchester Grammar School and New College, Oxford (Hon. Exhibitioner). He was awarded the Beit Essay Prize in 1913; First Class Honor School of Modern History, 1914.

Professor Laski was the lecturer in history at McGill University, 1914-1916; at Harvard University, 1916-1920; the Harvard lecturer at Yale University, 1919-1920; and the Henry Ward Beecher lecturer at Amherst College in 1917. He has been connected with the London School of Economics since 1920, and was lecturer in Political Science at Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1922 to 1925.

He is the vice-chairman of the British Institute of Adult Education and a member of the Council of Institute of Public Administration.

He is the author of *The Problem of Sovereignty; Authority in the Modern State; Political Thought from Locke to Bentham; Foundations of Sovereignty; A Grammar of Politics; Communism;* editor of *Letters of Burke; The Defense of Liberty against Tyrants; Autobiography of J. S. Mill;* and a contributor to liberal journals in England and America.

Lee, Algernon, the Educational Director of the Rand School of Social Science since 1909 and a member of the American Federation of Teachers, was born in 1873, in Dubuque, Iowa, the son of a millwright and carpenter. He was a member of the Socialist Labor Party from 1895 to 1899, and since that time has been a member of the Socialist Party.

He has edited the Socialist papers, *The Tocsin* (Minneapolis), *The Worker* (New York), and *The Call* (New York); was delegate to the International Socialist Congress in Amsterdam in 1904, Stuttgart in 1907, The Hague in 1916, and Frankfort in 1922.

He was Socialist alderman of New York from 1918 to 1921. He was, however, counted out at the 1919 election, but after court proceedings and a recount was seated for the last two months of the term.

Lenin, Nikolai, see pp. 242-245.

Levermore, Charles H., was born in Connecticut in 1856. He has had a distinguished career as an educator and professor of history. From 1886 to 1888 he taught at the University of California, from 1888 to 1893 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, from 1893 to 1896 he was Principal of Adelphi Academy, and President of Adelphi College from 1896 to 1912. He has written extensively and was the winner of the Bok $100,000 prize for the best plan to preserve peace among the nations of the world. He died on October 21, 1927.

Long, Cedric, see p. 536.

MacDonald, J. Ramsay, see pp. 623-626.

Marx, Karl, see pp. 86-97.

Mikoyan, Anastas Ivanovitch, is Commissar of Foreign and Domestic Trade of the Soviet government and at the age of thirty-four is one of the most important members of the Soviet government. He is also a member of the all-powerful political bureau of the Communist party and is a friend of Stalin.

He was born into a poor workingman's family in Tiflis, Caucasia. He became a full member of the Communist party at only twenty years of age. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was sent to Baku as a party worker and soon became secretary of the Bolshevik committee in Tiflis. In 1918 he was a commissar at the front against the advancing Turks. When the Turks succeeded in capturing Baku he was freed with a few other arrested Bolsheviks. Later, when the English took the city, he was again arrested by them, and he declares it was a miracle that he was not shot along with twenty-six of his comrades who paid the supreme penalty. Until March, 1919, he was kept in various jails by the English and only upon the demand of workers in Baku was he finally released. In May, 1919, while the English were still occupying Baku, Mikoyan organized and directed a general strike. He was finally arrested, with his entire committee. He managed to escape from the prison before being shot, but was rearrested soon afterwards. Fortunately for him, his real identity was not known—he was using an assumed name. He was exiled to Grushin but no sooner had he reached there than he secretly set out for Baku, where he again renewed his illegal work among the workers. At the end of 1919 Mikoyan was chosen a member of the Caucasian regional committee of the party and the same year managed to smuggle his way out by boat to Astrakhan and thence up the Volga to Moscow. Thus he personally reported to the central committee of the Communist party on the possibilities of an armed uprising in the Caucasus. Immediately after delivering his report he returned to Baku to continue illegal work. With the victory of the Soviet government in the Caucasus in 1920 he was sent to Nijni Novgorod, where he worked until 1922 as secretary of the Gubernia committee of the party. From 1922 till the fall of 1926 he was secretary of the North Caucasian regional committee of the party. Besides the other offices which he now holds, he is a member of the central committee of the Communist party.

Mussolini, Benito, see pp. 445-451.

Pennachio, Alberto, is a young lawyer who has been associated actively with the Fascist movement since its inception. At present he is an official of the Banca d'Italia at Rome.

Prezzolini, Giuseppe, was born in Perugia, Italy, January 27, 1882. He has long been prominent as a journalist and writer on political and literary subjects in Italy. He was early associated with Papini in the publication first of *Il Leonardo* (1903-07) and later of *La Voce* (1908-16). The latter was a magazine published by young Italians who wished a renaissance in their country. He was the correspondent in Rome of *Il Popolo d'Italia* (1914-15). He has now been appointed by the League of Nations as head of the Information Department of the International Institute on Intellectual Coöperation in Paris. For the year 1929-30 he is visiting professor at Columbia University. He has published many books of critique, biography, and contemporary history, among which two were translated into English: *Fascism* (Dutton); and *The Life of Nicolo Machiavelli* (Brentano). In 1925 he published in Italian at Rome a volume on Benito Mussolini.

Rocco, Alfredo, was born in Naples on September 9, 1875. At twenty-four years of age he had already become a lawyer and university professor. He has taught Commercial Law at the Universities of Urbino, Macerata, Parma, Palermo and Padova and is now Professor of Labor Legislation in the School of Political Science at the University of Rome. He has been a collaborator in the publication of many scientific magazines and the author of many books. He is an ardent nationalist and a leader in the constitutional reforms which Mussolini has carried through. He is at present also Minister of Justice.

Ross, Edward Alsworth, a world-famous sociologist and one of the most prolific writers in that field in America, was born in Virden, Illinois, December 12, 1866. He graduated from Coe College (Iowa), in 1886, studied at the University of Berlin from 1888-89 and received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins in 1891. In 1911 Coe College awarded him the L.L.D. degree. He has taught at Indiana, Cornell, Stamford, Nebraska, Harvard, Chicago, and Wisconsin universities. At present he is head of the Sociology Department at the University of Wisconsin. He was president of the American Sociological Society in 1914 and again in 1915. Since 1895 he has been an advisory editor of the *American Journal of Sociology.* His sociological writings have been read throughout the world. As evidence of their lasting qualities, it is interesting to note that his *Social Control,* first published in 1901, still sells at the rate of five hundred or more copies annually.

Rossoni, Edmondo, was born in Italy in 1884 and was taken abroad in 1890, living successively in Switzerland, France, England, and Latin America. He early became a supporter of syndicalism. In 1910 he started in New York City an Italian newspaper, *L'Italia Nostra,* with the motto, "Our country is not to be denied but to be conquered." Returning to Italy during the War he helped in the organization of *Unione Italiana di Lavoro,* a syndicalist union. By June, 1922, at the first syndicalist Congress at Milan, his organization represented about 500,000 workmen. Soon afterward it joined with the Fascist movement and Rossoni became President of the National Confederation of Fascist Trade Unions.

Salvemini, Gaetano. Was born in Malfetta, Italy in 1873. He was educated at the University of Florence, and was a secondary schoolteacher from 1895-1902. From 1902-10 he was Professor of Modern History at the University of Messina; from 1910-16 he held the same chair at the University of Pisa; and from 1916-1925 at the University of Florence. He was a member of the Italian Chamber from 1919-21. He was arrested in June, 1925, as an opponent of the Fascist Dictatorship. He left Italy in August, 1925. He resigned his chair at the university November, 1925, but was dismissed as an absentee December, 1925. He was deprived of Italian citizenship with total confiscation of property September, 1926.

Among his publications are: *La Dignita Cavalleresca nel comune di Firenze* (1896); *Magnati e Popolani nel Commune di Firenze* (1900); *La Rivolusione Francese* (1906); *La riforma della Scuola Media* (1908); *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy.*

At present he resides in London. He is internationally recognized as a distinguished historian.

Schapiro, J. Salwyn, author, is Professor of History at the College of the City of New York. He was born in Hudson, New York, in 1879, and received his education at the College of the City of New York and at Columbia University.

Dr. Schapiro is the author of *Social Reform and the Reformation; Modern and Contemporary European History;* and *Modern Times in Europe,* and is a contributor to various liberal periodicals.

Schneider, Herbert Wallace, graduated from Columbia University in 1915, receiving his Ph.D. from the same university in 1917. Since that time he has been a member of the Department of Philosophy at Columbia, first as an assistant professor, 1924-28, and then as professor of religion. From 1926-27 he was Fellow of the National Council of Social Science Research, studying the political philosophy of Fascism in Italy.

Besides contributing to the volume edited by Merriam and Barnes, *Contemporary Political Theory,* he has written *Making the Fascist State,* and is coauthor with S. B. Clough of *Making Fascists.*

Seligman, Edwin Robert Anderson, one of the leading economists in the United States, was born in New York in 1861. He graduated from Columbia University in 1879 and since 1904 has been McVickar Professor at Columbia. He served as President of the American Economic Association (1902-1904). He was President of the National Tax Association (1913-1915) and President of the Urban League (1912-1914). He has had a distinguished career in the public service. Among the many important commissions or public bodies on which he has served are the Special State Tax Commission in 1906, President Roosevelt's Commission on State Reorganization in 1908, the Mayor's Tax Commission (1914-1916), the Advisory Committee on the American Census from 1919-1922, and the President's Unemployment Conference of 1921. In 1922 and 1923 he was the expert to the League of Nations Committee on Economics and Finance. He has written a large number of important works in the field of economics and is at the present time editor of the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.*

Smith, Jessica, graduated from Swarthmore College in 1915. In 1922 she went to Russia with the American Friends Service Committee to do famine relief work, supervising distribution of food in ten villages. When the famine work was completed, she lived a year in Moscow, getting a more thorough knowledge of the language, visiting factories, schools, institutions of various kinds, and many Russian homes. She returned to America in 1924, assisting in the campaign to raise funds for the Russian Reconstruction Farms, an enterprise designed to teach modern farming methods to Russian peasants, and returned to Russia in 1926 to assist in the work of the Farms as translator and research worker.

Sonnichsen, Albert, was born in San Francisco, California, the son of the consul for Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. He graduated from the public schools and then entered newspaper work. He founded *The Coöperative Consumer,* a periodical which has now become *Coöperation,* and was one of the founders in 1916 of the Coöperative League of America. He has written a number of books, the latest of which is *Consumers' Coöperation.*

Stalin, Yosif, see pp. 245-252.

Tawney, Richard Henry, is Reader in Economic History at the University of London, a member of the executive committee of the Fabian Society, and a member of the Consultive Committee of the Board of Education.

He was born in Calcutta, India, in 1880, and received his education at Rugby and Balliol College, Oxford. He was Sometime Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford; was assistant at Glasgow University 1906-1908; was a teacher for Tutorial Classes Committee of Oxford University 1908-1914; was a member of the Coal Industry Commission in 1919, of the Chain Trade Board (1919-1922), and of the Executive Committee of the Workers' Educational Association (1905-1928).

During the war, he served in the army as a private and was severely wounded.

He is the author of *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century; English Economic History, Select Documents; The Acquisitive Society; Studies in the Minimum Wage; The British Labour Movement;* and *The Rise of Capitalism.*

Thomas, James Henry, see pp. 627-628.

Thomas, Norman, see pp. 110-112.

Warbasse, Dr. James Peter, see pp. 534-536.

Webb, Beatrice, the wife of Sidney Webb, has been prominent in the Labor Party in Great Britain. She has been a member of the Poor Law Commission (1905-1909), of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, of the Committee on Machinery of Government, and of the Lord Chancellor's Advisory Committee for Women Justices. Besides having written several books in her own name she has been coauthor with her husband of twenty volumes, including the *History of Trade Unionism.*

Webb, Sidney James, is a Member of Parliament, a Barrister-at-Law, and an author. He is a member of the faculty and Board of Studies in Economics, University of London, and was Lecturer on Political Economy at the City of London College and Working Men's College. He has been a member of the Fabian Society since 1885.

He was born in London, July 13, 1859, and received his education in Switzerland and Mecklenburg-Schwerin, City of London College, Birkbeck College, and King's College.

He has been clerk in the War Office, 1878-1879; assistant-surveyor of taxes, Inland Revenue, 1879-1881; clerk of the Colonial Office, 1881-1891; and a member of the London County Council, 1892-1910.

He was Professor of Public Administration at the London School of Economics, University of London, 1912-1927; and has served as a member of the Royal Commission on Trade Union Law, a member of the Senate of the University of London, a member of the Royal Commission on the Coal Industry, and as president of the Board of Trade.

He is the author of *History of Trade Unionism; Industrial Democracy; English Local Government; Prevention of Destitution; Works Manager Today; A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth; Decay of Capitalist Civilisation;* and many others.

Withers, Hartley, an English author, was born on July 15, 1867, receiving his education at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford.

He was assistant-master of Clifton College in 1890 and a Stock Exchange clerk from 1891-1893; entered the city office of the *Times* in 1894; became city editor of the *Times* in 1905 and held that office until 1910, when he became city editor of the *Morning Post*. In 1911, he entered the employment of Seligman Brothers. He was the director of Financial Enquiries in the Treasury (1915-1916); from 1916 to 1921 was the editor of the *Economist;* and from 1921 to 1923 was editor of the *Financial Supplement of the Saturday Review.*

He is the author of *The Meaning of Money; Stocks and Shares; Money-Changing; Poverty and Waste; War and Lombard Street; International Finance; Our Money and the State; The Business of Finance; War-Time Financial Problems; The Case for Capitalism; Bankers and Credit; Hints about Investments;* and *Money.*

Young, Owen D., was born in New York state in 1874. He began the practice of law in Boston in 1896. and moved to New York in 1913 as counsel for the General Electric Company. Since 1922 has been chairman of the board. In addition, is chairman of the board of The Radio Corporation of America, and Director of the International General Electric Company. In 1922 he was a member of the President's Industrial Conference. Mr. Young has taken a prominent part in the various reparation conferences and was Chairman of the Conference which resulted in the "Young Plan" for reparations. He is universally considered one of the most outstanding business leaders in the United States.

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